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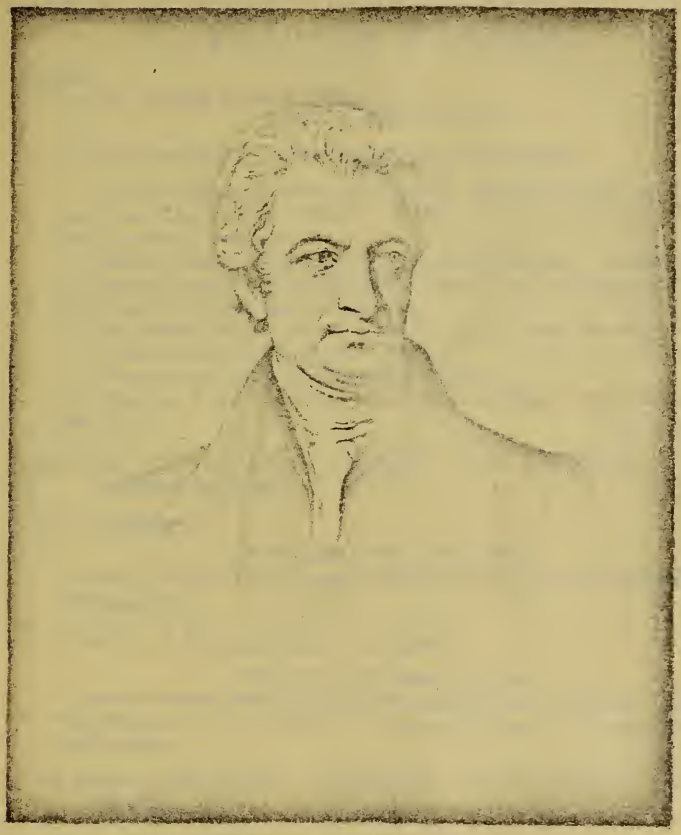

REV. JAMES DIXON D.D.

President of the Conference.

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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1849.

Article I.—REV. JAMES DIXON, D. D.*

The visit of the Rev. Dr. Dixon to the United States, as the accredited messenger of the Wesleyan Church of Great Britain to the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, has left a very agreeable impression, not only upon the members of the General Conference, but upon all who met him in personal intercourse. In expressing this opinion, we apprehend that we echo the universal sentiment of the church he was deputed to visit. Certainly we have heard nothing to the contrary. Although thoroughly Anglican in his feelings, a right loyal subject of the British crown, and a sincere and ardent admirer of the British constitution, as he was always prompt to avow; there was yet so much of urbanity and kindness, of candour and liberality, of Christian courtesy and meekness, in his brief intercourse with his American brethren, and such cordial, unaffected sympathy with their religious sentiments and feelings, that national peculiarities were mutually forgotten, and he sojourned among them only as a friend and "brother beloved," a member of the same household of faith, a partaker of the common salvation, and a co-inheritor of the same blessed promises.

Individually, we scarcely anticipated so perfect and cordial a unity between Dr. Dixon and his cis-Atlantic brethren. Our knowledge of him, as has been elsewhere said, was slight, and came rather in the form of observation than of personal acquaintance; but we were not alone in the almost apprehensions we entertained upon the subject. Unanimous as was the British Conference in the selection of him as

* The writer of this article published some time since, among other sketches, one of the Rev. Dr. Dixon. It was very brief and imperfect, and was in consequence extracted from his volume of "Sketches of Wesleyan Preachers." Much additional information, and a more correct estimate of his subject, have, the writer conceives, been wrought into the present "sketch."

their representative, there were those in this country, who, like ourselves had some knowledge of the Doctor, who doubted the wisdom of the choice. The principal reason for this opinion, was a fear that the reverend gentleman could not readily adapt himself to American habits of thought and action. He was known to be a loyalist of the most loyal sort; and it was scarcely to be expected, judging from experience, that such a one would see or acknowledge any good in this Nazareth of a republic. We did the gentleman an injustice by these surmisings; an injustice founded upon a forgetfulness of the mature Christian graces that adorn his character. We regard the bearing of Dr. Dixon, during the whole of his sojourn in the United States, as a fine exemplification of that ripe fruit of a regenerate heart—that true meekness of spirit that is perfected only by deep personal piety and rich experience in the things of God—which in honour prefers another to itself. Coming from that which we recognize as the parent country to one yet in the first century of its national existence, the institutions and people of which are in his own land greatly misunderstood and often misrepresented; delegated in the supreme legislature of the English Wesleyan Church to visit, as their representative, their sister churches on this continent, himself having once filled the highest office in the gift of that venerable body; it would have excited little surprise had he manifested some hesitation about acknowledging the good he saw, or had he seen it only with an uncongenial and distrustful bias. But he manifested no such disposition. He mingled with the Christian families, stood in the holy sanctuaries dispensing the bread of life, sat in the church councils of a rival country, and saw her prosperity under institutions, civil, political, and ecclesiastical, adverse, it may almost be said, to those of his native land, not only without "envy, jealousy, and uncharitableness," but with a sympathetic joy that often found willing utterance in sincere and hearty congratulations. For these and other sufficient reasons, it seems "meet and right" that a biographical sketch of Dr. Dixon should accompany the fine portrait which our publishers, with commendable enterprise, have imported as an embellishment for the present number of the Review.

The Rev. Dr. Dixon commenced his itinerancy in 1812, and prior to the Conference of 1824 had travelled in the following circuits:—Hereford, Kington, Brecon, Cardiff, Luton, and Gloucester. We have not access to any records of these early years of his ministerial life, but conclude that his labours were more than usually acceptable, as we find him fulfilling a second appointment of two years in one of the circuits, after an absence of only four years. The appointments themselves are not important, but this is no criterion by which

to judge of a young preacher's talents or general qualifications in that day. To an extent much beyond the present practice, young men were then required to spend their first ten or twelve years in what are technically called "hard," or "poor," or "country" circuits. Experience is, we fear, developing the serious inconveniences of a departure from this practice on the part of the British Conference. Within the last fifteen or twenty years a class of young men have entered the Wesleyan ministry, in education and attainments superior to the majority of their predecessors. These, of course, have been eagerly sought after by the larger towns and circuits, the influential and official men of which have earnestly pressed their claims upon the Conference. Those claims have in a variety of instances been acceded to, as the annual stations of the preachers prove. The character of the Wesleyan ministry has within the time named undergone, and is still undergoing, an important change. The Theological Institution, originally, doubtless, an *effect* of the very change that was going on, has become a most potent *cause* of the transformation which is in progress. Every year adds to the number of educated men in the British itinerancy; and every year the claims of the larger towns and circuits interfere more and more with the business of stationing the preachers. The difficulties experienced by the Conference of 1848, in this respect, are represented to have been greater than at any former time. This demand for young preachers was at the foundation of the difficulty. Whether it is possible now to return to the original custom, or whether it is "too late," it is difficult to say. Uneasiness will be experienced in either case. If the Conference resolve to retrace their steps, they will be strongly opposed by those who are now accommodated; while to abide by the modern practice will augment the embarrassments which already press heavily upon the appointing power.

In 1824 Dr. Dixon was stationed on the Gibraltar mission, but returned to England in 1825, at the Conference of which year he was appointed to the Wakefield circuit. He laboured there for three years with great acceptability and usefulness. At this time the heart of England was deeply moved by the anti-slavery agitation. Dr. Dixon took an active part in that discussion, and thence his popularity as a public speaker may be dated. The question was almost universally regarded as one that involved national honour and Christian principle, and called into public life many who had before pursued in private action the even tenour of their way. The prevailing excitement laid violent hands upon the subject of this article, and pressed him into its service. The topic was happily introduced into his missionary speeches. As we have elsewhere said, the

advocacy of the principles of human freedom lighted up new fires in his soul, and brought out a power of popular argumentation and impassioned utterance which astonished those who knew him only as a sound divine and useful preacher. Asserting a great principle, the right of all men, while of sound mind and untainted of crime, to personal freedom, he had entered upon a contest, the magnitude and congeniality of which aroused his energies, and allowed of a greater latitude of declamation than he conceived was consistent with the more solemn duty of pulpit exercises.

Our first knowledge of Dr. Dixon, other than by report, was obtained under such circumstances. He was invited to speak at a missionary meeting in a manufacturing town a few miles from Wakefield. His growing fame as a public speaker had raised expectation very high. Either our memory is sadly at fault, or the Doctor's *physique* has undergone a remarkable change since that time. We had the pleasure of spending a couple of hours with him at the hospitable mansion of a common friend, on the evening of the day on which he arrived at New-York, and should scarcely have recognized him. We incline to think, however, that memory has been faithful to her trust, and that the reverend gentleman's appearance *is* much altered; and are confirmed in this modest estimate of our memorial capacity by the fact, that an earlier portrait than that now presented to the reader exactly corresponds with our youthful recollection; while all who saw Dr. Dixon during his recent visit, will concede that the accompanying portrait gives his present features with great fidelity. The head, at the time to which we refer, appeared much more massive; but that might be partly the effect of the large quantity of hair, of palpable iron-gray, which then covered it, and projected in almost every possible direction. His frame too was more sinewy and elastic, and the chest appeared broader and altogether more expansive; and there was a subdued *springiness* about his movements which is now apparently lost. It must be remembered, however, that he was then in the full vigour of his working days, and was excited by a subject, the inspiration of which seemed to act upon his physical as well as mental organization. There was then too a peculiar glimmer or twinkle about the eyes, and a contraction of the muscles or nerves in that locality, which have now disappeared. The voice, too, was much less orótund and mellow than it now is; but his utterance was then, as now, deliberate, weighty, and dignified, and in keeping with the thoughts it embodied.

The leading proposition in Dr. Dixon's address was, that "slavery and Christianity were incompatible." We have heard the reverend

gentleman frequently, both from the missionary platform and the pulpit, but never when in true, fervid, burning eloquence, he surpassed that speech. Upon the theme he was at home. It chimed with the noble impulses of his benevolent heart. The thoughts seemed to be the beatings of his own pulse, and words only made them audible. Vehement, as the advocate of liberty, as the logician, he held his feelings under control, while he laid down his propositions and expounded his arguments; then "words that burned" streamed forth upon the audience as he forced his premises to their conclusions, and rebuked those who could inflict upon their fellowmen an intolerable bondage both of body and mind—his clear, bell-like voice ringing through every part of the house, and the audience enwrapped in almost the silence of the grave. Declamation is not Dr. Dixon's forte; but on that occasion he seemed carried beyond himself; and his conclusion was as fine a specimen of that kind of oratory as we remember ever to have heard.

At the Conference of 1828 Dr. Dixon was appointed to one of the London circuits, and remained in London until the Conference of 1833. The popularity he had acquired in the provinces he more than sustained in the metropolis, although during that five years some of the mightiest men of Methodism's host surrounded him; and there were men of no ordinary prowess, belonging to other denominations, to compete with. His next appointment was at Liverpool, where he commanded large congregations. At the Conference of 1837 he was appointed superintendent of the Sheffield West circuit, which then contained 2,242 members, and employed four travelling, and about fifty local preachers. We apprehend that nowhere in the British connexion are the capacity of Methodism to do good, and its actual workings, more favourably shown than in this circuit, in which, according to statistics compiled in 1845, there were employed, including preachers, class-leaders, prayer-leaders, tract-distributors, Sunday-school teachers, &c., 1,323 agents, who held 31,584 meetings every year; being an average of 637 religious services in each week on one Wesleyan circuit.

By his judicious administration of the affairs of this important circuit, Dr. Dixon secured the fullest confidence of his ministerial brethren and of the society in Sheffield. He held the appointment for three years, and left the onerous charge with the heart-felt regrets of the people. At the Conference of 1840 he was appointed superintendent of the Third Manchester Circuit, and thus came more immediately within the sphere of our own observation. We had now the privilege of hearing him from the pulpit in the ordinary routine of his ministry, which, far more than occasional sermons, is

the test of a preacher's capabilities, and the criterion by which his mental calibre is to be judged. We incline to think that at this time Dr. Dixon was at the meridian of his popularity. Not that we would intimate that since then his sun has been going down, but simply, that during the latter two years at Sheffield, and the first at Manchester, he preached some of the *greatest* sermons he ever delivered, and was more sought after by those who admired an elevated, almost philosophical style of preaching, than at any other period of his ministry. There was at that time a strong vein of philosophy in his more elaborated discourses. But then it was

> "Philosophy baptized
> In the pure fountain of eternal love,"

and not "philosophy falsely so called." He dealt mainly with great principles and logical sequences: he loved to expatiate upon the harmonies of the gospel economy; to take general and lofty views, and to impress them by reiteration; and often reminded his hearers of Dr. Chalmers by the variety of phases in which he would present the same thought, as well as by the construction of his sentences. In speaking of Dr. Dixon's popularity, we must observe that in kind it is peculiar to himself. It is not universal, like Dr. Newton's; nor confined to one class of hearers, like that of Bramwell and John Smith. Perhaps we might justly say that his preaching is especially attractive to men of intellect, differing from that of his ever to be honoured father-in-law, the Rev. Richard Watson, in compass and elevation of thought, and from that of his cotemporary, the Rev. Dr. Bunting, in theological fulness and terseness, yet drawing a similar class of hearers around him. While he commends himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God by his fidelity and earnestness, there is yet an air of grandeur about his preaching—an imposing mental attitude, so to speak—which keeps inferior minds from sympathy or intimate oneness of feeling; and in his more elaborate discourses, those which have been carefully wrought out in the retirement of the study and the closet, there is an amount of thought which only an active, intelligent mind can appreciate.

In these remarks we are to be understood as speaking of Dr. Dixon as he appeared from seven to ten years ago. If the comments upon his preaching which appeared in the religious papers while he was in America, are just, his style of preaching has undergone as great a change as his personal appearance. We are inclined to think such a change has taken place, and that there is more of rich and sweet simplicity in his ministration of the word than formerly. The following description of our present subject, from the

pen of the respected editor of the Ladies' Repository, first directed our attention to this alteration in the Doctor's style, while it amused us not a little by its homely illustration:—

"A solid and venerable-looking head, a clean old English face, a sweet, but penetrating blue eye, and a most agreeable group of personal traits, among which British self-dependence, tempered by cheerful piety and good sense, is chief, would render him conspicuous in a crowd. He is a good speaker, though not an orator; and makes a lasting rather than a sudden impression on his hearers. It is amusing to sit and watch him during the delivery of one of his earnest speeches. You can see, almost, the thought getting birth, his intellect moves so slowly. Then the heart comes up and covers it all over with a thick crust of sugar. At last the idea comes downward to the mouth, and there it lies rolling over and over between the old man's smacking rich lips, as if it were a piece of manna or a choice sweetmeat. Then out it comes, sugar, manna, sweetmeat, as it is, setting your own lips to smacking just as his do. So it goes through a whole speech or sermon, the audience presenting, all the while, the spectacle of an eating multitude, only their food is invisible."

We saw also, in the journals of the day, reports of sermons by Dr. Dixon, which led to the belief that he was more careful to appear as an experimental than as a great preacher while he was among us; and for this we were somewhat prepared by the brief personal interview already alluded to. In perfect keeping with this view, also, is the fact that when, by the unanimous vote of the General Conference, he was solicited to furnish a copy of his sermon before that body, for publication, it came out that he had no manuscript of it, and was compelled to qualify his compliance with the gratifying request, by the condition of finding time to write it out when he returned to England. From all this we infer some change, though it may not be great. It may be that the Doctor, knowing his American brethren only as Methodists, resolved to go in and out among them only in the primitive simplicity of a Methodist preacher; and that, in fact, the Dr. Dixon of 1848 is the Dr. Dixon of 1840 mellowed and ripened by age, bearing Christian salutations to his brethren in the faith, determined to know nothing among them but Christ and him crucified, giving full play to the innate benevolence of his heart, and charged with the fulness of the blessings of the gospel of peace.

In 1841 Dr. Dixon was elected President of the Conference. The duties of that office he discharged with eminent ability and impartiality, and greatly to the satisfaction of all his brethren. Doubts

which were entertained of his practical business qualifications were proved to be entirely unfounded. Of his ecclesiastico-political views we have no knowledge. Our impression is that he takes little part in Conference discussions. We should not think him fluent or skilful in debate. His mental action is correct rather than rapid. He is an observer rather than a talker. He possesses a sound judgment; and in the laboratory of his own mind can closely analyze an argument, and strip a discussion of its extraneous matter. He forms clear and decided opinions, which are not readily renounced, though never offensively protruded upon others.

In accordance with established usage, Dr. Dixon preached the "Conference Sermon" in 1842. It was a seasonable and able defence of Wesleyan Methodism against the assaults of the "high" party in the Church of England. Clergymen of that denomination at that time had seemed to vie with each other in heaping indignities upon the Methodists, in some instances refusing to allow their dead to be interred in the church-yard, on the excuse that such was "consecrated ground;" and in many cases refusing to read the burial service over the bodies of those who had not been baptized by clergymen of the Establishment—even over those of infants—on the insulting plea that they were "heretical remains." Of course, redress and protection against such barbarities were invoked by an appeal to the law, the "Committee of Privileges" carrying the matter to the highest ecclesiastical tribunal, and with success. In the mean time the High-Church prints teemed with abuse of the Methodist preachers, whose right to the ministerial character and functions they strenuously denied. In the correspondence which necessarily followed the outrages spoken of, the common courtesies which mark the intercourse of gentlemen were thrown aside by these exclusives, and the harmless title of "Reverend" studiously avoided when speaking of or writing to Wesleyan clergymen. The omission itself was of no moment, but rather gratifying than otherwise, seeing what kind of men exclusively claimed the title. But the *animus* that prompted the studied indignity was no less discreditable. Indeed, a simultaneous movement appeared throughout the less tolerant sections of the national Church to anathematize Methodism, and, if possible, crush its growing power.

Under these circumstances, Dr. Dixon delivered his Conference sermon. It effectually disposed of the whole question. By the unanimous request of the Conference it was subsequently published in an enlarged form, with the title, "Methodism in its Origin, Economy, and Present Position." The work will long be recognized as a triumphant vindication of the claims of Wesleyan Me-

thodist preachers as divinely appointed and attested ministers of the gospel, and of the people under their charge as legitimately within the pale of the New Testament Church. The equivocal position in which the assailants were placed by the facts and arguments of the discourse, was the natural consequence of a provoked examination of their exclusive claims. It would much enhance the interest of this article to introduce a synopsis of the work; but it is published at the Book-Room, and is accessible to all readers. In this able treatise the title of "THE METHODIST CHURCH" was, we believe for the first time in England, boldly claimed, and defended by unanswerable arguments.

Dr. Dixon has published, besides the important treatise just spoken of, a "Memoir of the Rev. William E. Miller," who died in Sheffield in 1840. We have a vivid recollection of this aged minister, who was for many years a supernumerary in Sheffield. Often have we seen the venerable old gentleman, with locks white as driven snow, traversing the streets, or halting, and laying his friendly hand upon a passing youngster, drop half a dozen words of godly counsel in his ear, bless him, and bid him God speed. The aged minister was "instant in season and *out of season*," as some perhaps might think, in this duty. Often have we seen him, too, in the sanctuary, his fine figure bent slightly forward as he strove to hear the word of life, and his benevolent countenance beaming with sweet delight as he meditated upon the truths he had himself so often taught. Mr. Miller was passionately fond of music, was himself no ordinary musician and composer, some of his tunes being great favourites with the English Methodists to this day. With this foreknowledge, we took up Dr. Dixon's Memoir with perhaps over-wrought expectation, and experienced commensurate disappointment in the reading. The plan of the work is objectionable—is too formal and methodical—being rather a series of essays upon the principles embodied in the main facts of Mr. Miller's life than a biography.

About the same time, Dr. Dixon, who was always an earnest opponent of Popery—and whom, it just occurs to us, we once heard deliver a masterly argument at a missionary meeting, proving that Ireland's much talked of evils sprang directly from her connexion with Popery—published, "The Present Position and Aspects of Popery, and the Duty of Exposing the Errors of Papal Rome;" and "Letters on the Duties of Protestants with Regard to Popery." And in 1843 he published a sermon preached on the occasion of the death of the Rev. Thomas Galland, A. M.—a man of a remarkably independent and generous spirit, respected and beloved through the

whole Connexion. We are not aware that he has published anything else.

We now approach the time when Dr. Dixon visited this country as the representative of the British Connexion. Of that visit little need be said in addition to our observations in an early part of this article. In common with American Methodists generally, we regret that he did not appear more in public during his brief sojourn among us; and especially that in New-York none had the opportunity of hearing him preach. We believe, however, that in this he acted from what he conceived to be duty, if not indeed, under the imperious obligation of necessity. We apprehend that he laboured more or less under indisposition during the whole of his visit. He was suffering from a severe cold on his arrival, and was far from being in good health when he returned to New-York on the eve of his departure for his home. He, no doubt, did what he could before his visit to Canada, where his duties were sufficiently onerous for one in robust health, and to him, we can readily suppose, so debilitating as to justify him in refraining from farther public duty, in view of the change of climate and habits to which he had so long been, and was still to be, exposed—changes which his predecessor, Dr. Newton, would scarcely feel. We have reason to know that Dr. Dixon was much gratified and delighted by his visit; that the country excited his admiration and wonder; and that the kindness everywhere shown him by the American people generally, and especially by his Methodist brethren, won his cordial affection and esteem. Nor was he slow to declare this during his brief sojourn in Canada, nor to speak of the high destiny which he saw in the future for this people and continent.

There are circumstances connected with the reappearance of Dr. Dixon upon the floor of the British Conference, for which we find it difficult to account, except upon an hypothesis, which, with our general knowledge of the English preachers, we cannot adopt. Most readers of this article will understand that we refer to the significant utterance of the word "query," by one of the preachers on the platform, (said to be Mr. Scott,) while Dr. Dixon was giving expression to sentiments of unabated loyalty to English Methodism, and to the delay in calling for his report, which resulted in its not being presented to the Conference. We have sought, and expected to receive, authentic information upon this matter; but, practically lessened as the distance between the two countries now is, we have not yet received the desired information. The two circumstances taken together have an awkward appearance. Still, we think that the delay in calling for the report, which has been

construed into an intentional slight upon Dr. Dixon, (and through him, in some degree, upon the Methodist Episcopal Church,) was not caused by the fear that the tone of the document would be too laudatory of what he saw, and that it is capable of a more probable as well as a more charitable solution.

In the first place, we do not think the British Conference would be guilty of such littleness, and such incongruousness of action, as to prejudge and deliberately shut out or smother, without a hearing, the official report of its own representative, whom it had, by acclamation, "affectionately requested" to undertake such a mission; nor that it would be so discourteous to one of its members, so deservedly and universally esteemed as Dr. Dixon is, and one who had once held the highest official station within its gift. Secondly, supposing that Dr. Dixon's views were likely to prove unpalatable (which we doubt) to the Conference, we do not see how they could have become generally known to that body. That the Doctor is not the man to conceal any sentiments which he holds to be just, must be conceded. But he only landed in England a very few days before the Conference met, and therefore could not have disseminated his views among men coming from all parts of the country. They might have been transmitted from Canada by correspondence, or in his own letters; but this could have been done only to a very limited extent. And if the information had been assiduously circulated in the Conference, there were men there curious enough, and others pugnacious enough, to have called the more earnestly for the reading of the report on that very account. And, thirdly, the delay *appears* to have been unavoidable or accidental, and was so spoken of by the President, Dr. Newton, who is not the man to misrepresent a fact. We know that the Conference was oppressed with the magnitude and difficulties of its regular business; so much so, that important matters, of which regular notices were given at the former Conference, and in one instance, we believe, two years before, were postponed by common consent. The difficulty of adjusting the stations would alone account for the delay. They occupied a much longer time than was anticipated, extending over several sessions. This was business that could not be suspended, and was, we suspect, in conjunction with the excitement it occasioned, the real cause of the difficulty. Dr. Newton is reported to have said, when attention was called to the matter, that he had fixed upon that evening (the evening of the day on which the stations were disposed of, if we are correctly informed) for the hearing of the report. On the other hand, the significant expression uttered during the Doctor's salutatory, and which called forth a fitting and manly rebuke from him,

shows that individual jealousy had been excited; unless, indeed, the remark was intended to be merely playful, as, from the well-known good humour of the gentleman who is reported to have uttered it, we strongly incline to think it was. As the matter ended, there can, of course, be no report from Dr. Dixon published in the "Minutes of Conference" for 1848, those documents being confined to the official, journalized action of the body. Whether the reverend gentleman will wait until the Conference of 1849 before he renders his report, or whether, on his personal responsibility, he will give it to the public, remains to be seen. Whenever it is forthcoming, it will, we fully expect, do justice alike to the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and to the American people generally, for that he was very favourably impressed by his visit is notorious; and that he will fearlessly and frankly say all that is in his heart, is to be inferred from his known integrity and candour. It is not to be expected, however, that he would consider everything perfect that he saw, either in Methodism or in America; and having full confidence in Dr. Dixon's friendliness of feeling and soundness of judgment, it may be well to prepare our minds to receive, with all kindness, anything he may say unfavourable to us, or unpalatable, and to profit thereby, rather than, as perhaps we have too often done, destroy the benefit of the counsel by charging the counsellor with prejudice. "Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful."

P. S. We have before us the "Minutes" for 1848. No mention is made of Dr. Dixon's visit or report. We learn, however, from other sources, that he has embodied the narrative of his visit to America in a lecture or lectures, which he has delivered in Birmingham. Of the substance of his discourse we have yet no information.

Art. II.—THE LORD'S DAY, THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH.

1. *The True Sabbath Embraced and Observed.* By Elder Samuel Davidson, many years a regular Baptist Minister; now Pastor of the Seventh-Day Baptist Church in Shiloh, New-Jersey. New-York: published by the American Sabbath Tract Society. No. 10.
2. *Religious Liberty Endangered by Legislative Enactments. An Appeal to the Friends of Equal Rights and Religious Freedom in the United States, from the Seventh-Day Baptist General Conference.* New-York: published by the American Sabbath Tract Society. No. 11.
3. *The Sabbath Manual.* Nos. 1, 2, and 3. By Rev. Justin Edwards, D. D. Published by the American Tract Society, 150 Nassau-street, New-York.
4. *Tracts of the Lord's-day Society.* Nos. 1–31. London.
5. *"Tracts of the Times" on the Sabbath.* No. 1–5. Glasgow.
6. *Statement of the Proceedings of the Sabbath Alliance.* By R. K. Greville, LL. D.

We have placed the titles of these works, selected from many on the same subject, at the head of this article, to indicate a prominent fact in the consciousness of the Christian and anti-Christian world of the present age. The fact to which we refer, is a profound conviction of the vital relation existing between the Christian Sabbath and the Christian religion. Infidelity begins to perceive clearly that this broad outwork of the Church must fall before the citadel can be reached: and that if a clear breach be made here, the remaining work of desolation will be easy and brief. Hence, in the conventions, anniversaries, and periodicals by which it is aping the outward organization and agencies of the Church, the Sabbath is one of the great grievances complained of, and one of the great "abuses" attacked. The tyranny of allowing man and beast one day in seven to rest from the toils of life, and the injustice of laws that prevent the daring fanatic and the unscrupulous employer from invading the peaceful enjoyment of this privilege, are proclaimed with a rueful length of visage, and a dolorous tone of complaint, that are supremely ludicrous. The farce in this case, however, is rather broad, even for "a discerning public." The complaint, that laws protecting the Christian community in the enjoyment of a quiet Sabbath are tyrannical—coming not from those who regard these laws and feel their operation, but from those who disregard and disobey them; and from those who in the next breath will not obscurely hint that they feel the same tyranny in the laws that protect you in the enjoyment of your own farm, your own homestead, and your own wife; and that the freedom they claim in the one case is but a step toward the freedom they desire in the other—has something in it so utterly and ridiculously preposterous, that we marvel the father of lies should

have ever fallen upon an expedient so barefaced, so insolent, and so clumsy. It sounds too much like the conscientious objections we might conceive wolves making to sheep-folds, and burglars to patent locks and salamander safes.

Despairing of success in this mode of attack, Infidelity has adopted another more ingenious, if not more effectual. Discovering that the religious feeling of the American people lies too deep to allow any institution that is rooted in it to be overturned, it has determined to assail the Sabbath through the very feeling that forms its strongest support. Accordingly it has exchanged the hoof and horns for the sheep's clothing, and in the wig and gown of criticism undertakes to show that there is no Divine warrant for keeping holy the first day of the week. Books and pamphlets advocating this view, with some show of argument, have been circulated extensively through the country; and in some instances laid in large numbers, by the hands of avowed infidels, on the desks of our legislative halls, for the purpose of procuring the obliteration of every recognition of the Lord's day that now appears on the statute-books of our States.

On the other hand, Christians, both in England and America, manifest with equal clearness a growing sense of the importance of the Sabbath, and their determination to cling to it as at once the hope, the privilege, and the right of the Christian world. Hence alliances and unions have been formed, conventions held, tracts written, premiums offered for dissertations on particular aspects of the subject, and a wide and active interest excited in the mind of the Church in favour of a better observance of the Sabbath.

It is not to be concealed, however, that in spite of the awakened intelligence of Christians to this subject, there is still much indistinctness of conception as to the real strength of the warrant on which we observe the first day of the week as the day of rest. With many, who are intelligent readers of the Bible, it is received as a matter of authority rather than a matter of argument; and they are unable to assign the same clear and satisfactory reason for their practice in this case, that they can in others.

We propose, therefore, to present some of the grounds on which we base the right and duty of observing the first day of the week, or the Lord's day, as the Christian Sabbath.

In order that the ground of discussion may be narrowed as much as possible, we premise that we do not intend to argue at length the moral nature and perpetual obligation of the law of the Sabbath. If it be true that our physical and moral powers demand its hallowed repose, as imperiously as they demand any other institution that God has given us—if without it those powers dete-

riorate and suffer, and if this necessity is so great that "the Sabbath was *made* for man"—it were a most surprising thing if a benevolent Creator had left man without a Sabbath in any age of the Church. And so strong is this presumption, that we would demand clear assurance of so cruel and fatal a neglect. But if, instead of such assurance, we see its hallowed light resting in quiet beauty on the sinless scenes of Paradise; if we see it stand side by side with the marriage relation, a relic of Eden's purity and Eden's peace; if we see its traces, like gleams of sunshine, appear along the dim line of patriarchal history in the stated seasons of worship, and the hebdomadal division of time which appears repeatedly after the flood, in both sacred and profane records; if we find its observance restored from the universal prostration of ordinances and institutions in Egypt, *before* the giving of either the Decalogue or the Ceremonial Law; if we find it restored and appearing in the Sinaitic Law, in terms that evidently point back to a previous knowledge and observance of it; if we find it standing among nine other enactments in that sacred statute-book, whose enduring tablets were graven by the finger of the Eternal, and one jot or tittle of whose demands shall never pass away; if we find it afterward kept distinct from all ceremonial usages, and appearing in high and royal authority above every other institution, in the earnestness and frequency of its inculcation, in the variety of reasons urged for its reverent observance, in the garland of song wreathed around it in the Psalms, and in the girdling wall of menace and warning, promise and blessing, with which it is fenced in the prophecies; if when Christ came he recognized its obligation both by precept and example, vindicated it from Pharisaical superstitions, rescued it from an overlying mass of traditional bigotry, placed it on a higher basis of dignity and authority than before, and gave it submissive reverence in more than half a score of distinctly recorded instances in his ministry—if all these facts cluster around the history and law of the Sabbath, we are forced to regard it as an institution always existing, and always binding on the Church. Hence we assume this point without any farther argument.

We also concede that no merely human power can alter the law of the Sabbath in any particular; and that, if altered at all, it must be by the same authority on which it was originally instituted. The only question then that remains is, *Has God made a transfer of the Sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week?*

The evidence on which we are warranted to receive this transfer must be similar to that on which we receive other articles of our faith. God has declared his will by various modes of manifestation. Sometimes he has announced it in the most explicit terms;

at other times he has left it to be gathered by inference from several particulars. Thus, before the utterance of the fourth commandment, the Sabbath was binding on the patriarchs; but this obligation was with many of them not a matter of direct revelation, but an inference that such was the primitive revelation.

There are many things likewise in New Testament times, concerning which we are left to infer the will of God from differen facts, rather than informed of it by a formal statement. Thus, we infer the passing away of many Jewish rites and ceremonies; the right of women to the Lord's Supper; the duty of social and family prayer; and the discipline and worship of the house of God. It is thus, also, with the canonical authority of much of the Scriptures. Let the man who demands the will of God, *in ipsissimus verbis*, that the Sabbath shall be transferred from the seventh to the first day of the week, furnish similar proof of the canonical authority of the Epistle of James, the Epistle of Jude, or the Revelation, and we will comply with his demand. If, however, he receives these books as canonical, mainly, if not exclusively, because they were so received by the primitive Church during the continuance of inspired men, he could not fairly object if we furnished him with no other evidence than this in regard to the Lord's day. If, however, we can furnish him not only the same kind of proof in a stronger degree, but also independent evidence of this transfer, he surely cannot demur to the Divine authority of the Lord's day as the Christian Sabbath. Such evidence we think will be afforded by establishing a few propositions.

I. The change in question could be made without destroying the institution of the Sabbath.

The slightest inspection of the Sabbatic law will show us that it includes two things essentially distinct:—first, the Sabbath or rest itself; and, secondly, the day on which that Sabbath is placed. It is declared in the fourth commandment, that in six days the Lord created the heavens and the earth, and rested on the seventh; wherefore the Lord blessed, not *the seventh* day, as such, but the Sabbath day, and hallowed it. If, as is alleged in this controversy, the seventh day and the Sabbath are identical and therefore interchangeable terms, we reduce the fourth commandment to an absurdity. Let us make the substitution, and see the result: "Remember the seventh day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the seventh day of the Lord thy God," &c. This substitution converts the command into sheer nonsense, and proves unanswerably that the Sabbath is distinct from the day on which it is placed, and could originally, or at any subsequent time, have been placed on a different day without destroying the institution.

The same thing appears from a fact in the Jewish history. We are told (2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, 21,) that the Jews were carried into captivity "to fulfil the word of the Lord by Jeremiah, until the land had enjoyed her Sabbaths: for as long as she lay desolate she kept Sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years." Here, then, is a specific instance of the transfer of the Sabbaths neglected by the Jews, to the days and years of their captivity in Babylon. Such a transfer, however, would be impossible, unless the Sabbath or rest were distinct from the period on which it was placed.

The same principle is recognized by men in similar observances. When our national Independence is celebrated on the third or fifth of July, in consequence of the fourth falling on the Sabbath, no one dreams that the celebration is vitiated, for the observance is distinct from the day.

An examination of the fourth commandment more narrowly will confirm this view. What is its main object? Plainly not to render sacred any particular day, because of its position in a numerical series, but to sanctify the Sabbath, and to state that one-seventh of our time shall constitute that Sabbath. It does not determine any order of enumeration, but commands simply that after labouring six days we shall rest on the seventh. Hence those who keep the Lord's day, obey the letter of the command; for they labour six days and rest on the seventh, in precise obedience to the law. It may be said, however, that we know that this enumeration began on a certain day. We grant it; but the fixing of this enumeration is something extraneous to the commandment itself, which does not contain within itself any particular series, but is adapted to whatever date it may please God to affix as the period of the weekly Sabbath.

But, more than this, it would be impossible for the command to prescribe any such definite time as the seventh-day theory demands, without involving an inextricable difficulty. If a particular set of hours is made sacred, and not one-seventh of our time, according to the common reckoning, those who are on opposite sides of the earth from the place where the command was first promulgated, will be involved in great embarrassment. It has been said, in extenuation of this difficulty, that as there was a first day in Eden, so there was a first day to its antipodes; and that the seventh day from that would be holy. But this does not reach the difficulty. It arises from the fact that in circumnavigating the globe a day is always lost or gained, according to the direction in which the voyager sails; so that two parties sailing in opposite directions and meeting on the other side of the globe, will find a day's difference in their reckoning. Nor is this an imaginary difficulty. When the English sailors

first visited Pitcairn's Island they arrived on Saturday, according to their reckoning, but found the natives, with John Adams at their head, keeping the Sabbath, because they had reached the island from the opposite direction. This must occur with every band of missionaries or emigrants sailing in opposite directions. If, then, it be a particular set of hours, and not every seventh day that is made holy, whose reckoning must be adopted? This fact presents the very curious case of a theological dispute which would be completely destroyed by a voyage round the globe. If our brethren who keep Saturday were to sail to the Sandwich Islands by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and we who keep the Lord's day should sail thither by way of Cape Horn, on reaching the Sandwich Islands our dispute would be annihilated; for we should both be found keeping the same day. A principle which leads to such confusion and difficulty, cannot be embodied in a law of God. The difficulty does not press on the view we have taken of the commandment; for, according to that view, it only requires the setting apart of one-seventh of our time to holy purposes, according to the common reckoning.

For these reasons, we allege that the Sabbath is entirely distinct from the day on which it is placed; that it can be placed on any day, according to any series that God may determine, without affecting a letter of the fourth command; and that, should God see fit to place the hebdomadal season of rest on the eighth instead of the seventh day in the Jewish reckoning, it could be done not only without destroying the Sabbatic institution, but without affecting in the slightest degree the terms of the Sabbatic law; for still we should obey the law that says, "*Six* days shalt thou labour and do all thy work; but the *seventh* is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." This point, which is rightly made a vital one in the argument by the Sabbatarian, being clearly established, we are prepared for the next step in the proof.

II. There are strong reasons for such a change of the day, leading us to expect that it would be made.

The first reason is drawn from the nature of the Sabbath. The grand object of the Sabbatic institution is to afford a season of holy rest. In order that motives and recollections suitable for this purpose may be furnished, a day is selected which brings to our memory some of the wonderful works of God. During the Patriarchal dispensation, the work of Creation was selected, as the greatest with which the Church was then acquainted, and made the basis of Sabbath memories and meditations. But if any greater work than this should be wrought by God for his people, whether it was greater absolutely in itself, or relatively to the conceptions of the Church, it

would seem proper that this work should also be commemorated by the Church in her Sabbatic observances. Accordingly, when the Mosaic Dispensation was set up, we find it ushered in by the stupendous scenes of the Exodus, in which God revealed himself more gloriously and wonderfully to his chosen people than he had done in the work of creation. When, therefore, we come to examine the record of the restoration of Sabbath observance, we find not only that it is associated with the magnificent scenes of the Exodus, but that it was probably placed on the day when this deliverance was completed. That this day was the seventh in an astronomical series stretching from the creation, is a fact that does not appear on the record, and ought not to be assumed without proof. Having then been placed on a day in the Patriarchal Dispensation to commemorate its greatest benefit, and being in like manner placed on a day, as it would seem, in the Mosaic Dispensation to commemorate its greatest benefit; if, in the Christian Dispensation, there shall be a still greater benefit, we should naturally expect it to be commemorated in like manner. It must, however, be granted, that the work of redemption is a still grander display of God than either of the others; for it is the deliverance of souls, for the loss of one of which we are assured, by One who knew well their worth, the whole world would be a wretched compensation. Now, as if in express allusion to this point, the work of redemption is called in Scripture, "the new creation," "the making all things new," "the regeneration of all things," "the creation of a new heavens and a new earth;" it will therefore follow, not only that it is a greater work than any that preceded it, but that the same reasons that required *their* commemoration on the Sabbath day, will, *a fortiori*, require *it* to be commemorated in like manner.

We find some of these reasons also in the prophetic Scriptures. The intimations here must of course be conveyed with some obscurity; but they are too clear to be omitted in the argument. There appears to be a reference to it in Isa. lxv, 17, 18: "For behold I create new heavens and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered, neither shall it come into mind. But be ye glad and rejoice for ever, in that I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy." Whatever meaning we may attach to the phrase, "new heavens and a new earth," it is plain that they refer to some development of the plan of redemption, which is explained more fully in the 18th verse. The passage then seems distinctly to assert, first, that this new creation is more important than the old; and, secondly, that it shall supplant the old in the commemorations of the Church. Now if the institution designed originally to commemorate the first crea-

tion, has been put forward to a day which commemorates the second, we have a clear and striking fulfilment of the prophecy; if not, the whole passage is wrapped in obscurity.

Psalm cxviii seems also to intimate this fact with still greater distinctness. This Psalm is referred to our Saviour frequently throughout the New Testament. He himself declares, (Matt. xxiv, 39,) that the Jews should see him no more until they should say, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." Having thus applied it to himself, and sanctioned that application by others, he has fixed its Messianic character beyond dispute. In Matthew xxi, 42, and Acts iv, 11, we find Christ and his apostles appropriating verse 22 specifically to the Messiah, and declaring that he was the stone which the builders refused. But when did he become the head-stone of the corner? Not during his life, for he was still labouring at the great work; not at his death, for the universe was still uncertain whether that death would be accepted; but at his resurrection, when he burst the bars of death, and crowned his redeeming work with this act of completion. It is then added in verse 24, "This is *the day* the Lord hath made; we will be glad and rejoice in it." It is not said in general terms, "this is *a* day," but "this is *the* day;" הַיּוֹם, an emphatic definite in the Hebrew, referring necessarily to some particular day. What day, then, is this? It can be no other than the day of Christ's resurrection, and it declares that this day shall be one of rejoicing and one of worship: for it is added that on this day the gates of righteousness should be opened,—the righteous should enter into them and bless the name of the Lord. This passage, then, we conceive to furnish strong presumption beforehand that such a change as that asserted would take place in the Sabbatic law.

Another very remarkable passage occurs in Ezek. xliii, 27: "And when these days are expired, it shall be that upon the eighth day, and so forward, the priests shall make your burnt-offerings upon the altar, and your peace-offerings; and I will accept you, saith the Lord." The meaning of this verse depends on the interpretation given to the whole context, which is obscure. But whether we regard this as a symbolical description of gospel times, or a literal statement of what shall be done by the Jews, on their conversion to Christianity, it seems to declare, in express terms, that the former hallowing of the seventh day shall be supplanted in the observance of those to whom it refers—either the whole Christian Church or the converted Jews—by a religious observance of the day succeeding, whether we term that day the eighth or the first; both of which designations we find in the New Testament. We should also expect it from the gene-

ral principles on which God proceeded in taking down the Old, and setting up the New Dispensation.

The Mosaic Dispensation was adapted to the Jews, situated as they were, until the coming of Christ; but was wholly unfit to be a universal religion. Hence, when the economy of religion designed for all nations was established, it became necessary to lay aside the forms of the Mosaic system, for others more enlarged and catholic in their structure. This change became the more necessary, because the Jews had perverted these useful forms from their original intention, into instruments of bigotry and superstition. Hence, even where these Mosaic forms were adapted to more general use, they were laid aside because of this fatal tendency to formality, with which they were inseparably connected in the mind of the Jew. Both of these reasons would lead us to expect some change in the law of the Sabbath.

It would seem that the day on which the Israelites came up from the Red Sea in safety, was the Sabbath. Hence, in the recapitulation of the ten commandments in Deut. v, we find in verses 12–15 another reason assigned for keeping the fourth commandment, which is given here, perhaps, because this recapitulation of the law was intended specially for the Jews. "And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence, through a mighty hand and a stretched-out arm; *therefore* the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day." The attaching of this reason to the fourth command does not, of course, affect the moral and perpetual nature of the law, any more than the connexion of a similar national blessing with the fifth commandment, affects the moral nature of the law that prescribes duties existing between parent and child. But because the Sabbath had become linked in the mind of the Church with Jewish facts, some change of its accessories was necessary. The deliverance from Egypt was, in a sense, typical of the deliverance of the Church from the bondage of sin; and hence it was most natural to expect that this partial, national, and typical redemption should give place, in the day of its commemoration, to the great, universal, antitypical redemption of the world by the blood of Christ. The same reasons that required a change of the sacraments of the Church from circumcision and the passover, to Baptism and the Lord's Supper, required a corresponding change in the law of the Sabbath.

But the second reason operated as strongly in reference to the Sabbath, as it did in reference to any part of the Mosaic law. There was no part of the Old Testament institutes to which the Jews had made larger superstitions and traditional appendages than the Sab-

bath. Now, as the fourth command of the Decalogue could not be repealed, or the Sabbath destroyed, there remained no more effectual mode of breaking up this association of austere bigotry and servile superstition with the Sabbatic law, than by removing it from that day which was deemed so mysteriously sacred by the Jew, and placing it on one that suggested no facts or ideas peculiar to the Jewish Dispensation, but the great, enlarged, and universal facts of the New Dispensation. The strong and obstinate tendency of the Primitive Church to a Judaizing spirit, proves that this consideration is one of by no means a minor importance.

For these reasons, then, we should naturally expect that some change would be made in the law of the Sabbath in the New Dispensation, in accordance with these intimations. We grant, however, that these considerations would not have warranted the Church to make such a change, except on the same express authority that made the other changes in the economy of redemption. We must have the same warrant in the one case that we have in all others for laying aside the perishing forms of the Church's pupilage. But as there exists far more anterior ground for expecting such a change in regard to the Sabbath, than in regard to many other temporary forms, we are prepared to examine the evidence for such a change with some peculiar advantages.

III. There is satisfactory evidence, from the records of the New Testament and the writings of the primitive Christians, that such a change actually was made, by the same authority that ordained the form and features of the New Testament Church.

The first question that meets us here is, In what way should we naturally expect this change to be made and indicated? We answer, Precisely as many other changes were made and indicated at the same time. The line of transition between the old and new economies was not drawn sharply except in a few leading particulars. The dispensations overlapped each other, so that, as to many matters, it is next to impossible to say when the one ended and the other began. Gradual development, during the existence of inspired men, was the law of the New Dispensation. Hence, its features were continually unfolding themselves with increasing clearness until the death of the last apostle. Who can say precisely when the Old Testament form of worship ceased, and the New Testament form was set up? Who can say precisely when the Scriptures of the Old Testament ceased to be the only rule of faith and practice, and the revelations of the New Testament began to be binding on the Church? It is impossible to determine the precise chronology of many of the changes that were made, for the apostles wisely did not

give prominence to any of the features of the New Dispensation that were not absolutely essential. The violence of Jewish prejudices occasioned most of the difficulties and disputes in the Apostolic Church, and in every possible particular these prejudices were spared. To propitiate them, Paul went even so far as to circumcise Timothy. Hence, as to a matter like the one in dispute, which was not vital to Christianity, we should not expect to find the apostles giving it any especial prominence, lest the Jews should be prejudiced against more important truths. Just, then, as we determine the canonical authority of any particular book in the New Testament; as we make out the right to use any particular kind of psalmody or unwritten prayers in public worship; as we determine many of the details of ecclesiastical discipline and government; so must we determine this question. As in these cases, however, we demand not direct, explicit, and formal statements, but are content with incidental facts and intimations, rendered more clear and intelligible, by carefully attending to the faith and practice of the Primitive Church, so, *a fortiori*, in a case where the ancient law remained unchanged, and the only change was in the Mosaic day and the Mosaic observance, must we be satisfied with similar evidence. That this change did occur by the same authority that made all other changes in the New Testament Church, we think will be evident from several particulars.

1. The whole Mosaic Dispensation was altered, and we should infer the same thing of the Sabbath.

It would be natural that when there were a new church, a new gospel, a new Mediator, new sacraments, new forms of worship, and new commandments; in a word, when, in the language of the Messiah, "all things" were "made new," the same rule should be extended to the Sabbath. But as the essential character of the Sabbath could not be altered, since it was of immutable morality; and as the proportion of time could not be altered, since this was a part of the original institution, and wisely adapted to the physical constitution of man, there remained nothing to alter but the day of its observance. The patriarchal Sabbath having been so placed as to commemorate the creation; the Mosaic, the Exodus; we should naturally infer that the Christian Sabbath would be so altered, with every other feature of the dispensation, as to commemorate the great fact of redemption.

2. Our Saviour, although bound to keep the whole law, and, therefore, the law of the Sabbath, lay in the grave during the Jewish Sabbath, and thus virtually abolished it.

There are two declarations of the Lord Jesus that establish this

proposition. The first is his memorable assertion, when defending his disciples from the charge of Sabbath-breaking, (Luke vi, 5,) "The Son of man is Lord also of the Sabbath." Why make this assertion, unless he meant to make some change in the law of the Sabbath? It was a triumphant defence of the disciples to refer to the great principle of necessity and mercy involved in the case of David; why, then, advance a claim to the power of changing the law of the Sabbath, unless he had determined to use this power? Unless we regard this as an implied prediction of an exercise of his sovereignty over the Sabbath, it appears irrelevant, weakening to the argument, and at variance with the uniform habit of the Saviour.

The second declaration is that contained in Matt. ix, 15, that when the bridegroom was taken away, then would the children of the bridechamber mourn. He was taken away, however, during the Jewish Sabbath. The Sabbath being, in its very nature, a festival, and a time of rejoicing, this act of the Head of the Church made it impossible for the Church to keep it according to its nature. It was to "the little flock" a day of gloom, defeat, and mourning; and not until the light of the first day of the week revealed to their sight the Lord of the Sabbath, were they able to enjoy its quiet rest. In, therefore, so ordering his death, that it should prevent the possibility of keeping the Sabbath; in causing the whole of the mighty machinery of the plan of redemption to stand still, and the ancient order of things to cease on this day, as to its typical efficacy, he did virtually abolish the Jewish, and establish the Christian Sabbath.

3. The Redeemer rose from the dead on the first day of the week, and by his resurrection completed the work of redemption; and thus consecrated this day to rest by the mightiest work the world ever saw.

It is marvellous that even prejudice should have induced men, in this discussion, to deny either of these premised facts. In regard to the first, it will be sufficient to refer to the account of the resurrection, and especially to Mark xvi, 9—"Now when Jesus had risen early, *the first day of the week*, he appeared to Mary Magdalene"—for the most positive assertion of the fact. The second fact, that the resurrection was the completion of the work of redemption in its purchase, appears from the reasonings of Paul in 1 Cor. xv, 17, 18: "And if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins. Then they also which are fallen asleep are perished." This averment can be true only on the ground that the resurrection was the crowning act of the work of redemption: the fact which, if

it be established, Christianity is safe; if it be overthrown, Christianity is destroyed.

This, then, being the completion of the new creation, which, by the afore-cited prophecy of Isaiah, was to supplant the old in the commemorations of the Church; and this being the mightiest benefit ever bestowed upon the world, it *ipso facto* consecrated the first day, as before the old creation had consecrated the seventh, as a day of rest. Had Christ designed that the commemorating festival of the Christian Church should remain the same with the Jewish, he would surely have risen on the seventh day, and not left his great work undone, and the day of joyous rest a day of anxious mourning. But having not completed his work until after the seventh day, we infer that he designed us, after his example, to rest and rejoice, not on the seventh day, but on the first, the glorious day when "the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy."

4. Our Lord Jesus Christ consecrated this day to worship, by meeting with his disciples for that purpose.

Four times during this day did he meet with his disciples in some way, and the last interview is minutely recorded. The disciples were met in the evening of the first day, when Christ came into their midst, and, breathing upon them, said, "Receive the Holy Ghost." This interview and bestowal of the Holy Ghost sanctified their assembly, and consecrated the day of that memorable assembling to worship. Had our Saviour designed them to observe the Jewish Sabbath, we should naturally expect to find him meeting with them on that day for this purpose. But when was their next meeting? On that day week, or, in Jewish phrase, after eight days. It is manifest that this meeting was by appointment, for Thomas was there with them, to have his doubts removed. At this meeting, also, Christ gave them his blessing, and thus hallowed the day. Why did he not meet with them on the seventh day, and observe the Jewish Sabbath with his disciples? The only answer that can be given is, that he did not design them to observe it, but intended, by these significant marks of favour, to consecrate the day of his resurrection to worship, as the Lord's day, and the Christian Sabbath.

5. It was farther consecrated to the peculiar promise of the Sabbath by the first proclamation of the gospel, the setting up of the Church, and the wonderful outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost.

That the day of Pentecost fell on the first day of the week appears from Lev. xxiii, 15, 16: "And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the Sabbath, . . . even unto the morrow after the seventh Sabbath, shall ye number fifty days." This, however, was

the day selected for the downfall of the Old Dispensation and the establishment of the New; for the first preaching of the gospel, which was one of the most important duties of the Sabbath; for the outpouring of the Spirit and the conversion of souls, which are the highest blessings the Sabbath can confer; and for the joy that went up from every part of the holy city at these "wonderful works of God." Can we conceive of a nobler consecration of the day than this? Has ever a day since the morning of the creation been so wonderfully honoured, and so evidently set apart for hallowed purposes? If, then, we imitate the apostles in the observance of this day in this manner, can we possibly be wrong?

6. Its consecration is farther evident from the example of the apostles.

The record we possess of the acts of the apostles is so brief, that much is omitted which would otherwise satisfy our queries on this subject. But there is one negative fact of great value in this investigation. We never find the apostles meeting Christians for worship on the seventh day. We find them meeting the Jews, because this was the only day they could have full access to them; and meeting the Gentiles, who frequented the synagogues on this day, for the same reason. But this is only what a missionary to the Jews would do in our own day on the Jewish Sabbath, or a missionary to the Mohammedans on the Mussulman Sabbath, without sanctioning, for a moment, the claim set up by either for the sixth or seventh day as the day of rest.

But the facts are different in regard to the first day of the week. In Acts xx, 6, 7, it is stated by Luke, "We came unto Troas in five days, where we abode seven days. And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached to them, ready to depart on the morrow."

Several points are manifest on the face of the record. It appears that Paul tarried until the first day, for the purpose of preaching to the disciples, and uniting in the Lord's Supper. This proves that they were accustomed to meet for this purpose on that day. The same thing appears from the form of expression used. It is not said, "On the first day of the week the disciples came together," as if this was a special meeting called to hear Paul; but, "On the first day of the week, *when* they came together;" when they were accustomed to come together for this purpose;* just as we should say, "on the fourth of July, when we came together to celebrate our national Independence." Being mentioned thus as a common custom, and a matter of

* For this use of the participle, see Winer's Idioms, part iii, § 46, 1, 9, and Buttman's Larger Greek Grammar, § 144, note 7.

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course, it proves that they kept the first day of the week, by assembling for worship, preaching the word, and celebrating the Lord's Supper. This being done under the authority of inspired men, we have the same warrant for keeping the first day of the week that we have for the other parts of the New Testament worship.

The next indication of apostolic example is found in 1 Cor. xvi, 2: "Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come."

The argument from this passage is misunderstood in the objection, that this is a mere private laying aside of money, which cannot hallow the day on which it was done. But, in the first place, this was an act of worship, for it was an offering to God for the benefit of the poor saints at Jerusalem. We learn from Philo and Josephus, that the Jews were accustomed to make these offerings on the Sabbath, as a part of the worship of the synagogue. And, as Paul informs the Corinthians that he had given the same command to the distant churches of Galatia, we infer that it was a general regulation all over the Church, thus ingrafting a well-known Sabbatic custom on the first day of the week. Now this must have been a collection made when they came together for worship, because this was a Jewish act of worship, and because, if they simply laid aside their bounty at home, this would not save gatherings when the apostle came; and the reason given for his injunction would be irrelevant and absurd. It is therefore implied, that in doing this act they were assembled for worship. But why was the first day specified? Had it been a private laying by of the savings of the week, the most natural time would have been the close of the week, the sixth day, when the week's business was done. If the seventh day had been kept as the day of worship, it would also have been named as the day of this collection. The placing of these collections on the first day of the week proves conclusively that they kept it, by apostolic authority, as the day of worship, or the Christian Sabbath.

The next indication we find in Rev. i, 10: "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day."

The object of the apostle John was to state on what day of the week the vision was seen; and hence he gives it this designation. This proves that the name was well known to Christians at this time, otherwise the use of it to point out a particular day would have been a mockery. Now what day was it? Not surely the seventh, for it is never so designated by any writer, sacred or profane. It could not be an indefinite time for any day, for it would then convey no information such as was required. It must, therefore, have been a

day belonging to the Lord in a peculiar sense; a day set apart for the service of Him who claimed to be the Lord of the Sabbath; which is but to say, that the Lord's day is the Christian Sabbath.

7. We gather the same thing from the doctrinal teachings of the apostles.

In Heb. iv, 9, 10, it is stated that Christ's resting from his works (which he did not do until the resurrection) was parallel with God's ceasing from his works of creation; and, therefore, he infers that there remaineth a σαββατισμός, a keeping of the Sabbath to the people of God. Whether this refers to the Sabbatic rest of heaven or that of earth, it, in either case, teaches that it follows the rule not of the "rest" of the creation, but that of Christ, which took place at his resurrection.

The only other passage we adduce is Col. ii, 16, 17: "Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is Christ." The "Sabbath days" here mentioned cannot be all the Jewish festivals, for they are included in the former terms, "holy day and new moon;" and the word Sabbath is not so used in the New Testament. It could not be the general duty of keeping the Sabbath, for this was a moral precept unrepealed. It must, therefore, be the Jewish Sabbath, as far as it was possible to alter it, and adapt it to the New Dispensation; and this was only as to the day of its observance. He then asserts that the Jewish Sabbath, being but a shadow, in its commemoration of the Exodus, of the great deliverance that was made at the resurrection, must give place to a fuller embodying of the substance, in making the Lord's day the Christian Sabbath. The only incident connected with the law of the Sabbath that partook of this shadowy character was the day; and hence this alone could be changed, in throwing aside the Mosaic regulations concerning the day of rest.

8. We infer the same thing from the universal practice of the Christian Church.

There is no fact in ecclesiastical history more undoubted, than the unanimous consent of the Primitive Church in keeping holy the Lord's day. In some of the churches composed of Jewish converts, the observance of the seventh day was tolerated, for the same reason that circumcision, and some other Jewish rites, were permitted during the existence of the temple. But where the seventh day was observed, it was accompanied by the observance of the Lord's day. About this fact ecclesiastical historians are agreed.*

* Murdoch's Mosheim, vol. i, p. 85; Torrey's Neander, vol. i, p. 295.

We propose to take up the chain of testimony which we have traced to the last of the apostles, and carry it forward to a date when the observance of this day becomes a part of the legal history of the Roman empire. There are but few writings remaining from the close of the New-Testament canon to the time of Constantine; but it is remarkable that there is scarcely one which does not contain a recognition of the practice of the Church in this particular. We subjoin a few of these testimonies, giving, as nearly as possible, the date of the writer's birth, and omitting controverted details.

Barnabas, the companion of Paul, and one of the seventy, thus speaks in his catholic epistle:—"For which cause" [namely, the declarations of God in prophecy] "we keep the eighth day with gladness, in which Jesus rose from the dead, and having manifested himself, (to his disciples,) ascended into heaven."*

Ignatius of Antioch, whom tradition declares to have been one of the children blessed by our Lord, and therefore born before the middle of the first century, thus writes:—"Let us no longer Sabbatize," [that is, keep the Jewish Sabbath,] "but keep the Lord's day, on which our life arose by him."†

Justin Martyr, born about A. D. 114, in his Second Apology for the Christians, says:—"On the day that is called Sunday, all both of country and city assemble together, and the commentaries of the apostles and the writings of the prophets are read, as time and occasion permit."‡ "On Sunday we all assemble together, because it is the first day, (of the week,) on which God, transforming the darkness and chaos, made the world; and Jesus Christ, our Saviour, on that day arose from the dead: for on Friday he was crucified, and on Sunday, appearing to his disciples, he taught them those things which we now present to you as our belief."§

Tertullian, who was born about A. D. 160, declares: "On the day of our Lord's resurrection, we ought not only to avoid this, (namely, bowing the knee in prayer,) but every species of anxiety; and also

* Ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς.—*Epist. Barnab.*, c. 15.

† Μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ Κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν δι' αὐτοῦ.—*Ep. ad Magnes*, c. 9.

‡ Τῇ δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενοντῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ, &c.—*Pro Christianis Apologia*, II. *Opera*, p. 98.

§ Τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα, ἐπειδὴ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρέψας, κόσμον ἐποίησε, καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη, &c., i. g. s., p. 99. See also *Dialog. cum Tryphone Judæo*, pp. 241, 245, 260; and the unknown author of *Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthodox*, p. 469..

lay aside our ordinary business, lest we give place to the devil."*

Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, who was born about A. D. 120, wrote an express treatise on this point, as we learn from Eusebius: —"Among these, also, was Irenæus, who, in the name of those brethren in Gaul over whom he presided, wrote an epistle, in which he maintains the duty of celebrating the mystery of the resurrection of our Lord, only on the day of the Lord."†

Theophilus of Antioch, contemporary with Irenæus, declares:— "Both custom and reason challenge from us that we should honour the Lord's day, seeing it was on that day that our Lord Jesus Christ completed his resurrection from the dead."‡

Dionysius of Corinth, who flourished about A. D. 170, declares: —"Now we keep the Lord's day holy."§

Melito of Sardis, who is one of our most important witnesses concerning the canon of Scripture, wrote a work on the Lord's day.‖

Origen, born A. D. 185, says, in his Homily on Exodus:—"But if it appears from the Holy Scriptures that God rained manna from heaven on the Lord's day, and did not on the Sabbath, the Jews can thereby understand that our Lord's day is preferred to the Jewish Sabbath."¶

The Apostolical Constitutions, which, though not of apostolic origin, are yet of very great antiquity, and date about this period, declare:—"What apology will he make to God, who does not assemble on the Lord's day to hear the saving word concerning the resurrection," &c.**

Clement of Alexandria, who flourished during the latter part of the second and beginning of the third century, says that "Plato predicts the Lord's day as holy, and explains the proper mode of keeping the day."††

Athanasius, born about A. D. 298, declares:—"We assemble on the Sabbath day, not returning again to Judaism, for we do not keep false Sabbaths; but we come together on the Sabbath, adoring Jesus, the Lord of the Sabbath. Formerly among the ancients the

* "Solo die dominico resurrectionis non ab isto tantum, sed omni anxietatis habitu et officio carere debemus, differentes etiam negotia, ne quem diabolo locum demus."—*Tertullian de Oratione*, c. 23.

† Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. lib. v, cap. 24.

‡ Quoted in Bingham, Orig. Eccles., lib. xx, cap. ii, § 5.

§ See Original in Bingham, *ut supra.*

‖ Eusebius, Eccles. Hist., lib. iv, cap. 26.

¶ Quoted in Bingham, lib. xx, cap. ii, § 1.

** Lib. ii, cap. 59, quoted in Pearce's Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 499.

†† Clem. Stromata, vii, quoted in Bingham, *ut supra.*

(Jewish) Sabbath was honoured, but the Lord changed the day of the Sabbath into the Lord's day."*

This testimony brings us to the time of Constantine, when the Lord's day was ordained to be a *dies non juridicus*, and its observance made a part of the laws of the Roman empire. In the edict proclaiming this ordinance, we find it recognized as an ancient and unquestioned institution; and although agricultural labours are allowed on that day, it is distinctly stated that it was only as works of necessity and mercy; and even this permission, in the unguarded form in which it was given in the law, was protested against by many councils, the canons of seven of which are given by Bingham.†

From the time of Constantine the usage is conceded; although the language of Christian writers does not materially vary from that used in the testimonies already quoted.

We ask any candid mind to look at this chain of evidence, showing an unvarying observance of this day from the time of the apostles, and of apostolic men down to the present day; and evincing a unanimity on this point that we scarcely find on any other, except the essentials of Christianity; and explain it fairly on any other ground than that the Lord's day was made the Christian Sabbath, by the same authority that ordained every other part of the New Dispensation.

9. Our last argument is drawn from the blessing of God on the observance of the Lord's day.

It is difficult to conceive that God could allow the Church to remain in so serious an error as this would be for eighteen hundred years; and that this error, unlike any other that has ever been held, should produce no perceptible evil. If the Church is mistaken on this point, it is the most gigantic Sabbath-breaking institution the world ever saw; and the God who so fearfully punished the Sabbath violations of the Old Testament Church, could not but frown upon this stupendous crime of the New. But, instead of this, the observance of the day has been pre-eminently blessed. The holiest names that glow in the Church's history are blended with its hallowed scenes; the richest ingatherings of souls that have ever been made, were made during its hours; the lands that have most sacredly cherished its observance have been the greenest spots among the nations; and the sweetest memories of piety, the richest trophies of grace, the prayers of the sainted dead, the blood of the noble martyred, the bright recollections of the past, and the brighter anticipations of the future; in a word, all that is most lovely, most glo-

* Augusti Archäologie, die Feste der Heretiker, 3, 346, note.

† Bingham, lib. xx, cap. ii, § iii.

rious, and most precious, in the heritage of the Church, cluster around and consecrate the observance of this "queen of the week." Would God thus endorse a lie? Has he ever thus blessed an error? What, then, is all the wondrous history of Lord's-day blessings and Lord's-day judgments, that stretches its belt of light along the past, but the permanent, cumulative testimony of the Great Head of the Church, that this change has been made by his direction, and according to his purpose?

Gathering together all these multiplied items of proof, we regard the conclusion as irresistible, that the Lord's day is, by the authority of God, the Christian Sabbath.

We had intended, as a corollary to this argument, to subjoin some remarks on the proper means of promoting the observance of the Lord's day; but our limits forbid farther enlargement. We will only remark, in conclusion, that while we most earnestly resist the fanatical crusade that Infidelity is now waging against all laws prohibiting certain violations of the Sabbath, we have no confidence in any effort of civil law to enforce its observance. The province of human legislation here, as on all similar subjects, is negative rather than positive; preventing the invasion of right, rather than enforcing the performance of duty. We hold the Sabbath to be the Paradise of the poor man's week; and all that we ask of those who bear the sword of earthly authority, is to take their stand at the portals of this "garden enclosed," and, with "the flaming brand," prohibit the unhallowed intrusion of King, or Congress, or lawless rapacity, to invade its sweet seclusion or disturb its holy rest. But we desire not that this guard shall itself intrude, to drive unwilling feet to these grateful shades, as to a weekly prison; and enforce where they are at liberty only to protect. And this we may rightfully demand: for the majority of every political community, be it Christian, Pagan, Mussulman, or Jewish, have a right to enact laws for the protection of their lawful privileges; and a minority have no right to disturb them in its peaceful exercise.

It is trifling with our common sense to say, that the rights of the poor artisan, labourer, or shop-keeper, are not seriously invaded by permitting his rapacious employer to force him to labour seven days in the week or lose his place; or by allowing his unscrupulous neighbour to open his shop beside him, attract his customers, and diminish his sales, as well as disturb his Sabbath quiet by the noise and bustle of trade. To protect the weary labourer and the humble trader from this petty, but, in the aggregate, most formidable oppression, we have a right to demand the interposing arm of legal prohibition, and to resist every effort to break down this munition

of laws, as the beginning of a tyranny the most cruel and heartless, because its sorest pressure must be felt in the end by the poor, the defenceless, and the unfriended.

To secure the proper observance of the Sabbath, we must look to other agencies than human law. We must teach men to love the Sabbath, as the lent day of Eden, and the prophetic type of Heaven, embodying a relic of the peace of the one, and a promise of the rest of the other. We must convince them that it is not only an obligation, but a blessing; that it is God's great gift to toiling man and beast; the link he has given to bind together things sacred and profane, things temporal and eternal; and by interfusing a heavenly spirit into our earthly life, to elevate, civilize, and refine society. We must teach the poor man to hail its soft light, as it steals into his cottage window, as the glad signal of Heaven to welcome him to the bosom of his family; to sweeten the joys of his humble home; to call him to the house of God, where his mind shall expand and his heart soften, as his hopes are remembered and his cares forgotten; while his toilsome lot on earth is gilded with a calm and holy light, as there rises to his gladdened vision the heritage of rest above. We must convince the rich man of the wise political economy of the Sabbath; its relation to a nation's wealth and greatness; its action as a great balance-wheel in human affairs, checking over-production and under-payment; preventing over-working and deterioration; restoring wasted energies; keeping alive the pure and powerful influence of domestic joys; compensating for the neglect of early education; and preparing the labourer to return refreshed, elevated, and cheered to the toil of another week. We must cause them to feel that the violation of Sabbath rest is as blind, suicidal, and ruinous an economy, as the robbery of the refreshing sleep of the night. When to this pervading sense of the value and sweetness of the Sabbath, there shall be added a waking church; a ministry burning with light as well as love; a membership emulous of the fervent spirit of their spiritual chiefs; a sanctified press; a purified literature, and a Christianized education; then shall we hope to see that Sabbath which is "a delight, the holy of the Lord, honourable;" that Sabbath whose golden promise has brightened the horizon of the future to the eye of prophecy; and which, when it weekly draws its girdle of light around the glad earth, shall aptly prefigure that blessed Sabbatism, where "the wicked shall cease from troubling, and the weary be at rest."

Art. III.—THE LITERATURE OF POLITICS:—THE REPORTER AND LETTER-WRITER.

Literature, in its historical application to the treatment of human affairs in general, seems to have formed itself, spontaneously, into three principal departments, successive in date, as well as distinct in purpose, and constituting the provinces, respectively, of the Chronicler, the Compiler, and the Commentator. In the special subject of Politics, these functions may be conceived as represented under the same conditions of development, by that tri-unity of the newspaper —the Reporter, the Correspondent, and the Editor.

Of this triple division of labour, the names are familiar in our own journalism. But the things themselves—which they indicate rather than designate—are these, as yet, equally definite? Are they comprehended (all, at least) in the relative destiny and the proper duties appertaining, actually and ultimately, to each of the offices? To explain the confusion, and note the imperfections, suggested in these questions, would, assuredly, be a service no less invaluable than it seems urgent toward the improvement of our public or political writing. It would be invaluable, not only for the reason that such writing is the chief instrument by which the affairs of a government like ours are to be conducted, its abuses corrected, and its powers controlled; but also because such writing, composing, as it does, the principal reading of the generality of our people, would be turned, by an easy improvement in manner as well as matter, to educate, instead of corrupting, the public taste. The need of this reform is a point upon which we do not dwell. The parties peccant would, most of them, recognize it themselves; and those who do not would be little profited, as the writer would be little pleased, by a resort to critical stricture, which is apt to be the more invidious the better it is deserved, and irksome in proportion as it is easy.

Besides, the object we propose has by no means so adventurous a scope. We shall be concerned with only one or two of these functionaries at all; and should the condition of these, or either of them, as at present practised among us, be incidentally laid bare a little in the prosecution of our purpose, surely we are not to blame that they prove a satire upon themselves. That purpose, then, is to give our readers some account of a new method of parliamentary reporting, invented several years ago in France, by one of the first political writers of the age—we mean M. de Cormenin—and described in the work* of this author which we had the pleasure of intro-

* Livre des Orateurs, part i, chap. 7.

ducing to our readers in a late number of the Review. It is so immeasurably in advance of anything of the kind in operation elsewhere, that it appears to us of the first importance to have it fundamentally understood and instituted adequately, at the outset, in this country.

The new form of political writing in question, which is already established, systematically, throughout France, is termed by the inventor, *Compte-rendu*—literally, Account-rendering. This would be both awkward and ambiguous English. To avoid both it and the inexpressive neology of the foreign original, we have thought it of peculiar consequence, in the circumstances, to suggest, if possible, an equivalent, at once significant, mono-epic, and already naturalized. As best combining these properties, we venture to propose the word *Synopsis*, for the art, and *Synopsist*, for its practitioners. The appropriateness of the term will be best judged of from the nature of the thing.

The method is not to be comprehended, satisfactorily, from de Cormenin's own exposition. He is mainly critical, after his general manner; he instructs much less than corrects, by his amusing caricatures of the partisan exaggerations of the press. He was, in fact, addressing himself, more immediately, to a community where the *Synopsis* had been in full operation and generally understood; and thus was naturally led to apply himself to its *abuses* chiefly. For us it would be necessary—were it only to relish his unrivalled sarcasm—to begin with studying the *uses* of the method. But to learn the uses, the nature, of an institution, we must always remount, if possible, the stream of its history, long or short; we must examine the situation from which it emanated, and ascertain the determining exigence which gave it birth. In applying this fundamental rule of inductive philosophy to the investigation of the *Compte-rendu*, or Synopsis, we must go back, in strictness, to the primitive forms of oratory—to the theory of eloquence in general; of which the eloquence of the political press should be classed as but a species.

The ancient orator—Demosthenes or Cicero—haranguing in the Agora or the Forum, debated the laws and discussed the public business, foreign and domestic, in the immediate presence of the people—then and there the political authorities of the state. This is our conception of the primitive and the proper province of popular eloquence. Now the people, wherever they possess this power, and to the extent that they wield it, must continue, according to the degree of their accessibility and intelligence, to be so addressed and appealed to, in some shape or other. This is inherent in the relations of things; and whatever is so, may, indeed, be still diverted, dissembled,

divided, even dissipated; but can never be entirely extirpated, nor permanently suppressed. Thus the ancient functions of the popular orator have nearly all disappeared; only, however, to take other forms, one or more, in obedience principally to the circumstances just indicated, namely, breadth of territory and grade of civilization.

The earliest of these transformations would be necessitated chiefly by the multiplication of the citizens beyond the capacity of a general assemblage. The natural remedy would be deputation; and thus the popular orator dwindles down to the parliamentary debater.

Afterward, with the slow growth of intelligence and public spirit, and also with some experience of their legislative agents, the people would again desire—not more perhaps from the principle of prudence, than an instinct of curiosity—to have the proceedings of their delegates (as of the orators of old) submitted to their immediate inspection. But this is physically impossible. From the contention of this moral desire with this mathematical necessity there results, through the instrumental concurrence of the press, the office of the Stenographer or Reporter; who may be conceived as a sort of speaking-trumpet to the parliamentary debater—a supplement, serving, in some degree, to restore him to the pristine footing of the popular orator.

But it is merely in *some degree*, and a degree extremely inadequate. The trumpet is too commonly but a leaden pipe, conveying the city sewer and the country ditch-water as contentedly as if they were rills from the classic fountains of Helicon or Aganippe. We invite the reader's attention to the admirable criticism of this subject in the work already referred to, (chapter on the *Reporter*.) He will be astonished that an expedient, chargeable with such accumulated imperfections and abuses, could have come, not, indeed, to obtain currency in the infant state of the representative system, but to maintain, of mere custom, in the comparative maturity of that system, its credit with an enlightened public. He will be astonished, we say, unless he should be philosopher enough to recollect, that the tentative advances of mankind vibrate, in all things, from extreme to extreme; until, by the mere *inertia* of the intellect, (called, in our day, its "*march*,") the contrary vagaries subside, in diminishing oscillations, to what the Peripatetics so well termed the golden mean. The office of the Reporter has been such an extreme; of which the inaccessibility of a whole people to the national councils was the impelling opposite.

There ought, therefore, to arise in time an intermediate institution, which should tend to exclude the grosser abuses and to satisfy the real exigences of the two situations respectively. The process of spontaneous improvement would be accelerated in this case peculiarly;

for the abuses in question are of a nature to be reciprocally promotive of each other, and thus to precipitate their common exposure. For example: the honourable gentleman who would hardly venture upon the forbearance of a popular assemblage of his constituents, taking advantage of the sufferance secured him by the "rules of the house," is often instigated, by the office of the Reporter, to a mischievous and wicked waste of the public time, money, and patience. If of the class called "spouters," he dilutes his few grains of sense, or (what is more perhaps to be regretted for its exemplary value) his unmingled nonsense, in an ocean of verbiage, which he knows is presently to overspread the land, as the measure—the *liquid* measure—of his parliamentary efficiency and oratorical genius; and if below even the capacity of a stringer of words, he has still a resource in the reporter, by whose ministry he may (for a consideration or a compliment) be set forth, in borrowed plumage, before his constituents and the country, an orator, as well as the best of them. Such is the effect upon the Representatives.

Upon the Reporter himself, on the other hand, there is manifestly a reaction correlatively pernicious. The raw material, which he is thus the occasion of stimulating, quickly crowds and gluts the market. At last the staple of what he has to reproduce will come to be subject to the hard alternative of being either forged, if readable, or oppressive, if genuine.

Now so monstrous a burlesque as this upon men's most serious affairs would at last burst the cerement of the most indurated habitude. The public mind would come to *feel*, even long before distinctly *conceiving*, the following plain and practical truths:—

1. That the parliamentary speaker should address himself to the merits of the question and the understanding of the assembly immediately before him; not to his constituents at home, or to the country at large—their partisan passions or national prejudices.

2. That the object of deliberative eloquence being to ascertain utility by discussion, not to precipitate action by excitement, the legislator should eschew the silly surplusage of declamatory forms, appropriate or pardonable only in assemblies purely popular; and, disdaining vulgar embellishments, should be ambitious of no other than the oaken ornament of true dignity, which is woven from the blending of loftiness of thought with simplicity of language, and is the meed of clearness of exposition and propriety of expression.

3. That the reporter, on his part, only serves, while fostering the contrary of all this, to pour it, confused or counterfeit, upon the newspaper-reading public; thus leaving in effectual ignorance of the course of affairs, not only those who have the taste, while paying the bill, to

revolt at the dish, but also the smaller number who may have the stomach to swallow it.

4. And, in fine, that all the busy public care, or indeed are concerned to know, on ordinary occasions, of parliamentary speeches is, simply *what* has been said in substance. It really matters little *how*, or even by whom, save as such circumstances may be found of use to characterize the tenor and effect of the proceedings, or may lead to correct and remedy the grosser incompetencies of the speakers.

These distinctions arrived at, the consequence would spontaneously be a new functionary of the press, destined *directly* to supplant the discredited system of parliamentary reporting,* by furnishing the public with the full substance and signification of the debates, in a compendious, clear, and consecutive form; and, *indirectly*, to react upon the representative body itself, with an influence as salutary as that of the Reporter has been quite the reverse.

Nor are the advantages of such an abridgment less certain. Let "honourable members" but know that the laborious tinsel of their amplification is to be stripped off, and its trailing drapery docked unpityingly; that they are to appear (if at all) before their constituents and the public in the contemptible nakedness of their confronted assertions, identical or contradictory, as chance may have willed it: let this be understood, and we may be sure that attention will soon be turned from the motley rhetoric and the superficial *area* of the speech, to its logic and matter. Those who have nothing of the latter ingredients to offer, will then be prudently resigned to move (in the allusion of Curran, and the words of Livy) to the tune of *pedibus ire in sententiam*. Men of stronger natural parts, but without that "fatal facility" of expression termed flippancy, will usefully apply their industry, and restrict their ambition, to the study of the subject and its statistical elucidation; while the men of general knowledge and speaking ability combined, will also rise, quite naturally, to their legitimate level, and obtain, in the conduct of public affairs, a salutary preponderance of authority and effect. Thus would all things be restored to their places.

Now, this grand agent of parliamentary discipline, this "new organ" of popular instruction as well as information, is the *Compte-rendu* of M. de Cormenin; of which we have endeavored thus to trace the analytical history, as alone adequate to put the reader in full possession of the nature, the province, and the prospects of an institution, in this country so peculiarly important, and as yet so new.

Yet not new entirely. France was naturally the first to conceive

* It is not meant to deny that the Reporter will always remain useful for special occasions.

and to organize it, in virtue of her position as intellectual precursor of the race. But its advent among us, too, should be hastened beyond the normal order by the singular enormity of the abuses which, as we have seen, it comes to remedy. Accordingly, the practice of reporting our parliamentary speeches, or at least of producing them by other than the official newspapers, is falling into general and very just contempt. Under prestige of the superior importance of the proceedings, it finds an asylum still, indeed, in the federal legislature. But who any longer reads these harangues, even when best and briefest? Only the makers themselves, their printers, and the porter-house loungers among their constituents. From the awful columns of the Reporter—that Sahara of all sense or significance, that wilderness of type which might breed a doubt whether the press be a blessing or a burden—even the people now turn to the summary of the "Letter-writer." This Letter-writer, then, we conceive to be the American germ of the Synopsist. Very crude, to be sure, as yet—a mere thing of shreds, and patches, and personalities; but it will rise with the national intellect—the ocean above the main level of which the literature, and much less the journalism, of no country can ever be naturally elevated.

The best, perhaps, to be done meanwhile is to diffuse adequate conceptions of both its capabilities and requisites. Of the latter, the principal by far, it need hardly be said, is competent talent. The Reporter requires no more than a certain mechanical dexterity of memory and muscle. To the Editor, armed with scissors, and duly initiated in the cant and crotchets of passing politics, all learning and ability beyond would seem to be regarded as disqualification. But the Synopsist will demand the very highest order of analytic and expository talent combined. He should have the comprehensive perspicacity to sift out any particles of useful sense or suggestion from the most tedious and jumbled rhodomantade. He should have the patient penetration to open the disordered folds, and to unwind the flimsy *ambages* of tawdry ornament and tiresome impertinence. Above all, he should have the practised logic to seize, as they pass on the wing of words, a thousand thread-ends of argument, knotting and conjoining them, so as to afford the utmost force of which they may be collectively capable.

The capabilities and qualities of the art are correspondently rare and important. Besides the special bearing of the several speeches upon the subject of discussion, it should present the general result of a comparison of the opposite sides upon the state of the question in debate. Not only this; but it should preserve the *history* of the debate itself; and upon each topic, from day to day, from session to session,

or year to year, according to duration—in order that the public may be kept in constant possession of the proper point of view, the effectual progress, and the actual position of each and every subject of parliamentary deliberation. But it seems unnecessary to expatiate on the value, not less obvious than immense, of a system thus calculated to set the popular reader, at once, in this happy point of view, the focal distance, as it were, of parliamentary action, from which he would be enabled to take in, at a glance, the total merits of each special proceeding, and, at the same time, the general course and condition of public affairs.

Finally: as the Reporter (as above remarked) was a provisional expedient, whereby the parliamentary speaker was roughly supplemented, so to say, into the popular orator; even so might the Synopsist be considered, not only a like supplement, disembarrassed of its crudities, but, in some respects, an improvement, perhaps, upon the pristine form itself of eloquence—an improvement, that is, unless when a Demosthenes or a Mirabeau should chance to be the speaker. For the province of the Synopsist does not stop with divesting the orator of all incidental particulars, (not merely the superfluous, but even the local or otherwise circumstantial,) and with fairly representing the essence, both of his statements and reasoning; a principal, and perhaps the most characteristic feature of it consists, besides, in supplying, by explication or comment, that frequently most suggestive and significant portion of every spoken discourse which is apt to escape the generality of readers as well as hearers. In this particular the Synopsist, it may be added, is not without analogy to the chorus of the ancient theatre; criticising and moralizing upon the performance as it passes, in order to render it more intelligible or more edifying to the spectators than the illusory ends of the actors (dramatic or oratorical) would have well permitted.

Somewhat such is, as we at least conceive it, the nature and scope of the *Compte-rendu;* or, rather, the *Synopsis*, as we have ventured to render it; how much more expressively, is now submitted to the reader. The appropriateness of the name, it will be remembered, was, at the outset, reserved for the result of the discussion, now terminated, to decide. And meagrely though it represents our conception of the art to be described—at least in its ultimate compass and accomplished character—the sketch will be recognized as in exact conformity with the term, in its correctest acceptation, both etymological* and English. To this complete institution of the Synopsis, to this consummation so patriotically to be desired, we venture to hope the foregoing remarks may prove conducive inchoatively, at least. For

* Σύν-†ὄπτομαι; said of things so disposed as to be seen all at once and together.

with only an adequate idea of their vocation, to begin with, our newspaper correspondents, or letter-writers, might be expected soon to advance, upon the natural progress of things, in this particular.

There is, moreover, a certain developement, recent and remarkable, of this natural progression, which bids fair to accelerate the consummation in question beyond a thousand dissertations: we allude to the application of the electric telegraph to the transmission of news. The "Letter-writer" had, for some time, been gradually supplanting the Reporter, by filching off the cream of the parliamentary proceedings; leaving the latter to flood, unmitigatedly, the nauseated public with the insipid residuum of the thrice-whipped whey. But scarcely is he himself in possession of his pride of place, than in steps the nimble-fingered and lightning-winged telegraph, and leaves him, in turn, as destitute (*id est*, as dull) as his elder brother *news*-monger.

Here is, we cannot forbear remarking, a striking instance of the mode of operation of that great law of progression which has been exemplified systematically, and illustrated variously, in the preceding pages. But this use of the telegraph is suggestive of a still grander order of reflection. It is, in fact, a case—the most refined, because the latest, not to say the last, in this direction—of the old encroachment of machinery upon labour; that is to say, the supersedure, by the mechanical forces of inert, of certain forces, no less mechanical, of animate, nature. The obvious and necessary effect of this progressive limitation of the sphere of voluntary action in the mechanical arts, of this retrusion of mind by the advancing dominion of scientific laws, will be to throw the pure intellect back upon itself, and into its proper atmosphere; to confine its range, to compress its energies, and thus drive it to draw from its own spiritual evolution new modes of activity, more and more purely mental, by unimagined resources of power over the physical forces of nature. It is also curious to note, that this grand tendency affords a scale whereby to estimate the degree in which the several occupations of life should be considered as mechanical or as mental. But far more valuable is the assurance and consolation which it gives, that Intellect—after having so long been scoffed, scorned, and subjected, by the brute material powers, successively, of superstition, wealth, number—will end in being the monarch, the engineer, of the *mechanized* world.

But to return to the encroachment of the telegraph upon the "occupation" of our Synopsist. It must have the consequence of forcing him to seek such materials of interest as the telegraph cannot supply; to turn from mere facts and bare repetition, (which a parrot can do as well as he,) and embark his labour somewhat more deeply

in the mine of science and analysis, where he is sure to be supplanted by no merely mechanical agency. A necessity, too, so pressing must be of rapid, as well as powerful efficiency in promoting the perfection of this new department of journalism. When it shall have attained this destined perfection, the Press, we may predict, will have made its best, as probably its last contribution to the support of popular liberty and the conduct of representative government.

Art. IV.—CHANNING.

Memoir of William Ellery Channing; with Extracts from his Correspondence and Manuscripts. 3 vols., pp. 427, 459, 494. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848.

"I AM sick of opinions. I am weary to hear them; my soul loathes this frothy food. Give me solid and substantial religion; give me an humble, gentle lover of God and man; a man full of mercy and good faith, without partiality and without hypocrisy; a man laying himself out in the work of faith, the patience of hope, the labour of love. Let my soul be with these Christians, wheresoever they are, and whatsoever opinion they are of." Let not the scrupulous reader be alarmed at this liberalism; these are not the words of the heresiarch William Ellery Channing. They were written by one "John Wesley, *late fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford.*" But we venture the opinion, that, had John Wesley known personally William Ellery Channing, he would have drawn his portrait with about such lines. Southey has a paragraph on what he calls "Wesley's perfect charity;" in which the poet affirms that Wesley "judged kindly of the Romanists, and of heretics of every description, wherever a Christian disposition and a virtuous life were found;" and that "he published the lives of several Catholics and one *Socinian*, for the edification of his followers." This Socinian was the "good man," Thomas Firmin. Wesley, in his prefatory remarks to the memoir, says: "I was exceedingly struck at reading the following life, having long settled it in my mind that the entertaining wrong notions concerning the Trinity was inconsistent with real piety. But I cannot argue against matter of fact. I dare not deny that Mr. Firmin was a pious man, although his notions of the Trinity were quite erroneous."

This "pious man," Thomas Firmin, was a Socinian; William Ellery Channing was what all orthodox believers will admit to be much better: he was an Arian, and a very high one; but, more than this, he was a man of purest sincerity, of profound humility, and universal charity. Channing must in fact be admitted to have been

either a saint or a hypocrite; and the man who, after a personal acquaintance with him, or the reading of his works and biography, is prepared to say he was a hypocrite, may be assured that he is not much unfitted to be one himself. We have not the slightest sympathy with Dr. Channing's heterodoxy; we lament, deeply lament, that his otherwise radiant character is marred by any such important defect; and that the reproach of heresy is to counteract, to a great extent, the due influence of his noble writings—writings which, notwithstanding his dogmatic errors, exhibit powerfully the real genius of Christianity, and, in their application of its great ethical principles to the social progress of man, anticipate the better ages to come more than any other productions of our century. It is a delicate task, then, to which we sit down: that of drawing honestly the portrait of a great and good man, against whom the theological opinions of our readers and ourself so strongly predispose us; but we shall proceed in the attempt with determined frankness.

The events worthy of chronological note in Channing's life are few; and it is not important to our present design to narrate them fully. He was born at Newport, Rhode Island, April 7, 1780; entered Harvard University in his fourteenth year; graduated at the age of eighteen; spent a part of the ensuing two years as a private tutor in Richmond, Virginia; returned to Cambridge as Regent (a subordinate office) in 1801; was settled as pastor of Federal-street Church, Boston, in June, 1803; visited Europe in 1822; began his celebrated essays on Milton, Napoleon, and Fenelon, which distinguish the commencement of his literary career, proper, in 1826; visited the West Indies in 1830; commenced his anti-slavery labours in 1835; and died Oct. 2, 1842.

To the American community in general Channing is chiefly known as a theologian; while, on the other side of the Atlantic, where his writings are more current, and better appreciated, his fame is chiefly that of a literary man and a philanthropist. The common impression, that he was the leader of the Unitarian movement in this country, is false. By the publication of his celebrated sermon at the ordination of Mr. Sparks, in Baltimore, in 1819, the doctrinal position of Unitarianism was more generally made known in the American community than at any former date. By this accident, and still more, perhaps, by the fact that his literary reputation elevated him above all others engaged in the movement, he became recognized as its head, although it could boast of earlier advocates and abler polemics.

"It [the Baltimore discourse] gave its author the name of leader and head of the Unitarian denomination in this country, although we had far more ac-

complished theologians; and no individual was farther from claiming any authority in matters of opinion. He was never the apostle of a doctrine or a sect."*

At the crisis of the secession of Unitarianism from Calvinistic orthodoxy, or rather the secession of the latter from Unitarianism, he was somewhat active in the controversy: but not so much in defence of liberal theology as of liberal *rights*. The reader of his memoirs and his articles in the "Christian Disciple," (the Unitarian organ of those times,) cannot fail to see that he exerted himself, not so much to vindicate the new opinions of the period, as the *right* of his brethren to discuss them without ecclesiastical proscription; a right certainly not very questionable under the Congregational *régime* of the New-England Churches. He says himself:—

"It was not so much for the purpose of defending these opinions, as of encouraging fellow-Christians to use their own minds, and to examine freely the doctrines of religion, that I entered the field of controversy. I felt then, what I now more deeply feel, that the human mind is to make progress by freedom, by the deliberate, impartial, and independent exercise of its faculties."

It was, in fact, that regard for individual liberty of thought which was the passion, the moral idiosyncrasy, of the man—the source alike of his chief excellencies and chief errors—that drew him into the polemical arena; and when he had manfully defended the liberty of the mind, he paused but little to dabble in the subordinate questions, but gave his energies to more spiritual and practical interests. As late as 1841 he says:—

"I do not speak as a Unitarian, but as an independent Christian. I have little or no interest in Unitarians, *as a sect*. I have hardly anything to do with them. I can endure no sectarian bonds."

What were Channing's *theological opinions?* To say he was a Unitarian, in the etymological sense of the word, would be just, and so it would be to say the same of John Calvin, or John Wesley; to say he was a Unitarian, in the denominational use of the word at present in New-England, would be very vague; for what is more vague than the existing theology of New-England Unitarianism? Had it not been for what we have chosen to call his accidental prominence in the Unitarian movement, we believe that the impartial theological critic would classify him most readily with Locke, Samuel Clarke, Watts, and similar thinkers, and extend to him the charity with which the defective tenets of these great and good men have been regarded. He expressly placed himself in the rank of Dr. Watts, and disclaimed the views of Priestley, Belsham, and Socinians generally. The later liberalism of Unitarianism—invalidating the sacred canon; denying the miracles, the superhuman character of Christ, redemption by him,

* Christian Examiner for September, 1848.

future punishment, &c.—he did not share; and to his exemption from these disastrous errors we ascribe the superior spirituality, nay, we are compelled to say *holiness*, which was the very temper of his being, and will render him, in the estimation of the more impartial future, such an anomaly among Unitarians as Fenelon was among Romanists. His biographer declares:—

"The fact undeniably was, that, while he formed the most free and generous estimate of human nature, he held opinions, in regard to the Divine government, spiritual influences, a Mediator, and the kingdom of heaven, which, by most liberal Christians, would be considered rather mystical than rational."

His views of the character of Christ are indeterminate; but full of reverence and love:—

"God has given his own Son—a being respecting whose nature, perhaps, revelation communicates no precise ideas; but whom we are yet taught to view as sustaining a peculiar relation to the infinite Father, and peculiarly beloved by him. Jesus Christ is the Son of God in a peculiar sense; the temple of the Divinity; the brightest image of his glory. In seeing him we see the Father. . . . We hear him claiming the honours of the Son of God, of the promised Messiah, of the Saviour of the world. We not only hear him assenting to the question, 'Art thou the Christ?' but adding to his assent a declaration of his glory, which he must have known would have been peculiarly offensive to the Jews, and applying to himself language which, under the old dispensation, had been limited to God—thus expressing his intimate union with the Father. According to these Scriptures, Jesus Christ is not a Teacher whose agency was chiefly confined to the time when he was on earth. *He ever lives, and is ever active for mankind.* He sustains other offices than those of Teacher; he is Mediator, Intercessor, Lord, and Saviour. He has a permanent and constant connexion with mankind, and a most intimate union with his Church."

While he dissented from the precise definitions of the atonement usually given by orthodox writers, and (as in his celebrated "New-York Sermon") assailed them with more rhetoric than logic, he nevertheless believed in redemption through Christ. He gives the following statement of the opinions of himself and some of his associates:—

"We agreed in our late conference that a majority of our brethren believe that Jesus Christ is more than a man; that he existed before the world; that he literally came from Heaven to save our race; that he sustains other offices than those of a Teacher and Witness to the truth; and that he still acts for our benefit, and is our Intercessor with the Father. This we agreed to be the prevalent sentiment of our brethren. With respect to the Atonement, the great body of liberal Christians seem to me to accord precisely with the author of Bible News, [Noah Worcester,] or rather, both agree very much with the profound Butler. Both agree that Jesus Christ, by his sufferings and intercession, obtains forgiveness for sinful men; or that, on account, or in consequence, of what Christ has done and suffered, the punishment of sin is averted from the penitent, and blessings, forfeited by sin, are bestowed. The doctrine of the Atonement, taken in the broad sense which I have before stated, is not rejected by Unitarians."

This statement is, however, qualified with an emphatic denial that "the ever-blessed God suffered and died on the cross;" a denial which

we would all make with equal emphasis. On this greatest of all subjects, it must be admitted, in the language of a foreign journal, "that, though he believed in some mysterious way, which is not explained, that Jesus came to save the world; that he himself, if saved at all, was to be so through the mediation and intercession of the Redeemer;" yet his position here was "not so clear and defined as that taken by him on questions of infinitely less importance to himself and to others, on almost every other question to which he had turned his attention."* Still we believe he so far comprehended, and, above all, relied upon the mediatorial office of our Lord, as to experience its efficacy in his own soul. Christ was the ever-recurring theme of his writings. Christ's teachings, his example, his glorious mediation —whatever mystery might encompass it—were to him the only hope of the world, not only of its purely religious interests, but of its social and political, its temporal and eternal destinies. He never refers to the subject of Christ's character, aside from sectarian disputation, without kindling with ardour; and if to be imbued with the meekness and love of Christ, is the mark of true discipleship, then assuredly this great but erring man was a Christian.

Channing believed in regeneration, or the "new birth," though, with most theological writers, he held that it was usually a gradual experience. His language is often quite as strong on this subject as the customary style of evangelical authors:—

"A religious character, then, is an acquisition, and implies a change; a change which requires labour and prayer, which requires aid and strength from Heaven; a change so great and important, that it deserves to be called a *new birth*. The Christian is a new man.—By the precepts, doctrines, motives, promises of Christianity, and by the secret influences of God's Spirit on the heart, they have been raised to a faith, hope, and love which may be called a new life. They have been born again."

While at Richmond, surrounded by irreligion and immorality, he believed himself the subject of this inward change. He wrote to his uncle:—

"I believe that I never experienced that *change of heart* which is necessary to constitute a Christian, till within a few months past. The worldling would laugh at me; he would call conversion a farce. But the man who has felt the influences of the Holy Spirit can oppose fact and experience to empty declamation and contemptuous sneers. You remember the language of the blind man whom Jesus healed: 'This I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see.' Such is the language which the real Christian may truly utter. Once, and not long ago, I was blind,—blind to my own condition, blind to the goodness of God, and blind to the love of my Redeemer. Now I behold, with shame and confusion, the depravity and rottenness of my heart. Now I behold, with love and admiration, the long-suffering and infinite benevolence of Deity. All my sentiments and affections have lately changed. I once considered mere moral

* Tait's Edinburgh Magazine.

attainments as the only object I had to pursue. I have now solemnly given myself up to God. I consider supreme love to him as the first of all duties, and morality seems but a branch from the vigorous root of religion. I love mankind, because they are the children of God. I practise temperance, and strive for purity of heart, that I may become a temple for his Holy Spirit to dwell in."

He was some time, however, advancing toward this point of his spiritual progress. Years prior to it, he had been awakened to an interest in religion during a revival in New-London, where he was preparing for college in the family of his uncle; while at Cambridge he made some progress, and determined to devote himself to the Christian ministry; but at Richmond he emerged into clearer light, though, as he afterward insisted, his conversion was a life-long process. When questioned by a good Calvinist whether he had not, at some time, been converted, he replied, "I would say not, unless the whole of my life may be called, as it truly has been, a *process* of conversion." To which his orthodox friend quaintly answered, "Then, friend Channing, you were born regenerate; for you certainly are now a child of God."

His later references to his experience at Richmond are very touching. The death of his father had reduced the resources of his family, and compelled him to accept the office of a private tutor in that city. Infidelity and iniquity prevailed around him:—

"I lived alone, too poor to buy books, spending my days and nights in an out-building, with no one beneath my roof except during the hours of school-keeping. There I toiled as I have never done since; for gradually my constitution sank under the unremitting exertion. With not a human being to whom I could communicate my deepest thoughts and feelings, and shrinking from common society, I passed through intellectual and moral conflicts, through excitements of heart and mind, so absorbing as often to banish sleep, and to destroy almost wholly the power of digestion. I was worn well-nigh to a skeleton. Yet I look back on those days and nights of loneliness and frequent gloom with thankfulness. If I ever struggled with my whole soul for purity, truth, and goodness, it was there. There, amid sore trials, the great question, I trust, was settled within me, whether I would obey the higher or lower principles of my nature—whether I would be the victim of passion, the world, or the free child and servant of God. . . . In a licentious, intemperate city, one spirit, at least, was preparing, in silence and loneliness, to toil, not wholly in vain, for truth and holiness."

The descriptions of the spiritual life which are scattered through Dr. Channing's writings, would (were it not for his studied avoidance of the usual theological technics, and the peculiarity of his modes of thought) befit the pages of Jeremy Taylor or William Law; the latter was indeed his favourite practical writer. The supreme love of God was to him the central element of religion; he dwelt upon it with the fervour and absolute emphasis of Fenelon, and verged upon, if he did not actually adopt, the doctrine of Disinterestedness, as taught by Hopkins, whose ministry he occasionally attended in New-

port. The cold and lifeless didactics, usual to Socinianism, entered not into his ministrations; if he chose not to distinguish morality from religion, it was not because he reduced the latter to the former, but because he exalted the former to the latter—basing morals on piety. There is, indeed, throughout his writings that meek but fervid spirituality which has always been the common trait of sanctified minds, whether of Fenelon among Romanists, Edwards among Calvinists, or Fletcher among Arminians—a mark of essential identity in spirit, notwithstanding their utter variance in matters of opinion and form.

It was this evangelical temper, together with his abstinence from polemical strife, that produced, in the latter part of his life, the report that he had essentially modified, if not abandoned, his earlier opinions. His biographer takes special care to guard his reputation against this suspicion; we are convinced that he died, as he had lived, a high Arian; but believe, at the same time, that he perceived, in his maturer years, the indefiniteness of most of his theological opinions, and lost, proportionately, his tenacity for them. There was a rich ripening of his religious character as he approached the end of his life; but on many of the topics of former and ardent controversy he speaks with cautious misgivings; he had become convinced of their difficulty, had waived them, had become anxious to settle down into godly repose, performing the evident duties, and cherishing the consoling affections and hopes of the Gospel. We mention this fact as not so much a detraction from his opinions, as a beautiful aspect of his later history; one not uncommon to good men in the ripeness of their years and piety, whatever may have been the earlier severities of their prejudices. In 1841, about a year before his death, he wrote:—

"I am more detached from a denomination, and strive to feel more my connexion with the universal Church, with all good and holy men. I am little of a Unitarian, have little sympathy with the system of Priestley and Belsham, and stand aloof from all but those who strive and pray for clearer light, who look for a purer and more effectual manifestation of Christian truth."

Of Unitarianism, as a system or movement, he unquestionably did not feel satisfied in his later years. In 1837 he wrote as follows:—

"I feel that among liberal Christians the preaching has been too vague, has wanted unity, has scattered attention too much."

In 1839 he thus expresses himself:—

"I would that I could look to Unitarianism with more hope. But this system was, at its recent revival, a protest of the understanding against absurd dogmas, rather than the work of deep religious principle, and was early paralyzed by the mixture of a material philosophy, and fell too much into the hands of scholars and political reformers; and the consequence is, a want of vitality and force, which gives us but little hope of its accomplishing much under its present auspices or in its present form."

Channing was remarkable, as a theologian, for the amenity of his spirit. There was but one class of opinions which he ever assailed with much severity. His hostility to Calvinism was absolute; he turned away with instinctive horror from its doctrines. He declared that he could not hear them "without shuddering," and they appeared to him "more dishonourable to the Universal Father than any error born in the darkness of Popery."

Channing's peculiarities—his excellencies and his faults as a theologian—are mostly referable to two causes, namely, his extreme opinion of the *individual right of free thought*, and that *general and moral sort of logic*, if we may so call it, which was the characteristic habit of his mind.

Liberty of thought, especially in matters of religion, was to him the most sacred right of humanity; he seldom refers to it in his writings without catching from the subject a higher inspiration and a nobler style. It was the passion of the man, born in him, and glowing with unabated ardour, through all his struggles and misgivings of opinion, through the retrospections of his advanced years, —so often chillingly corrective of the sentiments of men of genius,— and through the last labours of his life. It was the chief motive which induced him, as we have seen, to take an active part in the Unitarian controversy; it was the strongest reason of his invincible abhorrence of slavery; it led him several times to defend publicly the press, when he admitted that its liberty was perniciously used; it caused him to place his name the first on a petition for the liberation of Kneeland, when imprisoned for horrible public blasphemies. From the time, indeed, that he entered the pulpit, a youth of twenty-three years, till he descended into the grave, did he utter an uncompromising remonstrance against all restrictions on the glorious liberty of the human soul. Honour to his memory for it, notwithstanding his heresies in this, as in other respects! Theologian though we be, we cannot but admit his admirable and almost singular peculiarity in this respect. Theologians and sectarians have been enthusiastic enough for liberty of conscience when deprived of it, but have generally deemed it more orthodox to arrogate it to themselves than to extend it to their competitors. Channing demanded it for all men, and gave it as liberally as he claimed it.

He did not err in asserting this right, but in defining it. It is undoubtedly a delicate question how far a man should doubt received opinions till he can prove their truth. There are two considerations, however, which show that a habit of faith in received opinions is more legitimate than a habit of doubt. One is, the unquestionable inability of the mass of mankind, from the want of

time or of intelligence, to ascertain the evidence of most opinions. The other is, the fact that, as an adaptation to this necessity, we are placed in circumstances during childhood and youth which inevitably educate us to such a reliance on received doctrines. The Philosophers may be Pyrrhonists—the people cannot be; it would be contrary to nature for them to be skeptical. The millions are compelled by a necessity as absolute as fate to adopt most of their opinions, on the higher questions of truth, from tradition or testimony. We are not sure, indeed, that there is not, above the necessity and the training referred to, a natural law or instinct for the same end. Let us not, then, speak too harshly of the "prejudices of education," the servility of the popular mind; much of the orderly beauty of social life, of the reverence and loyalty which protect the sacredness of public institutions, and of the restraining influence of religious sentiments on individual conduct, is due to that generous confidence in the testimony of the past and in the testimony of our fellows, which it is the too prevalent custom of these times to decry. Let us have liberty; in God's name let the millions have it; but they are the enemies of men, as of God, who teach that the moderation which is essential to true wisdom, and the faith that God has wrought into our nature, are to be put away in the struggle for human emancipation.

Channing would never so teach; but there was an habitual tendency in him to such an extreme, and it is manifest throughout his writings. In his youth he would not read theological writers till he had made up his own opinions, lest he might be wrongly prepossessed—a rule which, however plausible, requires much qualification, for it is certainly no small stretch of presumption in a young man to suppose his immature powers, biased, too, as they inevitably must be, by the prejudices of early education, can ascertain religious truth, whether from revelation or reason, better than the mature faculties of the Butlers, Watsons, or Chalmers, who stand ready to help him. Channing condemned the opinions of that superficial sophist, Parker, of Boston; and yet applauded the freedom with which they were uttered—as if there were no prudential restrictions to be self-imposed on the popular publication of one's opinions, when they are confessedly of a recondite character, are but in the process of their discovery, and, if they should happen to be false, must be disastrous to the best sentiments of the people. Is it really the wisdom of a high philosophy to proclaim, as from the house-tops, opinions which would break down the most venerated institutions of society, and to do so while, from their immaturity, such new opinions are yet subject to constant revision and modifi-

cation by their authors? Is, indeed, that peremptory rashness, falsely called courage, with which new doctrines are now-a-days announced, preferable to the modesty which gave to the Socratic method the interrogative form, and the want of which, in the Sophists, called forth the remonstrances of Plato and his great master?

This love of individual freedom induced Channing to eschew almost entirely the noble combinations of good men, for good purposes, by which so much has been achieved in these latter days. He would preach eloquently on Temperance; and, with his distinguished classmate, Judge Story, adopted teetotalism while yet in college; but he would not "sign the pledge." He preached against War, and the Peace Society published his sermon; but he refused to join their organization. He wrote against Slavery, and the Anti-Slavery Society issued his books; but he never united with them. Individualism was his hobby; but suppose all the strong men who conduct our philanthropic societies should ride the same hobby, what would become of our best schemes of reform?

Channing, to say the least, was vague on this subject, as he was on most others. With his fine genius, and finer *morale*, the extreme freedom of opinion which he asserted, was somewhat guarded against its natural results; but in many of his compeers it proved disastrous. It led Parker to utter Rationalism; Emerson to Pantheism; Brownson, through we know not how many theological somersets, till he came at last, head downwards, into the mire of Popery; and J. Blanco White, Channing's correspondent and ideal of a self-emancipated mind, it conducted into inextricable mazes of doubt and despondence.

We have mentioned, as a second characteristic of Channing, "a general, or moral sort of logic," which we think was the master-power of his mind, and the chief source at once of the excellencies and defects of his opinions. Probable reasoning, as well as mathematical, proceeds upon certain original, or, as they are more commonly called, ultimate truths, which are incapable of proof, and need no proof, because the very constitution of the mind compels their recognition. The axioms of mathematics are of no more practical authority than are the original conditions of moral belief, when the latter have fair play; but, nevertheless, the difference which exists between the respective *processes* of mathematical and probable reasoning extends also to the original conditions of the two kinds of proof. Every man admits, instantly, that the sum of all the parts is equal to the whole; every man admits, too, the conclusions of probable reasoning at a certain point of evidence, and would stake his all upon them, as fearlessly as upon a conclusion

deduced from mathematical axioms. But the difference is, that different men require different degrees of moral evidence to bring them to the same conclusion; and this arises from a difference in the strength of the original principles of moral reasoning in different minds. Some men—and not unfrequently men of superior faculties—seem constitutionally inclined to skepticism; others, without rare sagacity, have, nevertheless, a happy and healthful appreciation of moral evidence—a sound faith in all things good and true—without fanaticism.

This difference respecting probable reasoning in general, becomes still more strongly marked when the subjects of such reasoning are of a purely speculative or of an ethical character. In fine, the original grounds of probable reasoning, though as constitutional in the mind as those of mathematical proof, are, unlike the latter, dependent for their force and vividness upon the *moral idiosyncrasies* of the man. And we mean something special by this phrase: we do not mean any superinduced moral state—though this doubtless has great effect—but an original aptitude for right moral conclusions; men of sanctified minds have sometimes approved most barbarous evils; while others, of no special piety, and no better external lights, have seen and denounced them. The Demon of Socrates was his fine moral discernment.

What we mean, then, by Channing's peculiarity in this respect is, that he possessed this aptitude in a degree which we are disposed to call quite anomalous. Our conjectures of what a man would have been under other circumstances, must, of course, be quite *conjectural;* but we cannot place Channing down on the moral level of any age in which we may suppose him to have lived. Had he lived in a period of barbarous heathenism, his warm sensibility could not have led him into its fanaticism, for the philosophic element was too strong in him for that; had he lived in an age of brilliant Pagan civilization, like that of Athens, he could not have been a Pyrrhonist, for his fine sensibility would not admit it. It is a strong statement: but we should not hesitate to make it, to one who had studied him either personally or in his writings, that had he lived under the latter circumstances he would most probably have been the friend of Socrates and Plato, and have combined the ethical wisdom of the one with the splendid idealism of the other. Such a man as Dr. Channing must have stood majestically in advance of his age, whenever and wherever he had lived. He lived, according to the sense of the present generation, at least, in the best age of the world, and yet was far in front of it; if it reaches his radiant position in two centuries, the signs of the times are certainly quite illusive.

This fine faculty for moral discrimination seemed almost an instinct in Channing; he appeared to *feel* the right or wrong of a subject at once. On all great moral and social questions—the inherent rights of man, freedom of the press, war, popular ameliorations, education, penal jurisprudence, the ethical and spiritual principles of religion, and, above all, the moral traits of personal character—he had an almost intuitive insight. Error, however sanctioned by great names or great age, shrank instantaneously beneath his scrutiny. Seldom, if ever, did a man rise more sublimely above the influence of tradition, or that factitious deference for what is fashionable, though wrong, which so much sways the world. Though a meek, calm man, fit for the goodly company of Izaak Walton's mild-tempered worthies, yet there was in his moral convictions a keenness and sternness truly terrible to evil and evil-doers. The long-drawn reasonings with which ordinary minds would arraign prevailing wrongs were beneath him; he saw such wrongs so distinctly, and pointed at them so directly, that the hearer, however previously beguiled by them, could not but see them standing out, staring and indefensible. His very tones, though habitually gentle, had a sort of moral thrill in them when attacking error, that gave a new sense and an overwhelming power to common-place sentences. His biographer relates a fact in point, but which cannot be fully comprehended by any reader who never heard Channing. A discussion arose, in conversation, on the propriety of the barbarous modes of punishment in the Navy, Army, and Prisons. One of the company was going through the usual arguments in favour of the lash, when Channing dashed the whole, and silenced all further defence by a single exclamation. "What," said he, "*strike a* MAN!" To such an exclamation his peculiar manner gave a volume of meaning; the barbarity of the custom, and the petty and vulgar character of the reasoning for it, stood out in debasing contrast with the moral dignity of man.

Now it was in precisely this noble faculty for the discernment of general ethical truth that we think his theological errors originated. He was so addicted to moral reasoning, to practical views of everything, that he was measurably disqualified for the more abstract or speculative questions of theology; and therefore whenever he approached them he became perplexed, doubtful, indefinite. Minds strongly given to moral reasoning are said to be unapt in mathematics, and *vice versa;* the higher truths of revelation, not within the scope of direct moral reasoning—as the doctrine of the Trinity, for instance—are dependent almost entirely on *exegetical* proof; and in this respect are nearly as much out of the habitual course of

a mind like Channing's as mathematical questions themselves. Channing never could be a profound mathematician; and he never was a good exegetical critic. He applied his general logic directly to these high revealed truths, on which it was scarcely possible for it to find a foothold; whereas he should have applied it to the evidence of the Revelation itself, and, when satisfied there, have relied for the truths which the Revelation announced on the just principles of interpretation, chiefly, if not exclusively. The reader of his sermons cannot fail to observe how seldom he discusses the Scripture argument on any doubtful subject; his noted New-York Sermon is strictly a "moral argument" on the Trinity, &c., as exclusively such as is his well-known "Moral Argument against Calvinism." Here was the capital mistake of his theological inquiries—the wrong application of reason to matters of Revelation;* if we can prove the Scriptures to be the word of God, what folly for us to demand that the mystery of their revelations respecting the Divine essence, or other incomprehensible facts, shall give way before our logic!

We have dwelt thus largely on Channing's character as a theologian, for two reasons: first, because we are honestly solicitous to allay any undue prejudice which may exist against him in other religious communions than his own; and, secondly, because, religion being the study and business of his life, the contemplation of him in this character ought to afford us the best means of estimating him.

As a *Preacher*, Channing was pre-eminent, though he had very few really oratorical qualities. His presence in the pulpit was not commanding; he was small in stature, exceedingly emaciated, and enveloped in a superabundance of clothing; his cheeks were sunken; his eye hollow, and his voice feeble, though remarkably flexible. The deeply indented lines of his face, especially about the mouth, gave to him a peculiar expression, which could not fail to enlist the sympathy of the hearer; you could read in them the story of his long physical prostration, and the agony of those early intellectual struggles which had occasioned it. This trace of the struggle of the past was, however, so blended with an indication of present and profound repose as to constitute, to our eye at least, the most impressive and affecting expression of his countenance. His forehead, always marked by a single fallen lock, was not large, but appeared so by contrast with the diminished proportion of his thin and pallid face. He had few gestures, and adhered closely to his manuscript,

* Channing has some very sensible observations on this subject in his "Baltimore Sermon;" in his practice, however, he made an extreme use of his theory.

except in the rural chapel, near his summer residence on Rhode Island, where he usually extemporized, and, it is said, with much facility. We have heard him speak extemporaneously in the anniversary meeting, with the same rich thought and diction which characterized his pulpit prelections.

But whatever were his personal disadvantages in the pulpit, they were not only countervailed by, but seemed to assist, the impression of his discourse. His feeble utterance—a little prolonged, if not drawling—became richly varied in its modulation, and seemed congenial with the refined delicacy of his thoughts. In the reading of the hymns and the Scripture lessons, it at once arrested attention by its exact and eloquent emphasis. As he advanced in his discourse, his deep gray eye beamed with a calm radiance, and, before he sunk exhausted on his seat, a blended intellectual and moral beauty glowed over all his features.

He was seldom passionate; never declamatory; yet always deeply earnest. His utter sincerity would not admit of an attempt at mere rhetorical effect. "On no account," he once said to a young brother preacher, "on no account, in your public services, try to exhibit, by look or tone, any emotion which you do not feel. If you feel coldly, appear so. The sermon may be lost, but your own truthfulness will be preserved." This sincerity was manifest not only in the delivery, but also in the preparation, of his sermons; beauty, both of thought and style, was natural to him; he could not write without it; but he aimed at effect only by the moral force of his thoughts—truth, in its own essential beauty and inherent power, was his whole dependence in the pulpit. Had he used a brilliant sentence, or a beautiful figure, evidently because of its rhetorical finish, it would have startled his audience as an inadmissible incongruity—a sort of degradation from the lofty dignity of his earnest spirit. Figures are abundant in his writings, but they come spontaneously, and are used only so far as they are necessary for the illustration of his subject: they appear mostly as allusions; and he habitually declines to elaborate or detail them merely to bring out their rhetorical beauty. We doubt whether half a dozen exceptions to this remark can be found in all his writings. He possessed deep sensibility, and you felt often under his discourses, that you were wholly in his power; that it was only with him to will to overwhelm you, and he could do it; but he appeared to hold his feelings under determined, yet difficult restraint; his ever-varying voice would often tremble with emotion, but suddenly seize another tone. We doubt whether he ever wept in the pulpit; but his hearers have often found it impossible to

imitate his self-restraint, and have wept under his most tranquil accents. Dr. Dewey says:—

"I shall never forget the effect upon me of the first sermon I ever heard from him. Shall I confess, too, that holding then a faith somewhat different from his, I listened to him with a certain degree of distrust and prejudice? These barriers, however, soon gave way; and such was the effect of the simple and heart-touching truths and tones which fell from his lips, that it would have been a relief to me to have bowed my head, and to have wept without restraint through the whole service. And yet I did not weep; for there was something in that impression too solemn and deep for tears."

Channing was throughout his long ministry the most popular preacher in Boston. He began in youth with crowded congregations, and his latest sermons, when it was publicly known that he was to preach, commanded the same interest. Two qualities particularly marked his discourses, and were, we think, the constituents of his pulpit power. The first was that elevated tone of not only his moral emotions, but of his moral conceptions, which we have described. You heard from him discussions of old familiar truths; but they became new in his hands, not so much by far-fetched or novel opinions upon them, as by a new life which he infused into admitted opinions. Your old thoughts rise up within you, in radiant resurrection. You wonder that you never saw them in such a strong and self-evident light before. You are first surprised at the transcendent yet simple and benign insight—the intuition of the preacher; soon this merely personal sentiment is gone, and you are absorbed exclusively in the deepening interest of the subject; you assume an attitude of solicitous attention; you hold your breath till he reaches his periods; if he pauses to think or renew his strength, at the chief divisions of his discourse, you observe a general movement in the assembly, a momentary relaxation of the mental tension; but again the spell prevails: you wonder that he does not pour forth his evident power overwhelmingly; you wonder that yourself and all men have felt the truth so little heretofore; you resolve to go forth from your seat a better man; you weep, and if you look about you, you perceive the tear trembling in the eye of the gray-headed hearer near you; the little child is rapt in interest; the thoughtless worldling rouses himself from his listless posture, and is awe-struck. At last the emaciated speaker declines, exhausted, into his seat; and, as you go from the temple, you feel that it has been no ordinary day in your history; you feel that an effort ought to be made to have that sermon repeated. You long to speak to some one about the marvellous thoughts you have heard; but if you attempt to do so to one who has not heard the sermon, he will probably discover nothing but what he knew before—*knew*, but never *felt*, as you now do. The other marked trait

of his preaching was the fact that his whole consciousness seemed to be absorbed, if we may so express it, into his subject. Preachers often (oftener, we think, than any other class of public speakers) deliver their discourses with accuracy, and even laboured emphasis, when it is manifest that their own attention is away from the subject, busied either with some absent attraction, or in an attempt to gauge the interest of the audience. We know not how, but most assuredly this fact, by some subtile process, is perceived by the hearer, and the dullest hearer feels more or less consciousness of it. Such a discourse cannot have effect; it may instruct, for it may have been well prepared; but its power is gone—it lacks directness and edge. The greatest secret of eloquence consists, we think, in this ability to identify one's soul with his subject; it gives the right tone and emphasis, even to a speaker quite unacquainted with the art of elocution; it often produces the happiest gesticulation, even in men of naturally ungraceful action; if this is secured, thought, utterance, and manner come spontaneously, and generally come spontaneously right. Channing was invariably (at least when we have heard him) an example of this excellence; he seemed to gaze intently right at, right into, right through his subject. It possessed his whole attention, and the manifest fact affected his hearers as by a mesmeric influence; they became absorbed in it with him. It is said that, when his discourse on the immortality of the soul was first preached, "the whole audience were heard to take breath" at the close of certain passages; and when, years later, the same sermon was preached in New-York, the same effect was produced.

His range of topics was exceedingly varied. He considered the pulpit the appropriate place for the discussion of all moral subjects which affect the social or political interests of man, as well as those which relate more directly to his spiritual hopes. The Gospel, he believed, had to do with every great interest of the race; and few important public events or questions escaped his notice in the pulpit. Was the nation agitated by a presidential canvass? he preached on the evils of party spirit. Was there danger of war? he preached on its moral and social horrors; yet asserted the duty of the citizen to his country. Had a mob interrupted public order? he discussed the importance of subordination to law and the means of popular virtue. Education, Pauperism, Temperance, Slavery, and all similar questions were his frequent themes, while the importance of personal morals and piety was never forgotten.

It would be an inadmissible omission to pass over without remark his *character as a Philanthropist.* We refer, not merely to those habitual services of benevolence which are inseparable from the pas-

toral office—in these he was unusually faithful, as we shall see; but had he not been a Christian pastor, nor known in literature, he would still have had a public reputation as a Philanthropist. The moral discrimination, which we have described as his chief distinction in theology, had also much to do with his philanthropy. To use his own words, he "*saw*, he *felt* the great evils of our present social state;" and from his youth to the last years of his life, was he struggling to solve the great problems of man's social renovation, and exerting himself, meanwhile, in most of the practical schemes of philanthropy which were within his reach. As early as his fifteenth year, the reading of the writings of Ferguson and Hutcheson, while at college, produced a profound impression upon his mind. "In his Junior year he had already become a moral and social reformer."

A restless anxiety to do good, to lay hold on and tear up the very roots of great social evils, took possession of his soul at this time, and subsequently, during "those days and nights of loneliness and frequent gloom," which he spent at Richmond, visions of vast change —of "a *perfect society*"—cheered his melancholy reveries. He had actually conceived the main ideas of modern Communism, and "it is probable thought of joining himself, as minister, to a settlement of Scotch emigrants whose fundamental principle was common property." The prudence of later life corrected his sanguine confidence in such impracticable schemes, as it did the fanciful republican projects of Southey and Coleridge. Yet it does not appear that he ever totally abandoned the hope of some similar revolution of social life.

His more extensive intercourse with men, as a Christian pastor, gave a more practical direction to his philanthropic sympathies. His journals contain "long lists" of plans "for public works, benevolent operations, special reforms." These plans include, "Associations among Mechanics," a "Work to be written on Ardent Spirits," "Fire Clubs," "Poor Houses," "Female Employment Societies," "Provisions of Wood on a large Scale," "Bake-houses for the Poor," "Associations for the Relief of the Sick, Old, Debtors," "Societies for the Advice of Emigrants, for the Reformation of Prostitutes, the Improvement of Africans," &c., &c. His liberality was not absorbed in *devising* plans of good; but his personal charities were great. An elder brother suggested that he "should have a guardian; he spends every dollar as soon as he gets it." "With a good salary he was yet always poor." One of his sisters writes:— "He must have had a thousand dollars to lay out [per annum] of which he scarcely spent anything on himself, except in case of sickness, or when he had to take a journey." She estimates that he gave away nearly eight hundred dollars a year. He lived with almost

ascetic severity, and dressed so poorly, that the dignity of his manners alone saved him from an appearance of meanness.

He was one of the first co-labourers of the venerable Noah Worcester in the Peace movement; he sympathized and counselled with him also respecting the abolition of Capital Punishment. He did more than any other man toward the establishment of the Boston "ministry at large," the noble field of the noble Tuckerman. He took an active interest in the improvement of "Prison Discipline." He exerted his best eloquence in the cause of Temperance. He helped to originate the Massachusetts Bible Society; delivered its first anniversary address; and, for eight years, was chairman of its Executive Committee. He was deeply interested in Foreign Missions, and at one time was disposed to sunder all his local ties and throw himself into the foreign field; but his health interfered. He was the first to second the efforts of "Father Taylor" in the "Bethel Cause." Popular Education he esteemed the glory and security of the state; and when Horace Mann turned from his brilliant political prospects to take charge of the common schools of Massachusetts, amid the smiles and scoffs of demagogues, Channing wrote him an eloquent congratulatory letter, and began immediately to co-operate with him in public and private. His memoirs and writings abound with invaluable opinions on these great themes—opinions maturer than can be found, perhaps, in any other writer. His discourses on Self-Culture and the education of the labouring classes have done great good, especially in England; they are considered the best exponents of "his principles and aims."

The latest and maturest strength of Dr. Channing was devoted to the discussion of American Slavery. No writer has treated the subject with more candour or more impressive eloquence. The amenity, transparent purity of style, argumentative conclusiveness, and lofty moral tone of his writings on this subject, give to them a force which the impartial reader *feels* to be resistless; he closes the book almost believing that if it were scattered broad-cast over the land, it *must* work a national revolution on the subject, and seal forever the doom of slavery. Channing had seen slavery among his own kindred at Newport; he had lived in its midst at Richmond; he had seen it in the West Indies, while seeking health there. The usual rigmarole about whips, hard toil, poor food, &c., so elaborately drawled out by small-brained lecturers, were not the views of this evil which most impressed him. He saw that slavery prevented pauperism; that its mere physical condition (like that of our *domestic cattle*) is really better than the physical condition of the lowest class of European labourers; but a man who should have

alleged this fact as an apology for slavery—a reason why the humanity of millions made in the image of God should be extinguished and substituted by brute degradation—would have shrunk abashed under his indignant rebuke. It was the deep and terrible intellectual and moral ruin which slavery entails, that covered the enormity with darkness and horror to his mind. It is no marvel that such a man should have called out, in solemn arraignment before the moral world, an institution like this. Those who know American Slavery, know that its evils can scarcely be exaggerated. It is replete with physical, moral, social, political, and all other evil. It holds three millions of human beings in a state of chattelship. It sells them like cattle at the auctioneer's stand, and drives them to and fro in the land by a stupendous trade. It attempts to extinguish their intellects by laws prohibiting them to learn to read. It rends their tenderest relations,—separating at its caprice, and forever, husbands and wives, parents and children. It violates the protection of female virtue, and spreads licentiousness over its whole territory; (no candid man in the South can deny it.*) It has converted States proverbial for "chivalry" into mere breeding estates to supply the market. It has blighted the soil of the former garden-spots of the land. It has corrupted the youth of the South by indolent and imperious habits, leading them to false sentiments of honour, the habitual carrying of deadly weapons, and a contempt for the noble dignity of labour. It has blasted the spirit of enterprise, so that while one section of the Union is outstripping all precedents of history, the other is sinking with premature decrepitude. It forbids all common-school education, (the stamina of States,) by the extent of plantations, and wide separation of the people. It is ever and anon involving the free labour of the North in losses and bankruptcy, by the failure of its supporters to meet their obligations. It has created an odious predominance of power based on property in human bones and sinews. It violated the Constitution by refusing a hearing to the petitions of Northern citizens, in their own legislative hall at Washington. It has defied the laws and powers of the General Government

* In the Report of the Synod of Georgia, December, 1833, it is stated as follows:—"Such is the universality and greatness of the vice of lewdness, that to those who are acquainted with slave countries, not a word need be said. On a subject like this, we suffer not ourselves to speak. *All* the consequences of this vice are to be seen." In the circular of the "Kentucky Union for the moral and religious improvement of the coloured race," (a society formed of some of the most distinguished gentlemen, both of the clergy and laity, at Lexington, Ky.,) to the ministers of the gospel in the State, they say:—"To the female character among the black population, we cannot allude but with feelings of the bitterest shame. A similar condition of moral pollution is to be found only *without the pale of Christendom.*"

by a surveillance over the post-office, opening letters, and dictating to the agents of the government what shall, and what shall not, be carried by them. It has usurped nearly all the offices of our navy, army, and diplomacy. It has seized men recognized among us as our fellow-citizens, and peacefully occupied on board our ships in its harbours, and imprisoned them in its dungeons, against the express provision of the Constitution, and the decision of its own courts in former cases; and such men are now clogged with fetters, sweeping the streets of its cities. It has driven out of its cities by mob menaces, men sent as messengers to appeal peacefully to the laws in behalf of such citizens—men honourable by long public standing, and clothed with solemn official authority for their mission. It has corrupted the Church to its infamous principles, and is wrecking the great religious bodies of the land. Strong only in iniquity and braggardism, it nevertheless made the once strong spirit of the North bow with mean obsequiousness before it, and our Senators and Representatives cower at its impotent threats, till a few brave spirits, branded as fanatics, and some of them at last made such by their terrible trials, arose and recalled us to our ancient honour. It has destroyed our national self-respect, made us blush for our pretensions to liberty, rendered us a "hissing and a by-word" among the nations. We deliberately say there is no parallel to it among the civilized or semi-civilized communities of the earth.

The fine integrity and discernment of Channing's mind could not be perverted by that national familiarity with this appalling evil, which has produced among us the strangest solecism, we will venture to say, in the history of civilization: a people the most enlightened in religion and law on the earth—whose sentiments of liberty had become national passions—yet, under the maturest forms of liberal institutions, and the full blaze of the Christian Revelation, dooming *millions* to a condition which was never dreamed of by oppressors during the midnight of the feudal ages! Channing saw it as he would have seen it in a foreign land. If it were to be ascertained that the government of China held, from tyrannic spleen or interest, one of its great provinces, with a population of three millions, in precisely the condition of our slaves,—violating their domestic relations, disposing of them as chattels, depriving them of the gains of their toil, prohibiting all intellectual developement, and, in fine, converting them and their children, by inexorable processes, into a hopeless exception to all the laws of developement and progress which God has stamped on the destinies of the human race,—the discovery of such an anomaly would astound the world. Almost any effort from any quarter to break it up would be considered right; the sentiments of mankind

would compel their governments to interfere with it in their negotiations; theologians would point to it as a proof of the necessity of a Divine revelation; Christians would attempt to invade it with missionaries and Bibles; the mistaken friends of liberty would furnish it with arms, as they did Greece and Poland, for a revolution; to help men to escape from it would be considered a holy service, and the shout of insurrection coming from it would be responded to by the voice of the civilized world,—for, alas! the world has not yet learned the better efficacy of better means. Channing felt that he was not to look to China for it—there was none such there; it was under the banner and amidst the temples of his own land.

His letters to his friends from Richmond show that his opinions on slavery had been determined at that early date, (1798.) During his residence at St. Croix, W. I., (1830–1,) he "began to draft the plan and write the first sheets of his work on slavery." When he returned the storm of abolition agitation was sweeping over the land. He did not approve the measures of the abolitionists, though "with the central principles" of the movement "his whole heart was in unison." He chose to await a more propitious opportunity for his appeal to his countrymen. Meanwhile, he looked with deep solicitude on the courageous labourers in the cause; when that noble-minded woman, Lydia Maria Child, published the "first *book* in the United States" on the subject, he called upon her in person with brotherly encouragements. He denounced the anti-abolition mobs from his pulpit, declaring that "the civilized world will heap just reproach on a *free* nation in which mobs pour forth their fury on the opposers of *slavery*."

During his rural seclusion for health on Rhode Island, in 1835, he "exhausted" himself in writing his book on the subject. It appeared opportunely at the height of the public irritation on the question, when for a man in his position to take a stand with the persecuted "agitators" was an act of heroism which could not fail to have effect. "I never acted," he writes to a friend, "under a stronger conviction of duty than in publishing this book. My spirit preyed on itself till I had spoken the truth." Blessed be God for such a man at such a time! His example gives hope of the world; good men feel, as they behold him, that the despicable truckling of millions *shall not* make them despair while one such mind predominates in brave ascendency.

In 1836, when the press of James G. Birney was destroyed by a mob, he again appealed to the American public. In 1837 he wrote his celebrated letter to Mr. Clay on the Annexation of Texas, a publication that "for the time averted the threatened wrong." In 1837

Lovejoy fell a martyr while defending his press at Alton, Illinois. Channing, with other citizens, demanded Faneuil Hall, Boston, for a public meeting in defence of the violated liberty of the press. It was refused by the city authorities, from fear of the mob; he wrote an appeal to the citizens through the newspapers, so indignantly but nobly eloquent, that the authorities had to comply, and the ancient echoes of liberty were again awakened within those old and consecrated walls. He continued his interest in this great movement till the last;—*his last public effort was made against slavery.*

Authorship, with Channing, was quite fortuitous. He was singularly indifferent to literary fame, and perhaps no man ever felt less apprehension of the severities of criticism. He had, in fact, a high moral purpose in all he wrote, and it rendered him superior to the usual motives of literary ambition. He never read the eulogistic review of his works in the Westminster Quarterly, though it was several times in his hands; and the severe if not malicious criticisms of Hazlitt and Lord Brougham in the Edinburgh were equally neglected. This was not an affected indifference; no one knew the fact till he mentioned it to Dr. Dewey, as "a piece of secret history known to no other person, and which he wished not to be known." "I have felt," he says, "that the less I read about myself the better." The publication of his occasional sermons was owing to the solicitations of his hearers. His articles on Milton, Napoleon, and Fenelon, which first brought him prominently before the literary world, were written with no expectation of their extraordinary success, but for the purpose of giving a more varied and elevated tone to the Christian Examiner, which he had been mainly instrumental in starting, as an organ of the new Unitarian movement. His subsequent publications were sermons, addresses, or lectures on practical questions, essays on slavery and other philanthropic subjects. He projected a great work on "Man," but had only prepared four or five chapters of it when death closed his labours.

Having done the best he could in these writings for the practical purpose before him, he not only disregarded all mere criticism upon them, but seldom recurred to them in his meditations. He had, indeed, an almost morbid repugnance to review his own productions. "I have," he says, "something of the nature of the inferior animals in regard to my literary offspring. When once they have taken flight, I cast them off, and have no need of further acquaintance." A charitable desire to aid a friend was the motive which induced him to publish his first volume of Miscellanies, in 1830; a similar motive led to the publication of a second volume; and at last the complete edition of his works, in six volumes, was

prepared for the benevolent purpose of furthering the business of a brother. But, though not designedly an author, his literary reputation, especially in England, is scarcely paralleled by that of any other American author. He possessed the best elements of a successful writer—a poetic temperament combined with the philosophic genius, and a style of remarkable transparency and power. His *critique* on Milton is a splendid estimate of the great Puritan bard, and has been placed by a late English critic above that of Macaulay himself; his article on Napoleon is one of the most sternly just dissections of the moral man ever made; the terrible iniquity of the heroic despot is brought out in such contrast with his vast powers, as to appal the reader. The false glare of martial and imperial splendour is extinguished, and the Great Captain stands forth before the world solely in his moral responsibility. The paper on Fenelon is full of superb traits, and in it Channing unconsciously painted his own exalted character.

His style has rare excellencies, but has faults also. He repeats and expands too much, and an attenuation of his thoughts is often the result. Still he seldom becomes tame; his sentences always retain their silvery brightness, even when drawn out to great tenuity. His style may be compared to a tissue of silver wire, woven most uniformly, but ever and anon incrusted with gold or studded with gems. The pure moral element of his character, of which we have so repeatedly spoken, is, above all, the luminous trait of his writings —large moral views, renovating thoughts, meet you at almost every page; they penetrate and palpitate in the soul of the reader. This was Channing's power, and this is the highest power; this, when accompanied, as it was in him, with poetic beauty and rare felicity of diction, forms the highest style of genius.

We have thus far contemplated Channing chiefly in his relations to public life—as Theologian, Preacher, Philanthropist, and Author—his more private or personal character was one of exceeding beauty. His childhood was blooming and buoyant, and marked by many generous traits. The following quotation speaks significantly for his boyhood:—"Thanks to my stars, I can say I never killed a bird. I would not crush the meanest insect that crawls upon the ground. They have the same right to life that I have—they received it from the same Father, and I will not mar the works of God by wanton cruelty." While at College, the moral strength of his character was shown in his entire preservation from the immoralities then prevalent around him. His college associate, Judge White, says: "His wisdom, goodness, and sanctity, as well as his genius and intellectual powers, were strongly developed; and I

began to feel in his company, what only increased upon me afterward, a mingled affection and respect, approaching to awe, which the presence of no other man ever inspired in the same degree." This feeling of "awe" was not uncommon among his acquaintance, notwithstanding his childlike simplicity and Christian meekness. Dewey compares it to the respect entertained for Washington, which kept his most intimate camp-associates from laying their hand upon his shoulder, or using with him any similar familiarity. It was in Channing's case the result of a certain moral dignity, nay, sanctity, that attracted while it awed; you felt, notwithstanding his kindly ease, that you were in the presence of a rare man, whose mental and moral superiority humbled you, yet with a humility most salutary and cordial.

When settled as pastor in Boston, he was still unmarried; he moved into the parsonage, and by the pretence of needing his mother's care, contrived to bring her and most of her family under his protection. During her long life, his relations to her formed one of the finest pictures of filial affection on record. He married his cousin, a lady of wealth, in his 34th year, and thenceforward enjoyed life with a constantly increasing delight. His mother-in-law's country residence, on Rhode Island, became his home during most of each summer—a home supplied with everything that could contribute to the gratification of cultivated taste, and surrounded by some of the finest scenery and the blandest summer atmosphere of New-England. It was here that he composed his most important works, meditating them under the tranquillizing influence of woodland walks and serene landscapes. It was his delight to gather around him in the rural homestead happy groups of children; he loved their confiding innocence and joy, and they never felt in his presence that "awe" with which his greatness inspired older persons:—

"A little child during one of these visits threw herself into the arms of an elder friend, and, smiling through her tears, exclaimed, 'O! this is heaven!' so subdued did she feel by the atmosphere of love which he diffused. And a young girl wrote, 'He welcomed me with a kindness that took away all fear—a kindness that I felt I might trust forever; for it was like that which must belong to spirits in eternity. His daily life is illuminated by a holiness which makes his actions as impulsive and peaceful as a child's: it is a happiness to be in his presence.'"

He entertained a most delicate and refined appreciation of woman; her influence he considered the chief conservative element of modern civilization. Several ladies distinguished in our literature were among his correspondents, and his letters to Lydia Maria Child, Felicia Hemans, Joanna Baillie, Harriet Martineau, &c., are among the best indications of his noble character. He believed that society should secure more fully the rights of the sex, and he practically

acted on the opinion that married women should have absolute control of the property they had previous to marriage.

With his fine sensibility was contrasted a dauntless moral courage. We can hardly conceive of him as capable of being intimidated from the performance of any known duty. He appeared in the anti-slavery conflict when he was at the height of his reputation, when the intelligence and fashion of Boston united in paying him homage, and when his fellow-citizens, especially among the higher classes, were prepared only to see in this step an astounding absurdity,—a public self-degradation. Many old friends stood aloof from him after that sublimest appeal to their respect which he could make. But he murmured not, he held on his course, growing more serene and strong in spirit as his years advanced, till at last the re-action of public opinion on the subject of slavery began to turn all generous hearts admiringly toward him. Good men, under their new and indignant convictions of this heinous national wrong, would weep in the public assembly at an allusion to his sublime self-sacrifice. The ingenuous youth of Boston, including many of her old historic names, her Phillipses, Sumners, Adamses, Bowditches, Sewels, &c., caught the inspiration of his courage and followed in his footsteps. He saw the glory of a better day dawning around him, but he was to be taken away from it to a higher reward; yet one more effort must be made for liberty. On the first of August, 1842, he delivered at Lennox his last public address—it was in commemoration of West Indian emancipation; he was too feeble to utter the whole of it, but threw his last strength into its splendid peroration. Mrs. Sedgwick, who heard him, says that "his countenance was full of spiritual beauty; and when he uttered that beautiful invocation toward the close of his address—which would not have been more characteristic or fitting had he known that he should never again speak in public—he looked like one inspired." The effort exhausted him; it was his final and fitting service to his country and his age;—and thus descended this great light:—.

"On Sunday, October 2d, as he heard the bells ring, he said to us, 'Now go to church.' 'It is a part of our religion, dear sir, to nurse the sick and aid our friends.' 'True,' he replied, 'you may stay.' He asked us to read to him from the New Testament. 'From what part?' 'From the Sermon on the Mount.' As we closed the Lord's Prayer, he looked up, with a most expressive smile, and said, 'That will do now; I find that I am too much fatigued to hear more. I take comfort, *O, the greatest comfort*, from these words. They are full of the divinest spirit of our religion.' In the afternoon he spoke very earnestly, but in a hollow whisper. I bent forward; but the only words I could distinctly hear were, 'I have received many messages from the Spirit.' As the day declined, his countenance fell, and he grew fainter and fainter. With our aid, he turned himself toward the window, which looked over valleys and wooded summits to the east. We drew back the curtains, and the

light fell upon his face. The sun had just set, and the clouds and sky were bright with gold and crimson. He breathed more and more gently, and, without a struggle or a sigh, the body fell asleep. We knew not when the spirit passed.

"Amidst the glory of autumn, at an hour hallowed by his devout associations, on the day consecrated to the memory of the risen Christ, and looking eastward, as if in the setting sun's reflected light he saw promises of a brighter morning, he was taken home."

His remains were brought to Boston, and committed to the grave amidst the regrets of all classes and parties; and as the procession moved from the church, the bell of the Catholic Cathedral tolled his knell—a fact never perhaps paralleled before in the history of Romanism.

And so departed one of the great men of the republic—one who, amidst its servility to mammon and slavery, ceased not to recall it to the sense of its honour and duty—a man whose memory his countrymen will not willingly let die. As the visiter wanders among the shaded aisles of the western part of Mount Auburn, he sees a massive monument of marble designed by Allston, the poet-painter; generous and brave men, from whatever clime, resort to it, and go from it more generous and brave, for there reposes the great and good man whom we have commemorated. The early beams, intercepted by neighbouring heights, fall not upon the spot; but the light of high noon and the later and benigner rays of the day play through the foliage in dazzling gleams upon the marble—a fitting emblem of his fame: for when the later and better light which is yet to bless our desolate race shall come, it will fall with bright illustration on the character of this rare man, and on the great aims of his life.

Art. V.—WHAT IS THE MEANING OF שְׁאוֹל?

Veteris Testamenti Sententia de Rebus Post Mortem Futuris Illustrata. Auct. Gust. Fred. Oehler, Phil. et Theol. Doct. hujusque Professor P. O. in Academia Viatislaviensi. 1847.

In regard to the signification of the Hebrew term שְׁאוֹל,* there has been much difference of opinion; and it must be confessed, if we go to the ancient or modern versions of the Scriptures, or to the opinions of expositors, we shall reap but little satisfaction. In the

* The reader will observe that we have not been uniform in writing the Hebrew word (sheol) with the Vauv. Our excuse is, that the Scriptures are not uniform; we find it both *with* and *without* the Vauv.

Septuagint Version, according to Gesenius, it is rendered by the term ᾅδης, except in one instance. In 2 Sam. xxii, 6, it is rendered by θάνατος. The Vulgate has generally followed the Septuagint, and rendered it by the terms *infernus* or *infernus*. Hosea xiii, 14 is an exception, where it is translated by *mors*. In our common English Version it is rendered, in about thirty instances, by the term *grave;* and in the remainder by the term *hell*. In Luther's Version it is usually rendered by the term *Hölle*, or *hell*, and in a few instances by *Grabe*, pit, or grave.

The old Lexicographers, as Castell in Lexicon Heptaglotton, and Buxtorf, give it the significations of *sepulchrum*, and *place of the dead*. While modern Lexicographers, especially those of Germany, together with the critics of that country, give it the signification of *Orcus*, or the Greek Ἅιδης, or *place of the dead*, including the righteous as well as the wicked. A late writer, in the treatise named at the head of this article, declares that it cannot be proved that this word שְׁאוֹל ever has the signification of *sepulchrum* or *grave*, either in the earlier or later Hebrew writers.

It is of great importance to determine the meaning of this word, because the truth or falsehood of the doctrine of the *intermediate place of the dead* depends upon it. Christians are generally united in the doctrine that there is an *intermediate state*, but not an *intermediate place*, of the dead. They are also united in the doctrine that the consummation of happiness to the saints, and of misery to the wicked, will not be experienced till after the resurrection. This is a doctrine in accordance with the Scriptures. But the doctrine that there is an *intermediate place* into which the souls of the dead are turned, separate and distinct from the heaven at God's right hand, and the hell where the devils are held under chains of darkness, is, in our opinion, a purely heathen fable, which finds no countenance in the word of God, and which has been the source of much corruption of Christian doctrine, and of many absurd notions and practices in the Christian Church. Such are, the doctrines of purgatory, indulgences, and prayers for the dead.

The doctrine of an intermediate place supposes that the souls of all the dead, both of the righteous and of the wicked, are congregated in ᾅδης—a vast receptacle in the heart of the earth; and that there is a better apartment of this receptacle, in which the souls of the righteous dead are separated from the souls of the wicked; and that this is the place called *Paradise* in Luke xxiii, 43, into which the penitent thief entered, and where Abraham and Lazarus were supposed to be. The other apartment is called *Tartarus*, and is

that place of torment into which the rich man was plunged at death.

It will be observed that these views are the same in substance with the notions of the Greek and Latin poets and philosophers. They supposed that all the dead were turned into *Orcus* or ᾅδης, both the wicked and the good; and that they were rewarded and punished in different parts of this subterranean region, according as their deeds had been in life.

Virgil says, *Æn.* vi, 540:—

> "*Hic locus est partes ubi se via findit in ambas,*
> *Dextera, quæ Ditis magni sub mœnia tendit,*
> *Hac iter Elysium nobis: at læva malorum.*
> *Exercet pœnas, et ad impia Tartara, mittit.*"*

So Plato, in *Gorgias*, p. 524 A.:—Ἐξ ἧς φέρετον τὼ ὁδώ, ἡ μὲν εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἡ δὲ εἰς τάρταρον.†

It appears, also, that the Jews at our Saviour's time received the same doctrine, at least to some extent. Josephus says the soul of Samuel was brought up ἐξ ᾅδου.—*Antiq.*, lib. vi, c. xiv, 2. Many of the Fathers of the Church believed that the word ᾅδης in the Scriptures had the same signification which it had among the Greeks, as comprehending in the infernal regions under the earth, all the souls both of the righteous and of the wicked. In this sense, also, they evidently understood *infernus*.

St. Jerome, on the third chapter of Ecclesiastes, says:—"Ante adventum Christi omnia ad inferos pariter ducebantur; unde et Jacobus ad inferos pariter descensurum se dicit; et Evangelium chaos magnum interpositum apud inferos, et Abraham cum Lazaro et divitem in suppliciis esse, testatur.‡ So Origen, Anastasius, and others of the Fathers. But St. Augustine, who must be acknowledged as having stood in general more closely to the Scriptures than most of the other Fathers, doubted the doctrine that the good descended into ᾅδης; and thought that the words *infernus* and

* "'Tis here, in diff'rent paths, the way divides:
The right to Pluto's golden palace guides,
The left to that unhappy region tends,
Which to the depth of Tartarus descends."—DRYDEN.

† "From which place two ways lead, the one to the islands of the blessed, the other, to Tartarus."

‡ "It is declared that all, before the advent of Christ, alike descended into hell; whence also Jacob says that he should descend into hell; and the Evangelist, that a great gulf was fixed in hell, and that Abraham was with Lazarus, and the rich man in punishment."

inferus were never used in a good sense in the Canonical Scriptures. He says:—"Quamquam illud me nondum invenisse confiteor, *inferos* appellatos ubi justorum animæ acquiescunt."* And again he says:—"Ut dixi, nondum inveni, et adhuc quæro nec mihi occurrit *inferos* alicubi in bono potuisse Scripturam, duntaxat Canonicam."† Augustine probably believed that the righteous, at the time of death, went to heaven, while the wicked only were consigned to the infernal pit, the lower world. So also thought many of the reformers, as Luther and Calvin. This we regard as the Orthodox and Scriptural doctrine, that the righteous dead go to rest with Christ at God's right hand, and not to ἅδης, or the under-world; and that the wicked dead, as Judas, go to their own place, the world of darkness. It is not to be denied, that many, even at this day, take the opposite view of this subject, and make שְׁאוֹל the same thing with the Latin *Orcus* and the Greek ἅδης, and who suppose that the Hebrew ideas of the state of the dead were no more enlightened than those of the Greeks and Romans; that they had little or no apprehension of the immortal nature of the soul, and supposed that the souls of the dead were carried away to dark and dreary ἅδης, there to spend a series of ages in weakness and comparative insensibility; and that they knew nothing about the resurrection of the dead, not even the most enlightened and most favoured of the prophets.‡

Our position is, after a careful investigation of every passage in the Old Testament in which the word occurs, and after a careful consideration of opinions advanced by others, besides referring to almost every original source deemed worthy of reference, that שְׁאוֹל, in its generic signification, refers to the *state of the dead, without necessarily specifying that state, whether it be in happiness or in misery*, and hence the kingdom or world of the dead; and aside from this generic signification, it is applied specifically, (1,) *to the place of torment of the wicked;* and, (2.) *to the grave or sepulchre, as the resting-place of the inanimate body.*§

* "Indeed I confess I have not yet found the passage in which those are called *inferi*, (or inhabitants of ἅδης,) who dwell where the souls of the just repose."

† "As I have said, I have not yet found, and as yet I seek, nor have I found anywhere, that the Canonical Scriptures take *inferi* in a good sense."

‡ Such are the sentiments of the work named at the head of this article.

§ We have not considered it worth while to enter upon an investigation of the root of this word, believing that little can be determined from it. It has been commonly derived from שָׁאַל, *to ask*, because hell is insatiable. Prov. xxx, 16. Orcus rapax:—Catull., 2, 28, 29. Gesenius, Thes., p. 1348, takes it from שָׁעַל, *to be hollow.* So Fürst in Lex. and Concord. Thus *Cœlum* is from κοῖλος, *cave;* Germ., Hölle; Eng., hell.

I. We shall now adduce those passages in which שְׁאוֹל occurs, wherein it has the generic signification mentioned above. In 2 Sam. xxii, 6, we have the following phrase, חֶבְלֵי שְׁאוֹל סַבֻּנִי, *The sorrows* (or *pains*) *of* שְׁאוֹל *compassed me about.* In the 18th and 116th Psalms, we have this word שְׁאוֹל explained by the term מָוֶת *death;* and hence the *pains of death.* The words are applied to our Saviour, Acts ii, 24. These pains are such as those pass through who depart from this life; and the passage must be regarded as strikingly exemplifying the generic signification of שְׁאוֹל, as meaning *the state of the dead.* Here, also, we would place Job vii, 9, though our translators have given the word in this passage the specific signification of "*grave.*" It is as follows:—"*As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away,* so he that *goeth down to* שְׁאוֹל *shall not come up.*" If *sheol* here be understood specifically of the grave, it would be contrary to other passages in Job and other Scriptures, which teach the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, as Job xiv, 13–15; xix, 23–27. Job declares that though worms should destroy this body, yet in his *flesh* he would see God, that is, the dead shall arise from the grave. We prefer, therefore, with Dr. Clarke, to understand *sheol* in this passage in its generic sense, as signifying the state of the dead. The *spirits* of the just, as Job says in the following verse, shall come back no more to their earthly house and to their earthly place. But the *body* shall be raised, 1 Cor. xv, 52.

In this sense, also, we take Job xxi, 13: "They spend their days in wealth, they go down quickly (without any previous pain or disease) to שְׁאוֹל." Job, in defending his own innocence before his friends, would show them that often the wicked live in pleasure, and die without pain: by consequence, in this life are not punished. By the word שְׁאוֹל, he would express the fact of their death without any of the accompanying ideas of the horrors of the grave.

Under this head, also, we place Psa. xvi, 10: "For thou wilt not leave my soul in שְׁאוֹל, neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption." This is a passage of very great interest. St. Peter quotes it in Acts ii, 27, as a prophecy of our Lord's resurrection: so also Paul, Acts xiii, 35. In regard to the signification of שְׁאוֹל in this passage, two views have been presented and much urged. The first is, that it signifies the *intermediate place,* or ἅδης, into which all the souls of the dead are congregated and reserved unto the judgment-day; and that it was in this place our Saviour entered and preached to the spirits in prison, 1 Peter iii, 19. These spirits in prison are supposed to be the holy dead, or the virtuous heathen. But this is an error: for his preaching was not to the holy dead or virtuous heathen, but to the "disobedient in the days of Noah," that

is, the wicked antediluvians. Again, Christ did not preach to them in person, but by his Spirit: "Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit, by which also he went and preached to the spirits in prison." Again, this preaching was not done while the body of the Saviour was in the tomb, but "in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing." Then, "while the ark was preparing," Christ preached by his Spirit, inspiring and assisting Noah to preach to those who, in Peter's time, were "spirits in prison," that is, spirits in hell. This is the most consistent and clear view of this vexed passage which has come under our notice; and, thus understood, it gives no countenance to the doctrine of an intermediate place of the dead, or that שְׁאוֹל signifies any such thing as the ᾅδης of the ancient Greeks.

We object, further, to this signification of שְׁאוֹל in this passage, because it cannot be proved from all the Old Testament that any of the righteous dead ever descended into such a place as the heathen ᾅδης. The righteous dead, on the other hand, are represented in Scripture as dwelling with God. Of the patriarch Enoch, it is said: "He was not, for God took him," Gen. v, 24. And of Elijah it is said: "He was carried up into heaven by a whirlwind," 2 Kings ii, 11. The ancient patriarchs and prophets did not look into the dark subterranean ᾅδης as their home, but to heaven, which had been promised to them, a place of joy, of light, and of glory. "At thy right hand are pleasures for evermore." Psa. xvi, 11; Isa. lx, 20. Heaven was the object of their hopes. These are they, who "through faith and patience now inherit the promises," Heb. vi, 12; that is, the promised rest at God's right hand. We therefore reject the idea that the Heb. שְׁאוֹל is ever used in the sense of the heathen ᾅδης in any passage of the Old Testament.

Another view of this word is, that it here signifies the grave or sepulchre. We shall by and by show that it frequently has this signification; but it cannot be so understood in this instance without doing violence to language. There is no Procrustean bed for words. They cannot be stretched or cut short at pleasure. To read the passage under consideration in the manner proposed, will be sufficient to show its impropriety: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in the grave." The soul does not go down to the grave. If it be said that נֶפֶשׁ means *the life*, we answer, this is equally objectionable, for the life does not go down to the sepulchre any more than the soul. We therefore prefer the generic signification of שְׁאוֹל, namely, the "state of the dead." This gives a consistent sense: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in the state or condition of the dead;" that is, separate from the body: it shall speedily be reunited with the body, renewed

and glorious. We have already remarked that this passage is the principal one on which the fable of our Saviour's descent into the heathen ᾅδης has been built. The foundation of this opinion is, that the apostle, in translating the Hebrew שְׁאוֹל, has used the Greek ᾅδης. This word was the nearest to express the Hebrew term which the Greek afforded; and we would suggest whether the apostle may not have used it in the Jewish and not in the classical sense? This is a well-known and acknowledged principle prevailing in the Septuagint and New Testament diction; that Greek words, in order to express Hebrew ideas, are frequently changed from their classical signification.

If it be asked where the soul of the Saviour was while it was separated from the body during the time between the crucifixion and the resurrection, we answer, that so far from its being in hell, it was truly in heaven, where are the souls of all the righteous dead. He said to the penitent dying thief; "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise." The question then arises, What and where is paradise? The meaning of this term is determined by 2 Cor. xii, 4. Here the apostle represents himself as having been "caught up into the third heaven," "into paradise," where he heard "unspeakable words." Where can this be but in heaven, at God's right hand. Again, the writer of the Apocalypse, in one place, represents the tree of life as growing in the heavenly city, near to God and the Lamb. Rev. xxii, 2. In another place he represents this same tree as growing in the midst of the *paradise* of God. Rev. ii, 7. The conclusion is evident, that heaven and paradise is one and the same place. Here, then, went the spirit of the Saviour, and here is the home of all the spirits of the saints who have passed away from earth. We might pursue this argument to very great length, that the souls of the pious dead are not in ᾅδης or hell, but in heaven and with God. Our limits will permit us to indicate only a few passages: Acts vii, 56, 59; 2 Cor. v, 1, 8; Phil. i, 23; 1 Thess. v, 10; Rev. v, 9; vii, 9; xiv, 1–3.

To this generic signification of שְׁאוֹל should be referred Psa. lv, 15; which Gesenius renders, "Let death deceive," that is, surprise and destroy them suddenly. "Let them descend alive into שְׁאוֹל." Reference is here made by the Psalmist to the rebels against him under Absalom, of whom twenty thousand were slain in the field: and it is said: "The wood devoured more on that day than the sword devoured." 2 Sam. xviii, 7, 8. And thus they descended into the condition of the dead. So also Psa. xxxi, 17; lxxxviii, 4; lxxxix, 48, upon which no remarks need be made, as they are similar to other passages already remarked upon.

The last passage to which we would call special attention under this head is Eccles. ix, 10: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge in שְׁאוֹל, whither thou goest." This passage is interesting, inasmuch as it determines the extent of human probation. In שְׁאוֹל, in the kingdom of the dead, there is no labour—no work, says Dr. A. Clarke, by which thou mayest profit; no device, by which thou mayest escape punishment; no *knowledge* of any means of help; no *wisdom*, restoration to the favour and image of God. Though our translators have rendered the word שְׁאוֹל by the term "*grave*," yet we rightly think of the state of the *soul* rather than of that of the body when contemplating the doctrine of this text.

II. There is another class of passages in which the signification of שְׁאוֹל is more specific. It sometimes evidently means that vast and awful abode of the devils, into which the wicked are driven after death. To this signification we must refer the following passages of the book of Job: xi, 8; xxiv, 19; xxvi, 6.

In Job xi, 8, speaking of the immensity of God's work, Zophar says, "It is high as heaven; what canst thou do? deeper than שְׁאוֹל; what canst thou know?" Here the generic signification, as well as that of "grave," would be entirely inappropriate. There is a contrast here between the heights of heaven and the depths of that bottomless pit into which the wicked are driven. This at once fixes its signification. On the same principle we determine Psa. cxxxix, 8: "If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in שְׁאוֹל, hell, behold thou art there." So Amos ix, 3: "Though they dig into שְׁאוֹל, hell, thence shall my hand take them: though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down." There can be no doubt respecting the meaning of שְׁאוֹל in passages such as these. It certainly stands for the opposite of heaven, as there is a contrast between the two, and, of course, must signify, not the grave, nor the general state and region of the dead, but hell—the pit of perdition.

Job xxiv, 19: "Drought and heat consume the snow waters, so doth שְׁאוֹל those which have sinned." *Sheol*, in this passage, evidently signifies the hell of sinners—in which sinners are consumed. If it meant the world of the dead, or the grave, there would be no propriety in limiting the consumption of *hell* to sinners; for death and the grave certainly receive the righteous as well as the wicked.

Job xxvi, 6: "שְׁאוֹל is naked before him, and destruction hath no covering." By the second member of the parallelism, *sheol* is explained by the word destruction. This, it is scarcely necessary to add, is peculiarly applicable to the abode of the great destroyer, the dark pit of perdition. The word here rendered destruction is

אֲבַדּוֹן, *abbaddon*. It is applied, in Rev. ix, 11, to the angel of Tartarus, who is called, in Greek, *ἀπολλύων*, destroyer, that is, the angel of death. It is connected with שְׁאוֹל in two other passages, Prov. xv, 11; xxvii, 20, and serves to fix the signification of שְׁאוֹל there as well as here.

Psa. vi, 5: "For in death there is no remembrance of thee. In *sheol* who shall give thee thanks?" It is evident from the context, that the Psalmist regarded himself in a state of condemnation, and thus exposed to the divine vengeance in hell. Hence he cries out in the preceding verses: "Have mercy upon me, O Lord; return, O Lord, deliver my soul. O save me, for thy mercy's sake;" then adds the words of this text. Parallel with this is Isa. xxxviii, 18.

Psa. ix, 18: "The wicked shall be turned into שְׁאוֹל, and all the nations that forget God." As to the meaning of שְׁאוֹל here, there can be no question. It cannot be the place where the *righteous* are sent. It is the place prepared for the wicked; or, in other words, it is *hell*.

Prov. xxiii, 14: "Thou shalt beat him [the unruly child] with a rod, and shalt deliver his soul from שְׁאוֹל;" not from the state of the dead, nor from the grave, but from *hell*. Similar to the above is Psa. lxxxvi, 13: "Thou hast delivered my soul *from the lowest hell*." Heb. מִשְּׁאוֹל תַּחְתִּיָּה. "This," as Dr. A. Clarke well observes, "must mean more than the grave; *a hell below hell*. A place of perdition for the soul, as the grave is a place of corruption for the body."

To this signification is to be referred the account of the adulterous woman, Prov. v, 5: "Her feet go down to death; her steps take hold on hell," (שְׁאוֹל.) Here the wise man would teach that both the death of the body and the damnation of the soul in hell are the result of connexion with her. Prov. vii, 29; ix, 18, are passages parallel with the preceding. To this signification also should be referred Prov. xv, 24; xxx, 16; Cant. viii, 6; Hab. ii, 9, which we deem it unnecessary to make any special remarks upon.

Isa. lvii, 9 is an instance of hyperbole in the use of this word. The idolatrous and sycophantic Israelites are represented as going to the king of Babylon or Egypt with ointment and perfumes as presents, and as debasing themselves in thus doing, even unto hell, שְׁאוֹל. Deut. xxxii, 22 is also a hyperbolical use of this word.

In Isa. xxviii, 15, *sheol* is put for the inhabitants of hell, wicked men and devils. The idolatrous Israelites are represented as making a covenant with them. It would destroy the obvious sense of the passage to suppose they made their covenant with the righteous dead or with the grave.

In Jonah ii, 2, *sheol* is put poetically for the belly of the fish, by which Jonah was swallowed up; and as a wicked, condemned man, he may well have considered himself as crying out of the belly of the pit of perdition.

Isa. xiv, 9, 11, 15, is a solemn denunciation of the prophet against Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. In this text שְׁאוֹל is represented as moved from beneath, that is, the inhabitants of שְׁאוֹל, to meet him. The world of damned tyrants is here specially meant, as appears from the following words: "It hath raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nations." In verse 11 and following, our translators would have done better by rendering שְׁאוֹל by the word "*hell*" instead of the grave. Indeed, this is the only meaning consistent with the context, as may be seen by carefully observing verses 9 and 15. It would have added much to the energy of the prophet's description—besides, his *usus loquendi* requires the signification similar to Isa. xiv, 9. In this sense the term שְׁאוֹל is to be always understood in Ezekiel. It is found only in the following passages of that prophet: xxxi, 15–17; xxxii, 21, 27. On these we need make no special remark; we leave the reader to refer to them for himself.

III. The other specific signification of this term is *sepulchrum*, or *grave*. We will now adduce those passages wherein this signification of שְׁאוֹל occurs.

Gen. xxxvii, 35: "I will go down into the grave (שְׁאוֹל) unto my son mourning." These words were used by Jacob in respect to his son Joseph. So Gen. xlii, 38: "If mischief befall him by the way in the which ye go, ye shall bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave." Heb. בּוֹרְדִי שְׁאוֹלָה. The same phrase occurs also in Gen. xliv, 29, 31. It has been objected that שְׁאוֹל, in these passages, cannot signify the *grave*, because Jacob did not believe that his son Joseph was buried, but that he was torn to pieces by wild beasts; and therefore when he says, "I will go down to my son to שְׁאוֹל," he means that he will go down to ᾅδης, to meet with his son in the lower world. But to this it may be sufficient to reply, by suggesting the question whether the patriarch supposed that his gray hairs would descend with him into ᾅδης, or the world of spirits? Such an idea, of course, is absurd. The generic idea of death is implied in the term; and, in addition to this, the patriarch refers to his body as aged and wasting away; and should he be called to the loss of his second beloved son, it would bring his body speedily to the grave. This signification is confirmed by the ancient Jewish interpreters. It is true that the Targum of Onkelos keeps the original word שְׁאוֹל, yet the Jerusalem Targum, and that of Jonathan, render it לְבֵי קְבוּרְתָּא, *in the house of the sepulchre;* and the Persian Tar-

gum is to the same purpose, בגוד, *into the sepulchre.* So also the Arabic, אלי אלתרי, *to the dust,* or *to the earth.* And it is observed, (says Pearson on the Creed, p. 352,) by the Jewish commentators, that those Christians are mistaken who interpret these words spoken by Jacob of ᾅδης or hell, declaring that שְׁאוֹל signifies nothing but the grave. Precisely similar to the above passage is 1 Kings, ii, 9.

In Num. xvi, 30, 33, we have an account of the earth swallowing up Dathan and Abiram and their families, together with their goods. In our version, in each of these passages שְׁאוֹל is translated "*pit,*" and it undoubtedly means here that chasm or opening in the earth which proved the *grave* of these wicked men. The note of Dr. Adam Clarke is so pertinent and expressive of our own views that we beg leave to quote it. "*And they go down quick into the pit*] שְׁאֹלָה, a proof among many others that שְׁאוֹל signifies here a *chasm* or *pit* of the earth, and not the place called *hell;* for it would be absurd to suppose that their houses had gone to hell; and it would be wicked to imagine that their little innocent children had gone thither, though God was pleased to destroy their lives together with their iniquitous fathers."

1 Sam. ii, 6: "The Lord killeth and maketh alive; he bringeth down to the grave (שְׁאוֹל) and bringeth up." This passage is intended to impress the mind with the greatness of the divine power; that God is able to raise men up from the dead and from the grave. While the general thought of death is clearly implied in the word here, yet it seems to be specific in some degree, so as to fix upon it the idea of the grave also.

Job xvii, 13, 16: "If I wait, שְׁאוֹל is my house;" that is, whether I live long or short, שְׁאוֹל will at last be my home, verse 16. "They shall go down to the bars of שְׁאוֹל when our rest together is in the dust." Here the words "*house*" and "*dust*" render the signification of *sheol* specific, and we cannot properly understand any other meaning here than *sepulchre* or grave.

Psa. xxx, 3: "O Lord, thou hast brought up my soul from שְׁאוֹל. The meaning of it is determined by the parallelism, "Thou hast kept me alive, that I should not go down to the pit," that is, sepulchre. So Psa. xlix, 15; Prov. i, 12; Psa. cxli, 7; and Is. xxxviii, 10.

Hosea xiii, 14. We have now advanced to the last passage in which the word occurs, and it is of the greatest importance, inasmuch as it determines the signification in which the apostle used the Greek ᾅδης. It reads as follows: "*I will* ransom them from the power of the grave, (מִיַּד שְׁאוֹל;) I will redeem them from death. O death, I will be thy plagues; O *grave,* (שְׁאוֹל) I will be thy destruction." The apostle quotes this passage in 1 Cor. xv, 55, and applies it to the re-

surrection of the dead. From the apostle's interpretation, our version is undoubtedly correct in rendering *sheol* by the term "*grave*," and the word ᾅδης, by which he translates שְׁאוֹל, is undoubtedly to be understood in this sense; inasmuch as it would be absurd to speak of the resurrection of the body from any other place, than from its place of burial. As therefore the apostle here used ᾅδης for שְׁאוֹל, he used it in the sense of grave or burial-place; that is, in a Hebraized, and not in the classical sense.

In concluding this presentation of the signification of שְׁאוֹל, we would offer a few remarks on the signification of ᾅδης, as intimately connected with it in its usage in the Septuagint and in the New Testament. If our analysis of שְׁאוֹל be correct, is it not reasonable to suppose that the Seventy intended to use ᾅδης in the same sense, and not strictly in its classical sense? The Greeks had no word which more nearly expressed the idea implied in שְׁאוֹל, than ᾅδης. Hence the Septuagint uses it in almost every instance; and hence the New Testament writers adopted the word, not in the classical, but in the Hebraized signification. This will be evident to the scholar who will take the trouble to observe the passages of the New Testament in which it occurs: as our limits forbid their quotation, we give the references below.*

If our views of the signification of שְׁאוֹל be correct, then there is no countenance in the Scriptures, from this word at least, to the doctrine of an intermediate place for souls. We reject the doctrine as unscriptural and of heathen origin; though it was held by many Fathers of the early Church, and is at the present day, by learned German theologians and some others. We must regard the doctrine, also, as before expressed, as dangerous in its consequences. In the early Church it led to prayers for the dead,—to the notion of Purgatory, with its superstitions, and a second state of probation and restoration. If the doctrine were generally adopted, we might even now justly fear the same unhappy results. It becomes us, then, to study with care the teachings of the Holy Spirit, that we be not blown about by every wind of doctrine.

Thus we have endeavoured to settle the meaning of this important word in every passage in the Old Testament. Whether we have been successful, of course, must be left to others to judge. If any light has been thrown upon the subject, or if any other individual may be called out to investigate it more fully, no one will be more gratified than the writer of this article.

* Matt. xi, 23; xvi, 18; Luke x, 15; xi, 23; xvi, 23; Acts ii, 27, 31; 1 Cor. xv, 55; Rev. i, 18; vi, 8.

Art. VI.—THE PROGRESSIVE PRINCIPLE OF LANGUAGE AND STYLE.

That there is a gradation of excellence in the matter of language, has probably never been denied in terms. On the contrary, not a nation, not a tribe of mankind, that has not asserted for its particular idiom a degree of superiority to some or every other. The Iroquois savage would account the dialect of Plato but a barbarous jargon in comparison with his own: and if the rude prejudice would not, even in this instance, receive the literate sanction of what passes still for philological science, it is from no considerations more enlightened than the traditional pre-eminence, confirmed by school-boy bias, which is accorded to the Latin and Greek.

A *gradation*, then, is tacitly admitted. Nor is it recognized merely as between idioms reputed different, which, in truth, would not necessarily evince a *progression;* it is implied also as between successive periods of the same idiom. Thus, the civilized Englishman and his American echo will not only contend, like the savage, for the absolute superiority of their own language; they are often heard besides to deplore (still more preposterously) the degeneracy of its present state from the "energy and purity of the good old Saxon." For the English constitution is not, it seems, the only master-piece of wisdom and ingenuity which our ancestors had the peculiar fortune to find growing wild in the woods of Germany.*

* "Ce beau système a été trouvé dans les bois," says Montesquieu. We are far from meaning to deride either prejudice in its origin. It is natural, it is necessary, it is salutary even, that men should be led to adhere to their old institutions, by the blind grasp of instinct, in awaiting a more enlightened, if no more energetic, principle of attachment. This is the germ of patriotism itself, that noble prejudice which is not only the bond whereby a people is rooted morally to the soil, but also the living source, the nourishing sap of its best greatness and glory. In Englishmen, moreover—be it said to their apology, or rather honour—the plant has acquired a peculiar vigour and vivaciousness; probably from the repeated conquests or invasions which have swept over and desolated what Bossuet has termed their "stormy island."

Their extravagant estimate of the native idiom is similarly creditable, and proceeds, perhaps, from the same cause. It is the resilience of the vanquished Saxon against his Norman oppressors; who laboured, with systematic tyranny, to supplant, by their own jargon, at that time scarce less barbarous, this last and least destructible asylum of nationality, the veritable Palladium, perhaps, symbolized by the ancients so significantly as the image and gift of Minerva. This, we repeat, was honourable in the sentiment; and it has resulted, in fact, through the career of adversity alluded to, in giving one of their highest qualities to the English people. It is only when the reaction is suffered, after the lapse of centuries, to extend the prejudice to the language and literature of France at the present day; after it has ceased to be but an echo of the past, unsanctioned any longer by political prudence

In this capacity of *retro*-gression, then, there is admitted a law of *pro*-gression, as well as the simple fact of gradation, in language. But, with this assumption, strictly universal, of a twofold principle, how comes it that the criterion expressly established should not merely differ from both, but be such as to negative the supposition of any principle whatever? For if *usage* be indeed the arbiter, it is self-evident there can be no comparing of tongues, any more than of tastes.*

Adequately to explain this curious contradiction would be to go far—very far, we believe—beyond any actual researches into the true Philosophy of Language.

For so far is it from having been as yet explained, that it has not, we think, been hitherto so much as observed. To the mere statement of this singular inadvertence, nothing need be added to show how deeply the subject lingers within the mist of a class of prejudices too fundamental to be embarrassed by absurdity, however broad: we mean the prepossession, as between different idioms, of each nation for its own; and, as between the present and the primitive, or other preceding, state of the same idiom, the prepossession, still more puerile, which attributes to language, too, the chronological illusion of a "Golden Age."

Such, then, has been, in fact, the original standard of quality in language: for standard of some sort there must have always been, however inexplicit and imaginary. In the earlier stages of social infancy, the superiority was grounded simply on the belief that language was the gift of the national gods; thus partaking, quite of course, of the exclusive truth and perfection of each of the divers and divine donors. Nor was this so bad in logic, however incongruous in principle, or apocryphal in fact.

At a later period, when, with the profane progress of reason, either these divinities had declined in credit, or man had forfeited their bounty by abusing their favours, the criterion came characteristically to be the *ipse dixit* of Usage. Characteristically, we say; for no

in England, unsupported by national sentiment as in this country, and when, as *such*, it dares to oppose itself to the dictates of reason and the demonstrations of science—it is *this* parrot prejudice of mere tradition that seems to us to deserve derision, and even demand denunciation.

* Such appears to be, in fact, the declared doctrine of an Italian writer of distinction, toward the end of the last century, the Abbé Galiani; who pronounces the notion of a progression or preference among languages to be no better than an "absurdity." That there had been an author so avowedly consistent with the real absurdity of the "Usage" principle, we were not aware at the moment of penning the opening paragraph of this article. We retain it, however, as sufficiently exact for the general argument. Only justice requires that Galiani be acquitted of the second, the logical absurdity, reprehended in the text—that of being inconsistent with himself, as well as with fact and philosophy.

other criterion could be so convenient and compendious, in that chaotic condition of the general mind which follows upon the dissolution of what may be called the *theological* systems of secular knowledge. Usage affords an answer, prompt and peremptory, to all objections, a solution of all difficulties, a conciliation of all contradictions. Hence, very possibly, its pertinacious vogue among lawyers as well as linguists. To the grammarians it is the veritable philosopher's stone; which even the alchymists were saved, by the nature of their subject, from discovering. What wonder, then, that it should have been adopted by poets, and after echoed by pedants; who may indeed be excused their ignorance in linguistic, if only they be duly expert at prosody and parsing. But the expedient seems longer unpardonable in persons pretending to the name of philosophers, or even in their retainers and retailers of the critical tribe; both the one and the other of whom continue, we see, still to satisfy themselves, and to silence the innovators, by the Horatian maxim of *usus est lex*.

The truth is, that, as we possess no general principle upon the subject, so we have no distinctly recognized criterion, properly so called. This the dictum cited itself admits. For what is Usage? A mere abstraction; an abstraction negative; nay, worse than simply negative, a negation of all law and of all principle. Who alleges Usage, does, in effect, but confess ignorance. Yet this ignorance it is that we see conjured, by means of a word, into the pompous positivity of a dictatorial axiom.

To aid the reader in apprehending, as well as to justify the writer in imputing, such accumulated absurdity, it may be requisite, or at least respectful, to explain, that the chimeras referred to have, in their origin, been successively indispensable to the advancement of the human mind. All progress in real knowledge proceeds by generalization. This is to be performed either by ideas, as some maintain; or, as others contend, by names: more exactly, perhaps, by both conjointly. The *name*, however, appears to be the principal instrument, in those acquirements at least which may be termed *communicated;* that is to say, the result of artificial instruction. Here undoubtedly the terms mostly precede the things; even when the ideas are of the positive kind. But with negative terms this antecedence is inevitable in the natural formation of human knowledge, as well as in its acquisition by instruction. Hence the peculiar liability of words of the latter class to be mistaken, while subserving this transitive purpose of pivot, for the principle, the position itself, toward which they are thus conveying instrumentally the all-unconscious mind. Farther, the misapprehension is perpetuated when the negative name has happened to bear a positive form; as, for example, the words *fate, chance,*

and especially *usage*. Fallacy, in this disguise, has frequently eluded the most penetrating of intellects, not excepting Aristotle himself. We should not marvel, then, that, in the present instance, it has escaped the learned multitude of even our own day; who, very naturally, find it easier, in the void of reality and vagary of opinion combined, to hold fast to the physical symbols of thought, than to soar to the logical principles of science, much less to the still more comprehensive laws of the intellectual evolution and political civilization of the race.

Yet upon these laws alone it is that the Philosophy of Language, the scale and scope of its perfection, are definitively to be constructed. So at least has it been with all other subjects, after running the like career of illusory explanation. Not an art, an institution, a faculty, that has not been ascribed at first to the special gift of some divinity, and afterward to the arbitrary authority of Usage, (*mos majorum.*) Even the mechanical crafts, after having had gods for their inventors,* once owned no other principle of perfection than this accidental standard. Now, however, their proficiency is determined, happily, by a very different test. Why not expect the analogy to hold in the art of language likewise, which is at length fast passing under the dominion of scientific laws? In fact, the inference would seem to follow *à fortiori:* for when once a being, organized systematically, and operating accordingly, has been recognized as progressive himself, and the cause of progression in even inert matter, how can he be supposed capable of retrograding, or of even remaining stationary in the single attribute of language, allowed, moreover, to be of all others the most characteristic of his peculiar nature? The inconsequence has been explained already. As to the inference, it is a matter of obvious experience, in (for example) the well-known transition of our modern dialects from the ancient and synthetical, to the analytic, form of construction. That this is an improvement for scientific ends, is no longer denied by the very bigots themselves, whether of tradition or of usage.

It is curious in itself, however, as well as confirmatory of the preceding, to mark the manner of the admission, and observe it trailing behind the shattered shell of the old prejudice. Nations at all to be deemed civilized, no longer pretend to either absolute or exclusive perfection of idiom. The pre-eminence is now partial; but of course peculiar to each. The Englishman will allow the Italian

* Even as recently, we think, as the fourth or fifth century, one of the most eminent Fathers of the Church seems to attribute the mechanical efficacy of the yard-arms of a ship to the circumstance of their resembling in form the instrument of the Crucifixion!

speech to excel indeed in melody, the Spanish in majesty, and others in other qualities. Only he will place these properties in a subordinate rank, reserving the principal for his own favoured idiom. And reciprocal predilections linger with the other nations thus far.

But a reservation, exactly analogous, in favour of the primitive state of the same language, would seem to be now peculiar to the Englishman in reference to his own. There is indeed progression, will he growl: but it is merely relative; and, moreover, at the cost of deterioration in other respects. The language may have advanced in generalization—become more analytical, more philosophical; but then it is getting proportionably less fit for poetry; it is losing its metaphors, its involutions, its idioms. Here is, we repeat, an admission of definite principle and perfective developement in language, made in direct contradiction to the axiom of lawless Usage, and wrung, by dint of evidence, from the strongest of mental prejudices, in a soil too where all prejudices are as pertinacious as thistles, to wit, the Englishman's mind.

To this partial and subaltern excellence conceded to other languages, he still persists in making a single exception. And of which, think you, reader? Why, of the *French!* In this idiom of his ancient conqueror and constant rival in the career of glory, if not of gold, the Saxon sees nothing but faults: for pride can easier afford to be generous to inferiors than just to superiors. The exception here, however, serves, as usual, to prove the rule. And it is a point to be marked particularly, as these are the two dialects, to the comparison of which we are more immediately to apply the result of the preceding observations.

That result seems to be, that there exists a necessary and regular progression in the arts of Speech and Composition, as in all others; but that the special laws whereby this developement proceeds remain utterly unexplored.*

Its main directions, however, we have ascertained to be from the synthetic to the analytic form of structure; from the concrete to the abstract. Of this procession the above lamentation over the decline

* According all possible merit to the vast researches and often valuable discoveries that have been made, during the last half century especially, in the domain of philology, it must, we think, be observed, that their importance is mainly, if not merely, statistical. With relation to what would be properly called the *science* of language, we are aware of no publication, British, French, or even German, that mounts beyond what Bacon terms a *mera palpatio*—in plain English, a mere *groping*. This science, as evolved historically in the aggregate progression of human language, is the object of a treatise wherein (at no remote day, perhaps) the present writer hopes to be found less untrue to the title (which he too has ventured to take) of the *Philosophy of Language*.

of metaphors, &c., is a direct consequence, and thus a further proof. To the former of the conditions also belong inversion, and even idiom; which is in fact but inversion among the *words*, as inversion is but idiom among the *members* of the sentence. On the other hand, the more analytic, the more abstract, the more advanced a particular language, the more logical, the more scientific will it be found in its collocation, whether of words in the clause, of clauses in the sentence, of sentences in the section, of these again in the chapter, or other division: and so on, hierarchically, until it closes in the *unity* of the treatise. The principle is one and the same throughout. It constitutes *method* in the matter of literary composition.

In this grand scientific characteristic the French is allowed, at least by implication, to excel every other language, ancient or modern. For it is allowed to be superior in point of perspicuity, precision, simplicity; which are, in fact, the chief constituents of that finished prose in which the French is accordingly without equal or rival, and which has won it the singular distinction of being adopted as the diplomatic language of the several countries of Europe, in consequence of the importance, on such occasions, of excluding the constructive ambiguity found inevitable in the use of the respective vernaculars.

Hence, on the other hand, its noted unfitness for poetry. A disqualification, however, to be restricted, we think, to poetry of the primitive, the descriptive kind; of which the effect, being rather sensuous than intellectual, seems to be favoured by the vagueness of signification and the variety of sound that appertain to the concrete condition of language. The poetry of action and combination, of reflection and analysis, ought, on the contrary, to advance with those qualities of the language which conduce to the perfection of prose. This inference is verified strikingly by a double fact; of which our principle thus spontaneously furnishes the first and philosophical explication: namely, 1st. The affinity of dramatic style to the simplicity of pure prose. 2d. The artistic superiority of the French theatre. Here is a congruity too profoundly complicate not to be quite conclusive of the higher maturity of the French language and style. In like manner, the inconsistency of alleging its unfitness for poetry—that is, of the ruder forms—by way of set-off to the undeniable pre-eminence of its prose—this envious inconsistency, we say, is a decisive proof of the ignorance above exposed as prevailing upon the entire subject, and from which the French themselves are by no means free, if we may judge from their mode of vindicating those disputed properties of their language and literature.

Before, however, taking either as a standard for stricture upon our English idiom and style, it is essential that the peculiarities in question

—as well of imputed defect as of admitted excellence—should appear beyond cavil to be the legitimate effect of a superior degree of perfection. To this end it will suffice to refer to the history of literature in every country; where a corresponding sequence may be uniformly traced. Everywhere we find the age and the dialect of poetry precede the age and dialect of prose. Antiquity had a Homer several centuries before an Herodotus. The Christian Homer of the modern world appeared nearly as long before a Boccaccio or a Villani. It is also to be remarked, that those eternal models of poetic perfection were both produced in a barbarous age of their respective idioms; to which, in fact, they were the first to give the harmony, fixity, and character preparatory to the rise of prose.

Again, if our survey be directed to the different species of poetry, we find, as civilization advances, the Descriptive and Lyrical, that is to say, the *objective* and *emotional* forms, successively on the wane; while the *subjective*, the Dramatic, which is the latest, and therefore the most refined developement, is observed to flourish toward the period when the language has become capable of perfect prose: in other words, *when it has undergone the analysis of philosophy.* Thus Euripides and Aristophanes, both of the dialectical age of Socrates, were the latest of the golden poets of Greece. Nor was it till the eighteenth century that Italy, so early fruitful in other poetry, produced a Metastasio, a Goldoni, an Alfieri. The dramas of Corneille, Racine, and Molière were written, not in the dialect of their epic or lyric predecessors, the troubadours and trouveurs, but in the language of Pascal, of Fénélon, and La Bruyere. And in our own literature Shakspeare is found contemporary with the "Essays" of Bacon, not with the "Canterbury Tales" of Chaucer. And Shakspeare himself is but the Æschylus—sublime and irregular—of the British drama, which has still to wait the artistic excellence of a Euripides or a Racine, until the language shall have received the corresponding measure of philosophical elaboration.

The progression is exactly analogous in prose. Herodotus is still half poet, as well in the loose luxuriance of the diction as in the story-telling, the epic excursiveness of his most charming of chronicles—dedicated, accordingly, to *every* muse: he is the Homer of prose composition. The style of Thucydides, though very little later, offers a signal improvement, we think, in this species of writing; yet is still somewhat ill-jointed, obscure, and occasionally incorrect. Whereas, the atticism of Xenophon, the pupil of Socrates, is the ripened fruit of the era of rational philosophy. The same succession may be traced through the several modern countries of Europe:—from Villani to Machiavel, in Italy; from Froissart to Voltaire, in France;

and in England, from the Gothic chronicles of Holingshed and Stow, to the polished and philosophic pages of Hume and of Gibbon.

If, by a higher generalization, we were now to view the two periods, ancient and modern, continuously, as presenting the scientific progression of language in its transition from the synthetic forms of the mother idioms to the analytical structure of the affiliated dialects, it might be observed that the best prose of antiquity—Plato's and Livy's, for instance—was still a poetical prose; and that the best modern poetry—suppose Pope's and Racine's—is prose (not *prosaic*) poetry. And both these consequences of our theory may be verified, besides, by two of the most significant facts: the former, by the fact that Aristotle, reputed himself the least poetic of writers, would have prose composition submitted, quite the same as poetry, to certain metrical rules;—a principle, moreover, reduced to practice by even the severest of the ancient writers, not excepting Tacitus himself, the very first line of whose history makes a perfect hexameter. The second part of the observation is equally borne out by the fact of the celebrated controversy which arose, during the last century, in France—a question, by the way, which could have arisen under no other living language,* and the agitation of which thus furnishes a new proof of the scientific forwardness of that dialect. We allude, of course, to the theory of La Motte and others: that the perfection of style is the same for poetry and prose; that they differ but in the mechanical circumstance of rhyme or of rhythm; which being removed, the best poetic diction should fall into the correctest prose; thus coinciding literally with Quinctilian's idea of the historic style, as being *quodammodo carmen solutum*. With La Motte and his sect this interesting truth was little more than an observation of fact, and supported merely by experimenting on the best French verse. Of the great law whereof it is the literary result, they appear to have been entirely unconscious. How little either the law or the fact is recognized in England, even up to this day, may be seen, for example, from the "Bowles Controversy." With the least conception of the principle, Lord Byron—who felt its truth by the sympathy of genius, as he exemplified it pre-eminently by his double excellence in poetry and prose—Byron, we say, would have been enabled to give complete conclusiveness to his empirical, though vigorous vindication of Pope. And, on the other hand, those who would banish from Parnassus this great master of English verse, precisely because of the perfection of his firm and finished style, would, if only accessible to a glimpse of the progression, even as a fact, have never

* The Prefaces of Wordsworth offer no English exception, as his notion turns upon the simplicity, not of style, but of sentiment or subject.

given occasion for the discussion. It is at least charitable to believe they would have thus been brought to comprehend themselves, by their prose reflexions, what they serve at least to teach others by their poetical fate: that poetry does not consist exclusively, and for all times and all topics, in rhapsody without inspiration, whined to an audience without sentiment, and an age without enthusiasm. This is the principle upon which also turns the moot question among a thousand others, of continuous progress or indefinite perfectibility in literature and the fine arts. But the immensity and suggestiveness of this novel point of view have detained us already disproportionably to the occasion.

The feature of language which furnishes the scale of this philosophical progression is, then, we repeat, the collocation, whether of words in the member, of members in the period, periods in the section, sections in the chapter or discourse. For all these, sentence, period, paragraph, &c., differ in principle from the simple term of the proposition, but as an equation of a single efficient would differ from the same quantity in the analyzed form of several factors. The principle being thus uniform in all the modes of composition and all the parts of each mode, we are at liberty to take the simplest of the combinations, the *unit* of all discourse, the simple sentence, in short, for our test of comparison.

This sentence is composed of two parts, the noun and the verb; with their occasional adjuncts, the adjective and adverb respectively. Of conjunctives and definitives we here take no account; having to consider the sentence in its most elementary state of bare predication, aside from all relation of action and specification of object. The relative position of these accessories, adverb and adnoun, toward their principals, is what constitutes the construction we profess to examine.

This position is observed to be various, not only in different languages, but even in the same language at different times. In some, the adjective commonly precedes the substantive, as in the English. In others it follows, as in the French especially. In others, still, it seems to have been virtually arbitrary, as in the Greek and Latin of the classic ages.* This two-fold variation—for the rest distinguished, if at all, but rudely—is usually explained by referring it vaguely to the *genius* of the particular idiom; which itself is made in turn to repose upon the oyster of unknown accident, with a like summary convenience. The law of progression just delineated, however, seems to show it to be, on the contrary, the normal and neces-

* [We think it not difficult to see the law of collocation in the Greek and Latin—the latter especially.—Ed.]

sary effect of the scientific developement of the language, graduated itself, again, according to the intellectual advancement of the nation.

This indeed is evident to even common sense. It is evident that all language must have commenced with the former of these modes of arrangement;—that, namely, in which the attributive precedes. The decisive reason is, that all men have commenced with *feeling*, not with *reasoning*. But it is only the things denoted by adjectives, it is only qualities and modes, that in fact we ever do feel, first or last: substance is but an abstraction, a creation of the maturer mind, suggested by the senses, and subservient to the combination, purely ideal, of the corresponding properties into the several aggregates called bodies. In speaking of these bodies, therefore, the adjective would take precedence spontaneously, under and during the primitive, the *sensational* order of conception. Indeed, there would for a long time be no alternative; the attributive, whether of quality or action, being primordially the sole element or part of speech, and the only positive source of all the others successively. Attributives would at this stage be proper names, and their intention, to *designate*. But after becoming, with the evolution of the conceptive faculty in man, generalized and thus *realized** into the notion of substance; after the substances denominated accordingly came to be made the subject of *description*, which is the communicative, the distinctive office of human language; then, we say, the place of adjectives is properly *after* the noun: for reason plainly requires that the object to be made known should be introduced itself before we go on to specify its attributes. This is termed the direct, in opposition to the former, which is the inverted, order of construction. It proceeds upon the rational, the scientific form of conception.

In its transition from the one to the other of these conceptual points of view, the collocation will be more or less optional as the language is more or less advanced. Usage (from the necessity of the case, as we have shown) will be regent, pending the regal minority of reason. Its authority will be peremptory until toward that main stage of the general progression, where the synthetical forms begin to dissolve into the analytic; when it becomes liable to be supplanted in turn by the no less arbitrary pretender called Taste. This we should term the Æsthetical period of the language, in distinction from the extremes of the Sensational and the Scientific. It is the golden age of poetry, at least of the emotional and dithy-

* This is the grand illusion, the breaking up of which, in the more advanced mind of modern Europe, gave rise to the great controversy of the middle ages between the Nominalists and *Realists*.

rambic order; wherein the language, like the verse, is *legibus soluta*, and the ear overrides the understanding.

Such was the classic state of the Latin and the Greek tongues. But the latter, as corresponding with a much older and higher civilization, was the more fixed in its construction, or (in the language of our theory) the more philosophized of the two; and had, in the ultimate perfection of its literary productions, attained, we see, to nearly the direct arrangement, as in the models of Attic style. The Latin, too, was fast discovering the same tendency already amid its meridian splendour of the Augustan age. Of this we could cite no attestation at once briefer and better than the practice of Augustus himself; not because he was emperor of Rome, but because he was an emperor of reason, as well as of taste. Respecting his manner of writing, Suetonius tells us:—"His principal care was to express his meaning as clearly as possible. *To this end*, and in order not to *leave for an instant the reader or hearer in confusion or suspense*, he did not hesitate to add prepositions to verbs, and to multiply the use of conjunctions, of which the omission occasions a degree of obscurity, though it may serve to give additional grace to the expression."*

The grammatical revolution thus not only going on silently, but professed systematically by this royal radical, resulted in the general anarchy wherein we observe the Latin dialects of southern Europe to fluctuate chaotically from the eighth down to the seventeenth century. We are aware that this is commonly ascribed to the northern barbarians,—the mixture of their jargons and the mutilations of their ignorance. But the barbarians did at the most but rudely remove an impediment, not give the impulsion. Besides, the idioms of these barbarians themselves had been originally of the same stock, and in large part, at the very time, of exactly similar and synthetic structure. In short, the fact of any influence is elaborately disputed by one of the ablest philologers of the age, M. Raynouard; who maintains that the *Romaic* dialects in question, namely, the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, and, of course, in part, the English, have been constituted in little or nothing from the wreck alluded to. He insists they descended, by natural and merely national modification, spontaneously from a certain popular or rustic dialect of the Latin; which not only prevailed, especially in the provinces, long before the Gothic incursions—of which there can be no doubt; but had even,

* Præcipuam curam duxit, sensum animi quam apertissime exprimere: quod quo facilius efficeret, aut necubi lectorem vel auditorem obturbaret ac moraretur, neque præpositiones verbis addere, neque conjunctiones sæpius iterare dubitavit, quæ detractæ afferunt aliquid obscuritatis, etsi gratiam augent.—*Suet. Vit. Aug.*

according to Cardinal Bembo and other Italian writers, flourished side by side with the language of Cicero and Virgil.

Without pronouncing here upon the fact of derivation—respecting which we do not feel satisfactorily prepared to speak—it may be remarked, first, that the contemporary existence of the Latin *patois* is supported by the analogy of what is known in this respect of all the most civilized nations of early antiquity; and in the next place, that, assuming it to have in fact prevailed among the common people and the provincials of the Roman empire, this popular, rather than the literary form of the language, must have been, as alleged, the parent of the barbarized and simplified dialects. For the popular mind, if not really the more progressive, seems, especially in the matter of language, best to exhibit the progress attained; because it is unrestrained by models of literature or monuments of writing. An observation attested signally by this very art itself of writing; of which we find, as in ancient Egypt, the two forms termed symbolic and demotic, (that is, popular,) not only to co-exist in use with different classes of that people, but also the latter and later character to coincide with the analytic condition of our modern alphabet; while the hieroglyphic system still retained, in its ingenious and arbitrary complications, a profound correspondence to the synthetic structure in language.

The modern dialects of Europe, then, whatever may have been their efficient causes, present us a philosophical advance upon what we have named the poetic period of the Latin idiom—an advance which it would have necessarily attained at all events, sooner or later. The degree of the progression may also be measured with general exactness by the diminishing use of inversion, and the more direct order of collocation between the phrases of the period or paragraph, and the words of the phrase. We find accordingly these qualities of arrangement to be least forward in the Italian branch; where the dissolution of the ancient structure proceeded naturally the slowest, in consequence of the more immediate presence of the literary authority, and was the earliest arrested by the genius of Dante, which, finding the materials in the transition-state of poetical fusion, cast the form and the fate of the "Tuscan's syren tongue." The French, on the contrary, which had the grammatical good fortune of continuing relatively the latest without writers of great eminence, while it was at the same time the most agitated and elaborated by the myriads of its mediocrities, troubadours and trouveurs —the French, we say, is found to have worked itself the farthest into analytic-simplicity, and stiffened, or rather straitened, itself into an order uniformly direct: and this not only in the disposition of all

the parts of the period, but even in what is perhaps an attainment considerably later, the post-position of the adjective and adverb.

In the English, also,—which, however, is fundamentally of a different origin,—the tendency has been the same. There appear already some instances of even the final results of the progression; though chiefly in the language of an art where men are forced to be prematurely precise. For of this nature seem to be the law-phrases: "condition precedent," "condition subsequent," "malice prepense," "malice aforethought," "proof presumptive," "proof positive," "parties litigant," &c. The reader will better discern the advantages of this construction by transposing the adjectives in accordance with the common order of our idiom. There is one of these advantages which may be indicated shortly and simply. If I say *precedent condition*, thus rendering condition the emphatic term, the sense is evidently left afloat, among all the sorts of *condition* possible in case the phrase be used in connexion; and if uttered by itself, among all the sorts of *things* whatever. In the former case, the mind of the hearer, in order to determine as best it may the specific condition meant, is obliged (so to express it) to cast about the whole context: in the other case, where there is no context, there can be no signification at all. Now the phrase *condition precedent*, on the contrary, defines itself. For the adjective, which is its emphatic word, reduces the range of the apposition to a single alternative; and even this is so far from tending to distract or detain the intelligence, that it only enables it, by the correlation suggested, to seize the meaning with the more perfect precision and promptitude. And so it would be found of the other instances cited.

The principle is quite the same with respect to the disposition of the Adverb; but is, in this case, better exhibited by example than explication, modality being more abstract or less palpable than quality. In this feature of style, the English idiom would seem to have been more forward in the days of Anne, or even of Elizabeth, than it is at present. The critics have been lavish in praise of the style, for instance, of Bolingbroke. But it has not been remarked that the distinctive excellence of this writer is mainly due to the skilful disposition of his adverbs and adverbial phrases; whereby he, in a peculiar degree, avoided the English obscurity incidental to inversion, while preserving its ancient advantages of harmony and *number*. The disuse or neglect of this logical propriety, we cannot forbear thinking to be the real occasion of a vicious expedient come of late into vulgar vogue: vicious, because it sacrifices the latter, without

securing the former, of those cardinal ends of style; because it precludes at once all graduation in the thought and all modulation in the expression. We allude to the practice of frittering the sense into almost as many distinct propositions or sentences as there are circumstances to be stated; a practice which evidently proceeds upon the confusion of *plainness* with *perspicuity*.

As to the cause of the neglect itself, it might be traced, perhaps, a good deal to Blair. This Coryphæus of British criticism, in utter ignorance of the laws of style which we have endeavoured cursorily to indicate, prescribes, for example, somewhere in his Rhetoric, that the sentence should not *end* with an adverb. It would have been just as rational to interdict any of the other, and thus of course *all*, of the so called parts of speech. Nor is this the only article wherein English style could be shown to have suffered from the temporary influence of his superficially French compilation; as also from certain other critical writings of his countrymen, who, for a century back, as Lord Byron complained so indignantly, have given "law to English wit."

A like prejudice—remnant of the poetic phase of language, where sense is subordinate to sound—proscribes, in effect, from this final position of emphasis, not only the adjunct, but even the principal—the noun itself, whether verbal or substantive, when monosyllabic. This is a doctrine of Blair, too, if we recollect aright. In Virgil and Horace, however, the same critics find the same thing a subject of encomium. In consideration of the sound, you will say. No; but, on the contrary, in consideration of the sense and at the sacrifice of the sound: thus betraying, characteristically, the solidity of their principles. They fancy, in the collocation, *nascetur ridiculus mus*, that the shortness of the final word somehow images the diminutiveness of the animal denoted, and they decide the arrangement to be preferable, on account of this happy property, to either of the other two, of which the phrase is assumed to be more euphoniously susceptible.

But in the first place the effect itself may well be questioned. We do not, it is submitted, experience that the term *mons*, for example, which is quite as short as *mus*, has any tendency to degrade the mountain of its "fair proportions." And as to writing *mus ridiculus*, with the epithet in the emphatic place, its effect would be (metre apart) rather to render the poet himself ridiculous than his subject.

Why? Our philosophical principle of collocation furnishes the answer round and ready. *Ridiculus* is not here employed as descriptive of the mouse—which were indeed a *niaiserie* fitter for Wordsworth than for Horace. Referred to the *object* metaphorically, it goes really to the action, describes an *effect*, is logically an adverb,

and equivalent to *ridiculum visu*. *Nascetur*, the other pretended alternative, would here be equally improper in the emphatic position; the action or verb being not the point upon which the reader's attention is meant to be rested principally. This point is manifestly the substantive mouse. The propriety of the poet's construction then, and, doubtless, the beauty, real or imaginary, detected by the commentators, consists in its exact conformity to our principle of collocation. A conformity to be expected, (as far as the early stage of the idiom would allow,) not only from the precision and elegance peculiar to the writer in practice, but also from the judgment of one who could see and say, some two thousand years since, that

"Scribendi recte SAPERE est et *principium* et *fons*."

But we must hasten to close with a few critical illustrations from English sources. It will be but fair to the idiom, while it must also augment the force of our examples, to take them only from acknowledged models of composition, whether of that "Augustan age" of the literature wherein most of us still suppose it (how preposterously, has been proved) to have attained the last perfection; or of the present period, more justly deemed, by some, to offer in many respects no inconsiderable improvement. The former of the periods we are at this moment unable to exemplify, having no books where we write. In relation to the latter, we are much more fortunate in finding at hand the two writers reputed generally to present the most favourable specimens of British style, namely, Junius and Mr. Macaulay.

First, of Junius. We open the preface at the passage,—"My Lord Chief Justice de Grey, who filed the information *ex officio*, is *directly* with me." Here are two or three mispositions of the adverb, according to the principle we introduce. The text, taken strictly, would imply that the Chief Justice was to be expected, as a matter of course, to file the information, and to concur with the writer in *some manner or other*. But the reverse is evidently the argument in both the particulars. These actions should both be stated, therefore, so as to precede their accessories, which ought to follow the principals inseparably: that is to say, the thing to be modified should be mentioned before the modification, the action before the manner of it, the verb before the adverb. The adverb, *ex officio*, does follow here in fact; but with the intervention of "information," which has the effect of throwing it forward to the final, the emphatic place. Whereas, the writer's point is not the filing of the information *ex officio*, or otherwise. No more is it the fact itself of the filing. The object of principal bearing upon the

sense is the *information;* which should therefore occupy the principal position.

By this simple transposition, "*ex officio*," too, falls back into its appropriate place; thus rectifying the double inaccuracy by a single movement. The fault of the other clause lies in placing the adverb before the action, which is in reality expressed by the preposition *with;* whereas, it should be located so as to modify the assertion of coincidence, in giving it additional emphasis by the qualification. The whole phrase should, therefore, run: "Who filed, *ex officio*, the information, is with me directly."

Passing now to one of the Letters, and the most elaborate of those to the Duke of Grafton, (April 24th, 1769,) we select a simpler instance of the same imprecision: "You cannot but know that the right of the freeholders to adhere to their choice, even supposing it improperly exerted," &c.:—exerted improperly. The exertion, having been already declared implicitly in the word choice, should not be repeated as the principal, or in chief, as the lawyers express it; but only accessorily and subsidiarily to the *mode*.

With regard to adjectives, respecting which this perverse habit of our idiom is still more inflexible, we take the first example that offers in the same writer, same page: "But their solemn, determined election may be rejected," &c. Here is the inconvenience which we have seen the Emperor Augustus, turned grammarian, endeavour to obviate. The mind is left in doubt, while reading or hearing the epithets, "solemn and determined," as to which of a thousand subjects they are intended to qualify; and the inconvenience multiplies, of course, in a ratio progressing with the number of terms employed. So that, in English, every expression containing one or more adjectives might be charged with involving a degree of preamble not tolerated in an epic poem! For, only imagine such a poem commencing with a string of epithets, or even with merely one. Homer accordingly begins, in both the Iliad and Odyssey, with a simple noun, (*μῆνιν* and *ἄνδρα*,) in which he premises the subject whereon the whole structure is to be successively raised. Virgil, too, the most judicious of imitators, employs, we see, not only single, but in substance the same, words, (*arma virumque;*) very properly combining the two:—his poem being in purpose, likewise, a sort of compound of both the elder epics. So with Dante, Milton, and the rest. But the English idiom will not allow an equal degree of clearness in the simplest sentence which has occasion to qualify either its predicate or subject. Of this primitive order of construction, no doubt the familiarity of a vernacular tongue, together with the uniformity of the usage, continues to dissemble, if it does not in great part obviate, the natural

obscurity. But it cannot cure the imprecision, it cannot refine the inelegance.

Take, on the contrary, the arrangement prescribed by logic and practised by the French idiom, as applicable to the phrase last quoted from Junius: "But their election, solemn and determined, may be rejected," &c. Here, we see, the adjectives, by virtue of the antecedence of their subject, "election," are fully comprehended according as perceived. There is not the least hesitation or ambiguity, even though they should be numerous as the letters of the alphabet, like the epithets of the "peerless Dulcinea del Toboso:"—an instance, by the way, which would exemplify admirably the character, in this respect, of the English mode of construction.

Nor is this the sole advantage. One still more signal in point of elegance will be manifest from the context itself, if we supply the complement of the sentence above quoted, and cite, moreover, the preceding—both which constitute the abutments (so to speak) of the expression. The whole runs thus: "Counties could *neither be* (be neither) purchased nor intimidated. But their election, solemn and determined, may be rejected; and the man they detest may be appointed by another choice." The reader of taste cannot fail to appreciate the accession of precision, energy, and emphasis from the new disposition of the adjectives. It results from the establishment of a twofold apposition: the one, of *contiguity* between the terms, "counties" and "their elections;" the other of *correspondence*, between the manner of the county election and that of the opposite mode of appointment, namely, by "another choice,"—which here, and very properly, coming after the verb, is found exactly in analogy with the submitted collocation of the adjective. *Tantum series juncturaque pollet.*

Now, for a further test, restore mentally the English order; set the adjectives before their substantive, "election," and mark how it dislocates all this neatness of texture, diffusing over the whole passage a species of haze, *jettant du louche*, (as the French better express, because they better apprehend it,) which, though it may not in this instance much obscure or distort materially the meaning, yet tarnishes the vividness of the impression, and jars, in spite of habit, even the harmony of cadence.

The defects of collocation thus slightly illustrated among the elements of the clause, and which are ascribable to the *idiom*, might be shown to be far more flagrant—as they become in fact still more important—in the disorder, imputable to the *writers*, which commonly reigns among the elements of the period or the paragraph. And the evidence and importance would continue to increase through the superior divi-

sions of the discourse. But this would demand a preliminary treatise of dialectics—nothing of which, as distinguished from logic, is yet to be found in our literature. We will, however, note an instance or two of the misplacement of the members—the stage adjacent to the words—which present themselves at hand in the same classic, same page still:—"These observations might be extended into a faithful history of your Grace's administration, and *perhaps* may (may perhaps) be the employment of a future hour." According to grammar, the employment is to be the "observations" *themselves*; according to the author's intention, the *extending* of them. Nor is it unworthy of remark, that "perhaps may" is not only pleonastic, but indeed absurd, in making the verb qualificatory of one of its own modes: whereas, in our transposition of "may perhaps," the intrinsic contingency of the verb is modified quite legitimately by the adverbial condition "perhaps."

Again, a few lines onward, we read: "Every county in England, under the auspices of the treasury, may be represented as completely as the county of Middlesex." Mark the dialectical confusion! Certain counties are described as under the auspices of the treasury, and the predication made of their complete representation: but neither of these propositions can be the writer's meaning. Undoubtedly he intends to say, that other counties may fall under the corrupting control of the treasury as absolutely as Middlesex has done. This may be expressed with due exactness by a simple re-arrangement of the phrase, as thus: "Every county in England may (come to) be represented under the auspices of the treasury as completely as the county of Middlesex." Here the control of the treasury over the other counties no longer appears, absurdly, to be the normal state of things, but is made casual and contingent. Nor is it the *representation* of Middlesex that is asserted, nonsensically, to be "complete;" it is the obnoxious *manner* of the representation.

Such is the crowd of various incorrectnesses within the compass of a single page of one of the most elegant, as well as energetic writers of the language. It seems, then, scarce worth while to detain the reader with any others. Macaulay, whom we have mentioned, abounds in the like inaccuracies of collocation, especially the verbal. In an old number of the Edinburgh Review—Lord Nugent's Memoirs of Hampden—we may read and comment as follows:—"The game of tyranny *was* now *up*, [a low vulgarism, to borrow the phrase in which Macaulay himself would not have failed to denounce it from his critical chair.] Charles had risked, and lost his stake, [dubious whether 'lost' be the preterperfect or the imper-

fect, the proposition containing two assertions of very different tenses.] It is impossible to trace the humiliations and [the] mortifications which this bad man *now* had [had now] to endure. His army was mutinous; . . . addresses against the government were presented. Strafford was for shooting those who presented them by martial law," [the "shooting" or the "presenting," which, by martial law? If the former, doubtless it is no thanks to the construction, which, in fact, determines for the latter.] And so forth, and so forth.

The misplacement of the clauses is, however, in this popular writer, a good deal less frequent: and rarer still the misemployment of connectives. But perhaps this is because Mr. Macaulay scarce stays to employ at all this linking but loitering part of speech. His sentences have generally no members; his terms no modificatives. That is to say, they are all levelled to that confusion of democratic equality, imagined among the members of the human body by the ingenious apologue of Menenius Agrippa. His habit is to state the circumstances, whether of condition or relation, in so many distinct propositions, which he pours incessantly upon the reader in the illusory opulence of unstrung handfuls. This, we may remark, is the secret of what is of late so much vaunted in England, and especially in this country, as "vigorous writing," "graphic style," &c.; an abuse to which the great Reviewer, who has done so much to bring the thing into vogue, is perhaps more indebted for his literary reputation than to his capacious memory, concrete imagination, and various erudition, together. It is curious, however, that we find Quinctilian denouncing the same literary legerdemain in certain flimsy rhetoricians of his day—the day, that is, of the decline of Roman eloquence and taste, *corrupta et omnibus vitiis* FRACTA, as he elsewhere describes it. The very words of this accomplished critic would seem indeed to have been destined by anticipation for the "popular writers" and "earnest thinkers" of the present anarchical state of our literature. We give them, therefore, in the forcible original:—

"At illi hanc *vim* appellant, quæ est potius *violentia:* quum interim non actores modo aliquos invenias, sed, (quod est turpius,) præceptores etiam, (and, most scandalous of all, certain public writers,) qui *brevem* dicendi exercitationem consecuti, *omissa ratione, ut tulit impetus, passim tumultuentur;* eosque qui plus honoris literis tribuerunt et *ineptos*, et *jejunos*, et *trepidos*, et *obscuros*, ut quodque verbum contumeliosissimum occurrit, appellent. Verum illis quidem gratulemur, *sine labore, sine ratione, sine disciplina* disertis," &c.

Not that the last sentence, which fits so well the vulgar herd of his forcible-feeble followers, applies at all to Mr. Macaulay himself. He

would better rank with the distinguished rhetorician and philosopher who is charged with sanctioning or authorizing the corruption just described: whose style of writing even the royal dulness of Domitian could compare to a rope of sand, and the classic conservatism of Quinctilian censured as *frangens pondera rerum minutissimis sententiis:* at the same time according the author *ingenium facile et copiosum, plurimum studii, multam rerum cognitionem.* Precisely the characteristic merits of the Scotch writer too! But, as the same authority has remarked, that the imitators of Seneca copied but his faults; so our would-be "rapid" writers give us only a disjointed, rhapsodical, mad-cap (if we be pardoned this vulgar expression) jumble of metaphor and magniloquence, when they would ape the always skilful, though often meretricious, rhetoric of Macaulay.

We do not, however, with the Roman critic, conceive these periodical innovations of style, whether in letters or the arts, to be ever the cause of what is commonly considered their decline, their corruption. Our theory would introduce, it has been seen, a doctrine more consoling. It teaches that even the highest genius happily has no such power of public perversion. The corruptor and the corruption are but concomitant effects of a common but deeper principle. The innovator is the spontaneous instrument of propagating that dissolution of the established and outworn models which follows upon certain crises or transition states of the intellectual developement above characterized. Whether, then, such changes ought not be accounted rather improvement than degeneration on the whole, we cannot here discuss in relation to the arts generally. With respect to language, we are now entitled to call it an advance; conceiving, as our principle does, both the actual and the ancient structures to be successive stages of an effectual progression. They represent, in the instances before us, the passage of the respective idioms from the elder, or rather younger, forms of Involution, to that state of disorganization which is indispensable to prepare them for a new distribution, more perfect, more logical, more Direct.

Meanwhile, and pending this anarchy both of intellect and expression, all exactness of connexion and arrangement becomes irksome to the writer, unappreciable by the reader; the old paths of thought being broken up and lost, and no land-marks to substitute them as yet erected. Vigour of style is measured by the exertion apparently expended, not by the progress effectually made. The writer, in dispersing the clauses of a natural period into separate sentences, appears to himself, as to his readers, thus to multiply the things, the thoughts, the truths. He seems ever in a palpitation, ever hurried along by his artificial impetuosity; and in danger (as Aristotle

says, perhaps less aptly, respecting the *reader* of this galvanized species of composition) of stumbling and falling head foremost. The readers, on the other hand, of the class who relish this rhapsodizing, experience the tickling sensation of a peasant passenger in a rail-car, whose intellect crawls out into his eyes, and who thus fancies himself vanquishing space, viewing new objects, accumulating information so rapidly!—the whole, however, being found to have evaporated, at the end, to a mere titillation of the physical organs of his five senses.

The discerning, indeed, will always comprehend that this peristaltic style of writing is, to well-compacted and well-ordered composition, very much what locomotion effected by hopping is to the easeful energy of a vigorous walker. The one, it is true, may advance more rapidly by starts: but the other not only outstrips it soon, but outlasts it indefinitely; and, besides, will never inflict that sort of sympathetic distress which readers of taste must speedily suffer from an unnatural mode of movement. In times, however, when the "reading public" is come to be the patron of authors and arbiter of books, and proportionably as this is the case more or less extensively or exclusively in particular countries, may this "physical force" notion of style be expected to prevail, until it be shown—through the gradual influence of a scientific education upon the general mind, and the correlative improvement in the logical texture of the language—to be no better, at the best, than the bustling and aimless activity of boys in a play-ground.

In the grammatical dove-tailing, the dialectical tessellation—which alone can render with full fidelity the orderly complexity of the pattern in nature, and which forms the indispensable groundwork of all style—in this quality it is, accordingly, that writers in English are found behind even the still crude capacities of the language. But by a fortunate, or rather an unfortunate, compensation, the readers appear to be, in general, proportionably behind the writers. To arrest this course, to improve this wretched condition, of reciprocal corruption, we should think a careful study of the method explained in the foregoing pages, and exemplified admirably in the French idiom and style, to be, meanwhile, of the first importance. We are aware that the innovation just imputed to Mr. Macaulay, and denounced by the critics of more systematic antiquity as a degradation of style, is regarded in England as a vicious imitation of the very model we speak of. But this is a new form of the fundamental error which we have had occasion to note already more than once in these pages. The present case of it proceeds from confounding a similitude of means with what is

merely a partial or illusory coincidence of effects. The structure of our English idiom, naturally obscure and precise, acquires, when chopped up into short, sejunct, easily-seized sentences, an air of that clearness and simplicity which form the unrivalled characteristics of French composition. But in the former, it is that *plainness* which is the result of fragmentary *separation;* in the other, it is the *perspicuity* which (as the very term etymologically intimates) is, on the contrary, the attribute of an orderly *combination.*

This happy disposition, this lucid arrangement, therefore, so far from misleading into the dispersive expedients in question, would have the direct effect of suppressing their employment, by obviating the obscurity which they are resorted to vainly to remedy. For in proportion as the collocation of words and the construction of sentences, simple or compound, in a language have attained to a definite and fixed value upon the principle of *relative position,* in this degree may we dispense progressively with the cumbrous contrivances of grammar for indicating the connexion. Witness the multitude of conjunctive particles in the ancient languages, the Greek, for example, which modern times are incapable not only of translating, but even of understanding. Witness, on the other hand, the absence of all syntax in the only form of human language that has as yet attained to complete perfection—the language of pure mathematics. A wall, in fine, of cut stone does not need the quantity of spawls and cement which is requisite while we use rock rude from the quarry, or merely rough hewn on some of the sides.

Need it be remarked, in closing, that we do not mean that this model, however admirable, should be applied directly to English style, especially in the verbal collocations discussed? On the contrary, we pretend it to be the most original and valuable feature of this disquisition to have, we think, established, that any such transformation can be possibly or permanently but the *logical growth* of the general intellect; of which the language and literature of a people are always the actual reflex. But we are also of opinion that this rational progression—already advancing in our idiom under many other forms than we have had time to signalize—may be accelerated incalculably by pointing out the leading direction of the movement, and defining the destined goal. As the best, not yet a perfect example of the latter, we consider the French dialect to be a useful guide, and the safest mode of profiting by it to be judicious, intelligent, and conscientious translation.

As to the general law of Language, we shall be content if, on the present merely incidental occasion, these cursory indications may

lead the thinking to question the notions generally prevalent upon the subject. For it is with science, as the poet says of wisdom, and the Psalmist of the fear of the Lord: the first and principal step to proficiency is to rid one's self of that stultitude* of prejudice, both educational and national, which represents to us our literature, our law, our language, and, in short, whatever of *ours* is considerably above the common comprehension, as having attained not only a special or exclusive degree, but already the final term, of absolute perfection.

Art. VII.—THE REV. EDWARD IRVING.

1. *A Biographical Sketch of Edward Irving.* By William Jones. London: Bennett.
2. *For the Oracles of God; four Orations for Judgment to come; an Argument.* By Edward Irving. London. 1823.

Few names of the present century have more signally divided the opinions of the religious and literary world than that of Edward Irving. As an orator, he has been compared to Demosthenes, Paul, and Luther; as a poet, to Milton; and while a Mackintosh, a Canning, a Brougham, and a Coleridge, have rendered admiring homage to his wonderful genius, many have yet deemed him of disordered intellect, and more have denounced him as either a mere clerical adventurer or a wild fanatic. This singular discrepancy of opinion regarding an individual so prominently presented to the world's gaze and scrutiny as was Irving, may, perhaps, in part be accounted for by the fact, that his character and claims have been, in the majority of instances, but too imperfectly understood. It is scarcely less remarkable that a name, which so radiantly blazed on the forehead of heaven, should have found but one to chronicle his life-story: and that, too, in a spirit of avowed hostility to Irving's characteristic religious tenets; and with a no less determined feeling of personal unfriendliness and bitter prejudice. We refer to the Memoir by the Rev. William Jones, author of the "Church History," &c.

Having ourselves enjoyed the privilege of a personal acquaintance with Irving, and supposing that a better knowledge of some features of his eventful career might tend to the better elucidation of his character with the religious public in the United States, we shall indulge more freely, in this article, in personal reminiscences than might otherwise be deemed allowable.

There was a strange witchery about Irving; everything connected with him evinced the same idiosyncratic marks. His fervid and glow-

* Sapientia prima stultitiâ caruisse.

ing utterances, often resembling the magnificent cadences of Milton; his majestic and stately bearing; the beauty of his more than Italian profile; the piercing glance and fascination of his eloquent eye; all tended to invest him with the insignia and attributes of rare genius. His imposing height of stature, comporting well with his dignified deportment and carriage, made him appear among our modern clergy more like the impersonation of one of apostolic mould—an illusion which the ample folds of his long, flowing jet locks, parted over his broad, expansive forehead, seemed to render but the more complete and irresistible. With an apparent austerity—almost bordering upon the asceticism of the cloister—in his official ministrations in the sanctuary, Irving yet possessed a heart singularly sensitive, gentle, humane, and loving; while his temperament was no less sanguine, ardent, impulsive, and impressible. Of his early history few facts are known; nor does it appear that his boyhood exhibited any remarkably precocious indications of that mental power which his after-life developed. He seems rather to have sought to be a worshipper at the shrine of nature, by the hill-side, or the romantic glens of his own classic soil, than to pore over the pages of the collective wisdom of the past. It is said that, at twelve years of age, he used to take his solitary ramble over the wild heather, with simply the Bible under one arm, and a loaf of bread under the other; and thus would he seek, at their very source, to draw deep wisdom and inspiration alike from the great statute-books of heaven and of earth. He imbibed the love of liberty with his pure mountain air; at early dawn and dewy eve he was wooed to worship with the whispering breeze—the matin and vesper hymn of nature—while the radiant and variegated splendors of the glowing earth, and the gorgeous beauty of the bending skies, filled his impassioned soul with lofty aspirations and earnest yearnings after that nobler estate of being—the high prerogative of Christian faith—which, to his rapt vision, seemed scarcely less palpable than his own actual existence. Thus did he commune with the celestial, the ideal, and the real. It is not surprising, therefore, that he should have been moulded after a model dissimilar from that of his contemporaries and his age. Far from disdaining the toils of studious scholarship, however, Irving not only possessed, in an eminent degree, an acquaintance with the sciences, and the general branches of human lore, but he became himself essentially a poet; and, from imbibing a fondness for the master-poets of our language, he also adopted for his own the style and phraseology of the mighty minds of that Augustan age.

Our first acquaintance with the subject of our sketch commenced soon after his arrival in the British metropolis. Previous to his

acceptance of the invitation of the society at Hatton Garden Chapel, to become their pastor, Mr. Irving, who had long been the protégé of Dr. Chalmers, had won for himself some renown, as associate in the ministerial labours of his distinguished patron and friend. It was not, however, till his accession to the pastorate of that hitherto obscure and almost unknown church in London, that he laid the foundation for that brilliant, though brief career, the parallel of which is perhaps not to be found in the annals of the Church. And what a dizzy height was that on which he stood for a while, glorying, Samson-like, in the conscious greatness of his strength! It was the remarkable combination of powers, physical, moral, and mental, that won for him unprecedented popularity, and the most exclusive, intellectual, and distinguished of audiences. It was the correspondence and the reflection of his gigantic powers of mind upon his no less remarkable *physique*, that imparted to his eloquence, both of speech and gesture, such an inexpressible fascination. Referring to this correspondence—this reflection, as it were, of his powers and passions upon his person—a contemporary critic eloquently observes:—"There might be seen independence stalking in his stride, intellect enthroned on his brow, imagination dreaming on his lips, physical energy stringing his frame, and athwart the whole a cross ray, as from Bedlam, shooting in his eye. It was this which excited such curiosity, wonder, awe, rapture, and tears, and made his very enemies, even while abusing, confess his power and tremble in his presence. It was this which made ladies flock, and faint; which divided attention with the theatres; eclipsed the oratory of parliament; drew demireps to hear themselves abused; made Canning's fine countenance flush with pleasure, 'as if his veins ran lightning;' accelerated, in an alarming manner, the twitch of Brougham's dusky visage, and elicited from his eye those singular glances, half of envy and half of admiration; and made such men as Hazlitt protest, on returning, half squeezed to death, from one of his displays, that a monologue from Coleridge, a recitation of one of his own poems from Wordsworth, a burst of puns from Lamb, and a burst of passion from Kean, were nothing to a sermon from Edward Irving. His manner, also, contributed to the charm; his aspect, wild, yet grave, as one labouring with some mighty burden; his voice, deep, sonorous, clear, and with crashes of power, alternating with cadences of sweetest melody; his action, now graceful as the wave of the rose-bush in the breeze, and now fierce and urgent as the midnight motion of the oak in the hurricane; the countenance, kindling, dilating, contracting, brightening, or blackening, with the theme; now attractive, in its fine, symmetrical repose, and now terrible to look at, in its strong lines, and glaring excite-

ment, and an air of earnestness and enthusiasm, which ever prevented the impression that it was a mere display: all this formed an unparalleled combination of the elements of Christian oratory. Then there was the style, curiously uniting the beauties and faults of a sermon of the seventeenth century, with the beauties and blemishes of a parliamentary harangue of the nineteenth; quaint as Browne, florid as Taylor, with the bleak wastes that intersect the scattered green spots of Howe, mixed here with sentences, involved, clumsy, and cacophonous, as the worst of Jeremy Bentham's, and interspersed there with patches from the magic robe of Coleridge." Abrupt and startling as were sometimes his transitions from the majestic and the sublime, to the common-place and the colloquial, such was his oratorical adroitness, that these defects, which would have been deemed fatal to an ordinary speaker, were regarded, in his instance, but as among the eccentricities of genius.

Irving had the courage, not only to think for himself, but to apply the rigid scrutiny of his rare intellectual powers to the study of the Sacred Oracles, irrespective of the dogmas of synods and canons. His diction, as we have intimated, was a new dialect for the sacred desk; and his fresh, free, and vigorous annunciation of even familiar truths, burst upon the charmed ear with a persuasiveness and power unknown to the majority of modern pulpits. His discourses were often a rich conglomeration of the spoils from Milton, Shakspeare, and other mines of intellectual wealth, as well as from the Divine Oracles; while in instances not a few, did the impetuous flow of his impassioned appeals far transcend the limits usually assigned for public worship.

We have as yet spoken of Irving merely as a preacher. Before citing a few passages from his far-famed "Orations for the Oracles of God"—which were, in fact, but a transcript of his earlier pulpit addresses—we might be allowed to premise, that although this production, as a work of art, is amenable to criticism in many respects; yet it cannot be denied that it abounds with some of the most exquisite beauties of style to be found in the language. Take, for example, the exordium to his first oration:—

"There was a time when each revelation of the word of God had an introduction into this earth, which neither permitted men to doubt whence it came nor wherefore it was sent. If, at the giving of each several truth, a star was not lighted up in heaven, as at the birth of the Prince of truth, there was done upon the earth a wonder to make her children listen to the message of her Maker. The Almighty made bare his arm; and, through mighty acts, shown by his holy servants, gave demonstration of his truth, and found for it a sure place among the other matters of human knowledge and belief. But now the miracles of God have ceased; and nature, secure and unmolested, is no longer called on for testimonies to her Creator's voice. No burning bush draws the

footsteps to his presence-chamber; no invisible voice holds the ear awake; no Hand cometh forth from the obscure, to write his purposes in letters of flame. The vision is shut, the testimony is sealed, and the word of the Lord is ended; and this solitary volume is the sum total of all for which the chariot of heaven made so many visits to the earth, and the Son of God himself tabernacled and dwelt among us. The truth which it contains once dwelt, undivulged, in the bosom of God; and, on coming forth to take its place among things revealed, the heavens and the earth, and nature, through all her chambers, gave it reverent welcome. Beyond what it contains, the mysteries of the future are unknown. To gain it acceptation and currency, the noble company of martyrs testified unto the death; the general assembly of the first-born in heaven made it the day-star of their hopes, and the pavilion of their peace. Its every sentence is charmed with the power of God, and powerful to the everlasting salvation of souls. Having our minds filled with these thoughts of the primeval divinity of revealed wisdom, when she dwelt in the bosom of God, and was of his eternal self a part, long before he prepared the heavens, or set a compass upon the face of the deep; revolving, also, how, by the space of four thousand years, every faculty of mute nature did solemn obeisance to this daughter of the Divine Mind, whenever he pleased to commission her forth to the help of mortals; and further meditating upon the delights which she had of old with the sons of men, the heights of heavenly temper to which she raised them, and the offspring of magnanimous deeds, which these two—the wisdom of God and the soul of man—did engender between themselves: meditating, I say, upon these mighty topics, our soul is smitten with grief and shame to remark how, in this latter day, she hath fallen from her high estate; and fallen, along with her, the great and noble character of men."

As a specimen of the bold fearlessness which characterized some of his pulpit ministrations, in the presence, too, of a host of titled magnates who crowded to listen, we quote another passage from our modern Demosthenes. And here we might add, in passing, that it was requisite, in the zenith of his popularity, to procure tickets of admission, even for standing-room, for which we have often had to apply a week in advance—so eager and intense was the desire to see and hear this "man of his century," as the London *Athenæum* once pronounced him. But to our extracts, and we quote at random:—

"If you get not the soul's attachments to the world loosened before death, there will ensue such a rending and agony upon your departure, as no loss of country, of wife, or children, can be compared with: and, if you take not a cool forethought of the future, nor prepare to meet it, there will come such a brood of fears, such a wreck of hopes, as no improvident spendthrift ever encountered. O! ye sons of men, if these things are so, and ye tread every moment upon the brink of time, and live upon the eve of judgment, what avail your many cares, and your unresting occupations? Will your snug dwellings, your gay clothing, and your downy beds, give freshness to the stiffened joints, or remove the disease which hath got a lodgment in your marrow and in your bones? Will a crowded board, and the full flow of jovial mirth, and beauty's wreathed smile, and beauty's dulcet voice, charm back to a crazy dwelling the ardours and graces of youth? Will yellow gold bribe the tongue of memory, and wipe away from the tablets of the mind the remembrance of former doings? Will worldly goods reach upward to heaven, and bribe the pen of the recording angel, that he should cancel from God's books all vestige of our crimes? or abrogate the eternal law by which sin and sor-

row, righteousness and peace, are bound together? Once more, ye sons of men, hear me, for your honour and your interest's sake; and give ear, as you value the love of Christ, and the majesty of God. It is sure as death and destiny, that if you awake not from this infatuation of custom and pleasure, at the calls of God your Saviour, the habitations of dismal cruelty, endless days and nights of sorrow, shall be your doom. O! could I lift the curtain which shrouds eternity from the eye of time, and disclose the lazar-house of eternal death, what sleeper of you would not start at the chaos of commingled grief?"

The following sentences, descriptive of a vision of the future blessedness of the redeemed, are redolent of richest poetry:—

"Cannot God create another world, many times more fair, and cast over it a mantle of light, many times more lovely, and wash it with purer dew than ever dropped from the eyelids of the morn? Can he not shut up winter in his hoary caverns, or send him howling over other domains? Can he not form the crystal eye more full of sweet sensations, and fill the soul with a richer faculty of conversing with nature, than the most gifted poet did ever possess? Think you the creative function of God is exhausted upon this dark and troublous ball of earth; or that this body and soul of human nature are the masterpiece of his architecture? Who knows what new enchantment of melody, what new witchery of speech, what poetry of conception, what variety of design, and what brilliancy of execution, he may endow the human faculties withal? in what new graces he may clothe nature, with such various enchantment of hill and dale, woodland, rushing streams, and living fountains: with bowers of bliss, and Sabbath scenes of peace, and a thousand forms of disporting creatures, so as to make all that the world hath beheld to seem like the gross picture with which you catch infants; and to make the eastern tale of romances, and the most rapt imagination of eastern poets, like the ignorant prattle and rude structures which first delight the nursery, and afterward shame our riper years." * * * "O! what untried forms of happy being, what cycles of revolving bliss, await the just! Conception cannot reach it, nor experience present materials for the picture of its similitude; and, though thus figured out by the choicest emblems, they do no more represent it, than the name of Shepherd does the guardianship of Christ, or the name of Father, the love of Almighty God."

We fear our citations may be deemed too extended; but they portray, psychologically, their author, with better effect than anything descriptive we could supply We quote at random another brief passage, as a sample of the quaint and the Gothic:—

"It is not sluggish contentment I advocate. I would rather see a man wrestle against his lot, than miserably succumb; rise, rampant, and shake from him the thongs and whips that scourge him; take arms, and perish like a man, than whine and weep, under inglorious bonds." * * "If you have a capacious mind, but no books nor school to train it in, nor theatre of high debate to display it before; then be it between you and your God, and those whom he hath placed about you. Be the book of God your hand-book, the universe of God your eye-book, and the providence of God your book of problems to be resolved; and be your own soul, your family, your friends, every ear which listens, the theatre before which to demonstrate your knowledge: this is amplitude enough. Is your heart generous and pitiful, but forced, by niggard fortune, to confine itself within narrow bounds of well-doing; then there is the generosity of feeling and of utterance, there is

a kind word and a good counsel, which the wretched need as much, but seldomer receive, than an alms. Feel no envy; that is generous: indulge no malice; that is gracious: study no revenge; that is bountiful. It was thus that Christ testified that passing generosity of spirit which hath made him the boast of mankind." * * * "I wish I had a dwelling-place in every bosom, and could converse with every faculty of man; that I had an ear to hear their murmurings, their sighings, their groanings, and all their secret griefs: and I wish that I had a faculty to understand all the parts and kindly offices of religion, which, in this present age, seemeth to be in bonds, and to want enlargement; then would I draw near to every repining, grieving, hampered faculty of spirit, and, out of my spiritual guide, would I sing over it a soft and soothing strain, sweetly set to its present infirmity, until each languishing part of human nature should be refreshed, and peace should come, and blushing health arise, and glowing strength spring up lustily, and, 'like a giant refreshed with wine,' the whole soul should recover a divine strength, and push onward to perfection, heartily and happily, with the full consent of all her powers." * * * "Where is nature gone when she is not moved with the tender mercy of Christ? Methinks the affections of men are fallen into the yellow leaf. Of your poets which charm the world's ear, who is he that inditeth a song unto his God? Some will tune their harps to sensual pleasures, and, by the enchantment of their genius, well nigh commend their unholy themes to the imagination of saints: others, to the high and noble sentiments of the heart, will sing of domestic joys and happy unions, casting around sorrow the radiancy of virtue, and bodying forth, in undying forms, the short-lived visions of joy. But when, since the days of the 'blind old master of English song,' hath any poured forth a lay worthy of the Christian theme? Nor in philosophy, 'the palace of the soul,' have men been more mindful of their Maker. The flowers of the garden, and the herbs of the field, have their unwearied devotees, crossing the ocean, way-faring in the desert, and making devout pilgrimages to every region of nature, for offerings to their patron muse. The rocks, from their residences among the clouds, to their deep rests in the deep bowels of the earth, have a most bold and adventurous priesthood; who see, in their rough and flinty faces, a more delectable image to adore, than in the revealed countenance of God. And the political welfare of the world is a very Moloch, who can, at any time, command his hecatomb of human victims. But the revealed sapience of God, to which the harp of David, and the prophetic lyre of Isaiah, were strung; the prudence of God, which the wisest of men coveted after, preferring it to every gift which Heaven could confer—and the eternal Intelligence himself in human form—and the unction of the Holy One which abideth—these the common heart of man hath forsaken, and refused to be charmed withal. Yea, I testify, there ascendeth not from earth an hosanna of her children to bear witness, in the ear of the upper regions, to the wonderful manifestations of her God; save from a few scattered hamlets, in a small portion of her wide territory, whence a small voice goeth forth like the 'voice of one crying in the wilderness.'"

The delicious imagery of the following burst of true poetry—the last extract we shall present—will plead in mitigation of censure for our already too extended quotations. It is a glowing appeal on behalf of the existence and operations of the Divine Spirit:—

"If, then, the truth of God's presidency and presence in our worldly affairs, finds for itself universal belief among Christians, though resting on revelation alone, and having no foundation, either in sight or perception, upon what plea will they reject the doctrine of the Spirit's presence and presidency in the great world of grace, if it be found revealed with the same degree of distinct-

ness? There ought, therefore, to be no preliminary objection taken to it upon the grounds of its not being perceptible; but the Scriptures should be searched, whether it be so or not. Rather, upon the other hand, because it is not perceptible, we should entertain it, as more akin to the other operations of the invisible God; for, exalting your thoughts a little, conceive the ways of God; look abroad over the wide world, and what do you behold? Noiseless nature, putting forth her buds, and drinking the milk of her existence from the distant sun. Where is God? He is not seen—he is not heard. Where is the sound of his footsteps? Where the rushing of his chariot wheels? Where is his storehouse for this inhabited earth? Where are the germs of future plants, the juice of future fruits? And where is the Hand, dividing its portion to every living thing, and filling their hearts with life and joy? Lift your thoughts a little higher; behold the sun. Doth he, when preparing to run his race, shake himself like a strong man after sleep, and make a rustling noise, and lift up his voice to God for a renewal of his exhausted strength? Doth the pale-faced and modest moon, which cometh in the season of the night, make music in the still silence to her Maker's praise? Do the stars, in their several spheres, tell to mortal sense the wondrous stories of their births? Again, turn your thoughts inward, upon yourselves, and say if your manly strength did grow out of infant helplessness, with busy preparations and noisy workmanship, as the chiselled form of man groweth out of the quarried stone? In the still evening, when you lay you down, wearied and worn out, doth your strength return during the watches of the sleepy and unconscious night, by noise and trouble, as a worn-out machine is refitted by the cunning workman? Tell me how intelligence grows upon the unconscious babe. Where are the avenues of knowledge, and by what method doth it fix itself?"

We have drawn the foregoing extracts exclusively from his "Orations." Irving's literary skill and power were perhaps better discovered in some of his subsequent writings. His "*Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed of God*," was yet a bolder, wilder flight; while his famed anniversary discourse, on "*Missions, after the Apostolic School*," delivered at Surrey Chapel, before many hundreds of his clerical brethren, and which occupied three hours and a half in the delivery, has been, by some critics, regarded as his masterpiece of eloquence. His almost apostolic appearance, coupled with his earnest advocacy of the claims of the primitive commission; as well as his withering sarcasm and pungent rebuke of what he regarded as the existing abuses in the Church, gave to this masterly address wonderful effect. It proved also the occasion, however, of a feeling of bitter hostility against our modern Knox, taking possession of many, if not most, of the other religious denominations in England. Irving had just begun to be fired with a zeal for restoring the pristine privileges and powers of the apostolic Church; and this growing opposition but tended to increase his energy, and inspire him with redoubled ardour in his purpose; while, at the same time, it superinduced his own isolation, and the erratic opinions to which his ardent temperament and love of excitement caused such ready proclivity.

But, before we speak more particularly of his peculiar religious sentiments, we must not omit to refer to his extraordinary and almost

superhuman gift of *prayer*. This crowning feature of Irving's character as a divine, has been so beautifully analyzed by the eloquent Gilfillan, that we are tempted to adopt his words. We may here premise, however, that we have heard many majestic devotional utterances from the lips of Hall, Channing, Chalmers, Melville, and others; but none that we remember ever sounded so rich and sonorous, or impressed us with a power so soul-exalting and heaven-inspiring as his. It was this that convinced all who *heard* Irving, of his deep, earnest, and fervent piety, and of the sincerity, simplicity, and integrity of his moral, as well as the splendour of his intellectual attainments.

"Some few of his contemporaries," says the writer referred to, "might possibly equal him in preaching, but none approached to the very hem of his garment while rapt up into the heaven of devotion. It struck you as the prayer of a great being, conversing with the invisible Deity. The solemnity of the tones convinced you that he was conscious of an unearthly presence, and speaking to it, not to you. The diction and imagery showed that his faculties were wrought up to their highest pitch, and tasked to their noblest endeavour in that 'celestial colloquy sublime.' A profusion of Scripture was used; and never did inspired language better become human lips than those of Irving. His public prayers told to those who could interpret their language, of many a secret conference with Heaven; they pointed to wrestlings all unseen, and groanings all unheard; they drew aside, involuntarily, the veil of his retirement, and let in a light into the sanctuary of the closet itself. Prayers more elegant, and beautiful, and melting, may have often been heard; but more majestic, and organ-like, and Miltonic, never. The fastidious Canning, when told by Sir James Mackintosh of Irving praying for a family of orphans, as 'cast upon the fatherhood of God,' was compelled to start and confess the beauty of the expression."

The limits of this paper are well nigh exhausted, and we have scarcely alluded to any of Mr. Irving's private characteristics: a few brief notices of the more prominent of these, and we shall draw to a close. We have already intimated that he exhibited singular simplicity of character, combined with great benevolence and amiability of heart. This was manifest in numerous instances, as well as in his liberal charities and alms-deeds, which were indulged even at the expense of prudence; to such extent, indeed, that his wife deemed it expedient to empty his pockets before he left his house, as their contents, pence or pounds, were otherwise frequently expended ere he returned. In his personal friendships he was most ardent, constant, and generous; so that all who *knew* him, could not but love

and revere him. But for his extremely excitable temperament, and insatiable thirst for novelty, as well as the infatuation of a few misguided and fanatical adherents, Irving might possibly have long retained his high position of usefulness and distinction in the Church. An unconquerable yearning for novelty, and its consequent fatal susceptibility of erratic opinions, however, too surely tended to his fall. He endorsed the sentiment that the gift of tongues and miracles, with other primitive immunities of the apostolic Church, were still within its range of privileges; and hence the solemn mummeries of which his auditory so frequently were compelled to become the painful witnesses. Another theological tenet which he at one time strenuously advocated, was the peccability of our Lord's human body: a metaphysical nicety which few fully appreciated, however; for with it he also maintained the impossibility of its contact with sin. Carlyle has given a glowing account of poor Irving's demise—an event that excited in the religious world mingled emotions of profound sorrow, the tenderest pity, and hopeful exultation. He expired at Kirkaldy—the birth-place of Mrs. Irving—after many days of patient endurance of the wasting disease—pulmonary consumption—in the act of singing the twenty-third Psalm, in Hebrew: yielding his spirit in sweet serenity of Christian hope. It cannot but be regarded as a matter of deep regret, that his transcendent powers of mind should have thus been perverted from their high design, and obscured by the advocacy of dogmas so eccentric and injurious, because dangerous; and it is stated that, at the close, his own convictions of their fallacy became, too, the subject of painful admission.

We leave the subject of our fond and most cherished recollections with a mixture of conflicting emotions; but, among them all, pitying love and reverence hold the sway: for nothing can, in our estimate, impeach his exceeding purity of motive and aim, and his earnest and deep-seated piety. His errors were of the judgment, not of the will or the heart; and we feel convinced that all candid minds, by whom this truly great and good man was duly appreciated, will consent to a like decision.

Art. VIII.—THOMAS CARLYLE.

1. *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays.* By Thomas Carlyle, author of the History of the French Revolution. A new edition, complete in one volume. Pp. 568. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 1848.
2. *Past and Present, Chartism, and Sartor Resartus.* By Thomas Carlyle. Complete in one volume. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1848.
3. *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with Elucidations.* By Thomas Carlyle. In two volumes. Pp. 560, 437. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1848.

It cannot have escaped the notice of the most casual observer of the literature of Europe and America, that its whole tone and current have been changed within thirty years. There is not a department of thought in which this is not manifest. In religious literature, where the change is least obvious, there is still a marked difference between the essays, sermons, and books, that exert an influence now, and the Porteus, Blair, and Tillotson school, that were then in the ascendant. The spirit of activity and earnestness, which, half a century ago, was regarded, in a Whitefield and a Wesley, as a species of amiable insanity, has now become, if not the common, at least the approved feeling of the Church in all her departments. In history, the cold polish of a Gibbon, and the sneering shallowness of a Hume and a Voltaire, have given place to a school of thinkers, who see some significance in the life of the human race, and who apply themselves with something of a reverent spirit to the study of its problems. In poetry, the jingling aphorisms of Pope, the metallic lustre of Gray, and the Satanic fire of Byron, have given place to far higher conceptions of the proper mission of Song. So too in philosophy, belles-lettres, and political literature, there is a manifest change of both tone and sentiment in many important respects.

The causes of this change we do not propose at present to discuss; they lie too deep, and stretch too far, for a mere passing notice. Some of the instruments, however, by which these hidden causes acted, are obvious to the most superficial observer. A few men appeared in Great Britain and America whose souls were pervaded with a new spirit, which they sought to embody in their writings. Pre-eminent among these are the men who encountered such a storm of derision on their first appearance, and were called, in contempt, the Lakers; but who now stand, by universal suffrage, in the very foremost rank of English literature. We doubt whether the history of letters presents a more wonderful triumph achieved in a single life of calm and patient toil, than that which has been won,

from the first bitter sneers of Byron, and the contemptuous "This will never do," of Jeffrey, to the crown of reverence and might that now encircles the brow of the noble old patriarch of Rydal-mere.

But while we fully recognize the agency of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Macaulay, and others in this change, we believe that few men have had a more decided influence in bringing it about than Thomas Carlyle. It has been his fate, like that of every other man of genius who differs greatly from his fellows, to be extravagantly commended and as extravagantly condemned. By some he is regarded as a drivelling dreamer, who seeks, by an uncouth and fantastic phraseology, to obtain a reputation for depth which he does not possess; and by others, as an inspired oracle, whose mystic utterances are fraught with the profoundest wisdom. On the one hand, he is regarded as a skeptical Pantheist, secretly undermining Christianity, and endeavouring to efface the ancient landmarks of religion and morality; on the other, he is looked upon as the very high priest of all true and reverent piety. It is worth while to seek the truth concerning one of whom there are such various and conflicting opinions. This we propose to attempt, in setting forth, plainly, what he has actually written, and thus furnishing the elements at least from which his real sentiments, character, and influence are to be ascertained.

Thomas Carlyle was born at Ecclefechan, near the River Annan, Dumfriesshire, Scotland. His father was a substantial farmer, an elder in the United Secession Church, and a man of strong native powers of mind. His mother, who, we believe, still lives, is said to be a fine specimen of the strong-hearted, earnest matrons of Scotland; and has, doubtless, impressed much of her character on her gifted son. His early years were spent in obscurity, poverty, and struggling efforts to obtain an education. The *res angusta domi* made it necessary for him to support himself in part, during his early studies, by tuition, translations, and similar employments. These facts in his youthful career will go far to explain some of those peculiarities of thought and feeling that we find in his subsequent writings. His intense sympathy with, and deep comprehension of, such men as Burns, Heyne, and Richter, who resembled him in these particulars; and his earnest battlings for the struggling masses, may be readily traced to this early training under the stern tutelage of poverty and sorrow.

The grand fact in his life, however, was his early study of German literature. It was this that gave tone and character to his mind, and shaped his literary career. He would under any circumstances have been a peculiar man; but the form and hue of almost all his

peculiarities are distinctly traceable to his early acquaintance and deep sympathy with the strange and wonderful literature of Germany.

He was originally destined for the ministry; but, for reasons that may perhaps be gathered from some of his writings, abandoned it for the more congenial pursuits of a literary career. At one period in his life he taught an academy, during which time he enjoyed the acquaintance of one, similarly employed, who resembled him in many important respects, and to whom he has erected a most touching and beautiful memorial—we mean the eccentric and gifted, but unfortunate, Edward Irving. Had their paths in life been exchanged, and the one become the orator of Hatton Garden, and the other the profound German student, how differently might we have read the history of these men! and how differently the history of English letters!

After his marriage he resided partly in Edinburgh, partly in a wild and mountainous part of Dumfriesshire, and latterly in Chelsea, London. The peculiarities of his intellectual character gather around him in his present abode men of every shade of opinion; and his tea-table sometimes offers a not distant resemblance to Volney's Convention.

His mental history presents three distinct epochs: the first, the purely Scottish, the result of his early training amid scenes such as those immortalized in the Cotter's Saturday Night; the second, the German, when his mind was completely enthralled by the fascinating spell of that witchery that hangs around much of the German literature; and the third, the Germano-Scottish, in which his mind began to move with more independence, and to strike out for itself an original course, which is the resultant of the forces previously acting upon him, and which, we trust, will be the noblest phase of his character. These epochs are marked by incidents sufficiently characteristic. In his first phase, he was the bosom friend of Edward Irving, as genuine an impersonation of the *genus perfervidum Scotorum* as his land has ever produced; and one who would have scowled and thundered the most savage contempt on much that Carlyle afterwards loved, and much that he afterwards became. In the second phase, when public attention had been directed to this modern Diogenes, he was visited by Dr. Chalmers. The two great Scotsmen parted in mutual disgust. They never met again until a short time before the death of Dr. Chalmers, during his last visit to London. The mind of Carlyle had, meanwhile, reached its third phase; and when they met, they enjoyed several hours of congenial intercourse, and parted with mutual respect and admiration.

The first appearance of Carlyle in the literary world was as a translator from the German. He published a translation of Wilhelm Meister, and specimens of the German novelists, accompanied by critical notices. These efforts were not very successful, although they evince much of the same critical acumen and skill that appear in some of his subsequent labours. His mind had not at that time reached the full developement of its peculiarities in thought and language, and hence these works produced comparatively little impression.

His first effort as an original author was his Life of Schiller. Of this we shall only say, that it exhibits fewer of his characteristic faults and excellencies than any of his subsequent writings. We dismiss it with the quotation of his own judgment, prefixed to a republication of it recently issued from the press:—

"There are books, as there are horses, which a judicious owner, on fair survey of them, might prefer to adjust by at once shooting through the head; but in the case of books, owing to the pirate species, that is not possible. Remains, therefore, that at least dirty paper, and errors of the press, be guarded against,—that a poor Book, which has still to walk this world, do walk in clean linen, so to speak, and pass its few and evil days with no blotches but its own adhering to it." ... "The present little book is very imperfect; but it pretends, also, to be very harmless; it can innocently instruct those who are more ignorant than itself."

His next appearance, and that in which public attention began to be specially directed to him, was as a Review writer. He was one of the illustrious band that restored the sinking character of the Edinburgh, about twenty years ago, and gave to Reviews a new place in the literature of the world. His principal contributions have been made to the Edinburgh, Foreign, Westminster, and Frazer's Magazine. Some of these articles we regard as among the finest productions of his pen; and there is no one work to which we would refer the reader as containing so full an exhibition of the man, as the collection of these papers published under the name of Miscellanies. In sterling thought; intimate acquaintance with German literature; dramatic power; wild, blazing, and beautiful diction; pyrotechnic light of every varied hue cast on old truths, giving them the aspect of new; and in mingled truths and half truths, it stands unique in modern literature.

His first paper was on Richter, and was the earliest introduction of that wonderful man to the English public, and the first flag of truce hung out by the Edinburgh Review to German literature. It is a finished literary portrait of that huge, many-sided, Titanic spirit, in whom the most opposite qualities of nature seem equally developed; now striding with unawed front into regions "where

angels tremble as they gaze;" and tossing about the most awful themes with a recklessness of speculation that makes one shudder; then bending in the sweetest and most child-like reverence at the footstool of the Eternal; now fathoming the profoundest problems of metaphysical philosophy; then curvetting and posturing in the maddest nonsense, editing papers of the devil, and rioting beneath the cranium of a giantess, yet enveloping the deepest wisdom in this harlequin garb; now weeping with mingled joy and sorrow, and then, while the tears are yet glistening on his cheek, bursting forth into long, deep, incontrollable explosions of laughter; while at every turn he strews around him, in careless profusion, sparkling gems of the richest beauty and rarest sublimity.

But, charming as is this paper, his second sketch of Richter, in the Foreign Review, touches us far more deeply and tenderly. The first is a portrait, the second a life. In it we trace the early scenes of the boy "Fritz," among the birds, and poodles, and gentle inmates of the old parsonage of Jodiz; where the great Universe first began to unfold itself in wonder and beauty to this strange young spirit. We then, with deeper interest, follow the eager and fire-eyed youth in his strong strugglings with poverty, misfortune, and stupidity; living often on "bread and water" without the bread; manfully battling with the black spectres, and gathering strength from every encounter; until, from among the kettles, frying-pans, and spinning-wheel of his mother, where he sat, and dreamed, and wrote, he at last became recognized as one of the true spiritual monarchs of the age. We may not coincide with Carlyle in every opinion he expresses concerning Richter, but we must concede to him the merit of having given us a most graphic and exquisite delineation of one of the most wonderful men of modern times.

His paper on Burns, however, we regard as the most masterly sketch of the volume. It would be difficult to point to a finer analysis of a man's character and history than that furnished in this article. With an admiration of his genius that sometimes verges on the idolatrous, Carlyle evinces the keenest perception of his faults; and with the most delicate anatomy lays bare the defects of character that betray the true secret of his melancholy fate. A few extracts from the concluding paragraphs of this admirable essay will perhaps present the best description we could furnish at once of Burns and Carlyle. After discussing the literary character of Burns, he turns to his personal character and history, and tracing the prominent incidents of his life, until his Excise appointment in Dumfries, he remarks that this was the crisis of his life. But three issues were

possible for him,—clear poetical activity, madness, or death. The last was the one which ensued. The question then arises, Could he not have been saved? Could not generous aid, and sympathy from the rich and great, have rescued him? Carlyle thinks not. Pecuniary aid would have galled and fretted, rather than relieved him. The higher classes did not treat him more unfeelingly than every man of genius has been treated; and hence deserve no peculiar condemnation in his case. And the blame of his failure lies not with the world, for it treated him with even more regard than such men have usually received. Having discussed these points at some length, he asks,—

"Where, then, does it lie? We are forced to answer, With himself; it is his inward, not his outward, misfortunes that bring him to the dust. Seldom, indeed, is it otherwise; seldom is a life morally wrecked but the grand cause lies in some internal wrong, some want, less of good fortune than of good guidance. Nature fashions no creature without implanting in it the strength needful for its action and duration; least of all, does she so neglect her master-piece and darling, the poetic soul. Neither can we believe that it is in the power of *any* external circumstances utterly to ruin the mind of a man; nay, if proper wisdom be given him, even so much as to affect its essential health and beauty.

"We have already stated the error of Burns; and mourned over it rather than blamed it. It was the want of unity in his purposes, of consistency in his aims; the hapless attempt to mingle in friendly union the common spirit of the world with the spirit of poetry, which is of a far different and altogether irreconcilable nature. Burns was nothing wholly; and Burns could be nothing, no man, formed as he was, can be anything, by halves. The heart, not of a mere hot-blooded, popular verse-monger, or poetical *Restaurateur*, but of a true Poet and Singer, worthy of the old religious heroic times, had been given him; and he fell in an age not of heroism and religion, but of skepticism, selfishness, and triviality.

"Burns was born poor; and born, also, to continue poor, for he would not endeavour to be otherwise; this it had been well could he have once for all admitted, and considered it as finally settled. He was poor truly; but hundreds, even of his own class and order of minds, have been poorer, yet have suffered nothing deadly from it: nay, his own father had a far sorer battle with ungrateful destiny than his was; and he did not yield to it, but died courageously warring, and, to all moral intents, prevailing against it.

"What, then, had these men which Burns wanted? Two things; both which, it seems to us, are indispensable for such men. They had a true, religious principle of morals; and a single, not a double, aim in their activity. They were not self-seekers and self-worshippers; but seekers and worshippers of something far better than self.

"With Burns, again, it was different. His morality, in most of its practical points, is that of a mere worldly man; enjoyment, in a finer or coarser shape, is the only thing he longs and strives for. He has no religion. His religion, at best, is an anxious wish,—like that of Rabelais, 'a great Perhaps.'

"With our readers in general, with men of right feeling anywhere, we are not required to plead for Burns. In pitying admiration he lies enshrined in all our hearts, in a far nobler mausoleum than that one of marble; neither will his Works, even as they are, pass away from the memory of men. While the Shakspeares and Miltons roll on like mighty rivers, through the

country of thought, bearing fleets of traffickers and assiduous pearl-fishers on their waves, this little Valclusa fountain will also arrest our eye; for this also is of nature's own and most cunning workmanship, bursts from the depths of the earth, with a full gushing current, into the light of day; and often will the traveller turn aside to drink its clear waters, and muse among its rocks and pines."—Pp. 112–114.

These fragmentary extracts convey but a very imperfect conception of the finished beauty and power of the whole essay.

The paper next to this in strength is that on Voltaire. It enters into an exhaustive analysis of his life and character; and proves conclusively that he had no claim to greatness. He was adroit, clever, witty, and successful; but very far from being great. He lacked that deep reverence, that earnestness of spirit, that are necessary to greatness. He was vain, deceitful, fickle, and selfish, and therefore incapable of uttering a truly great thought, or doing a truly great act. "He is no great man, but only a great *Persifleur*," "and is found always at the top, less by power in swimming, than by lightness in floating." For him "the earth is a place for producing corn; the starry heavens are admirable as a nautical time-keeper." He was keen-eyed, but shallow; powerful, but frivolous.

It is the statements of the Essay concerning Voltaire as a polemic that have excited most disapprobation. In describing his work here, it charges him with manifesting the same frivolous adroitness of character that marked him in other respects; contending for victory rather than truth. His want of originality is not charged upon him as a demerit, but rather the contrary. His grand offence was meddling with religion, when he was not in any sense religious; tampering with awful themes in the mocking levity of a fool; warring against Christianity without comprehending what Christianity was; engaging in a work that demanded a devout spirit, and yet entering upon it with the spirit of a profane jester. The whole discussion, as he carried it on, turns on "the Plenary Inspiration of the Scriptures." If this is not held in the sense in which Voltaire understood it to be held, his whole work falls to the ground. On this point the Essay thus remarks:—

"That the sacred books could be aught else than a Bank-of-Faith bill, for such and such quantities of enjoyment, payable at sight in the other world, value received; which bill becomes waste paper, the stamp being questioned; that the Christian religion could have any deeper foundation than books, could possibly be written in the purest nature of man, in mysterious, ineffaceable characters, to which all Books, and all Revelations, and authentic traditions, were but a subsidiary matter, were but as the *light* whereby that Divine *writing* was to be read; nothing of this seems to have, in the faintest manner, occurred to him. Yet herein, as we believe that the whole world has now begun to discover, lies the real essence of the question; by the negative or affirmative decision of which the Christian religion, or anything

that is worth calling by that name, must fall, or endure forever. We believe, also, that the wiser minds of our age have already come to agreement on this question, or rather never were divided regarding it. Christianity, 'the Worship of Sorrow,' has been recognized as Divine on far other grounds than 'Essays on Miracles,' and by considerations infinitely deeper than would avail in any mere 'trial by jury.' He who argues against it or for it, in this manner, may be regarded as mistaking its nature: the Ithuriel, though to our eyes he wears a body, and the fashion of armour, cannot be wounded with material steel. Our fathers were wiser than we, when they said in deep earnestness, what we often hear in shallow mockery, that religion is 'not of sense, but of faith;' not of understanding, but of reason. He who finds himself without this latter, who, by all his studying, has failed to unfold it in himself, may have studied to great or small purpose, we say not which; but of the Christian religion, as of many other things, he has, and can have, no knowledge.

"We say, that cheerfully recognizing, gratefully appropriating, whatever Voltaire has proved, or any other man has proved, the Christian religion, once here, cannot again pass away; that in one or the other form it will endure through all time."—P. 163.

There are sentiments in this passage concerning the nature and evidences of Christianity, and the inspiration of the sacred writings, with which we cannot coincide; but we regard the epithet of Infidelity that has been applied to them as the cruellest slander. Let those who thus denounce Mr. Carlyle examine the sentiments of Coleridge, Arnold, Neander, and many of the purest and best spirits of our times, on this general subject; and if they cannot agree with him on these points, they will at least learn that the holding of such opinions is compatible with the noblest developements of the Christian life that our age has seen.

The most peculiar papers in the collection are the "Signs of the Times" and the "Characteristics." The first endeavours to explain the distinction between a mechanical and a dynamical age, and to prove that the former is the characteristic of the age in which we live. It alleges that "men are grown mechanical in head and heart as well as in hand; that they have lost faith in individual endeavour —and struggle after outward arrangements rather than internal perfection." There is a less manly and healthy tone of thought in this Essay than in most of the other papers. It is grounded, if not on a distinction without a difference, at least on a distinction that is very vague and elusive; and it evinces a morbidly querulous feeling concerning the present, in which we cannot fully sympathize. There is an important truth involved in this distinction; but we cannot regard it as either so important or so universally applicable as it is represented in the Essay. To object to our age as mechanical, and condemn it for lacking the properties of an age of more individual freshness and vigour, is to object to the sobered method of manhood, that it has not, at the same time, the wild and glorious energy of

youth. An age of machinery as certainly appears in the history of a peaceful and prosperous people, as one stage of life succeeds another. It is the inevitable result of those necessities, natural and artificial, that grow up in an advanced civilization, and that require for their adequate supply those varied applications of skill and power which we denominate machinery. The literature of such an age must necessarily differ from that of an earlier period in natural life, by the same law that regulates the developement of intellect in the individual life. The primary formations of the national mind, from the date of their appearance, are those in which the fire element is predominant, in which the texture is more homogeneous, and in which the grand and terrible passions of our nature are fused and fixed in forms that are like the enduring granite. The transition and secondary formations are necessarily composed in part of the *detritus* of what has preceded them, and evince a more mingled and complicated state of civilization. But surely it cannot wisely be objected to the alabaster of an "Excursion," that it lacks the granitic density and mass of a fire-born Iliad. Nor are we sure that our author, or the most vehement assertor of the degeneracy of our age, would exchange it, with its printing-presses, its telegraphs, its engines and machinery, its science and greatness, for the scanty parchments, the pilgrim's staff, the fierce foray, the gloomy castle, and the squalid hovel of those more heroic ages. We therefore regret the tone of this Essay, as morbid and dyspeptic; and regard the truth on which it is based as too narrow and too weak to support such a superstructure.

The second paper, called "Characteristics," is one eminently characteristic of the author, though obnoxious to the same objections with the preceding. It was his last contribution to the Edinburgh, and led, we believe, to his withdrawal from its pages. Nor are we surprised at this result, for it is a portion of the strong meat of Carlylism. The general strain of the paper may be conveyed in an extract or two:—

"We might pursue this question into innumerable other ramifications; and everywhere, under new shapes, find the same truth which we here so imperfectly enunciate, disclosed: that throughout the whole world of man, in all manifestations and performances of his nature, the perfect, the great, is a mystery to itself, knows not itself; whatsoever does know itself, is already little, and more or less imperfect. Or otherwise, we may say, unconsciousness belongs to pure, unmixed life; consciousness to a diseased mixture and conflict of life and death: unconsciousness is the sign of creation; consciousness, at best, of manufacture.

"Truly may it be said, the Divinity has withdrawn from the earth, or veils himself in that wide-wasting whirlwind of a departing era, wherein the fewest can discern his goings. Not Godhead, but an iron, ignoble circle of necessity

embraces all things; binds the youth of these times into a sluggish thrall, or else exasperates him into a rebel. Heroic action is paralyzed; there is nothing sacred under whose banner he can act; doubt storms in on him through every avenue; inquiries of the deepest, painfullest sort must be engaged with; and the invincible energy of young years waste itself in skeptical, suicidal cavillings; in passionate questionings of destiny, to which no answer will be returned.

"For the rest, let that vain struggle to read the mystery of the Infinite cease to harass us. It is a mystery which, through all ages, we shall only read here a line of, and there a line of. Do we not already know that the name of the Infinite is GOOD, is GOD? Here on earth we are as soldiers, fighting in a foreign land; that understand not the plan of the campaign, and have no need to understand it; seeing well what is at our hand to be done. Let us do it like soldiers, with submission, with courage, with an heroic joy."—Pp. 301, 305, 310.

We doubt whether this Essay would be written, in the same form, by our author, at the present stage in the history of his mind. We would fain hope that it is a part of that "Everlasting No" through which, we trust, he has passed once and forever. It is a night scene from the history of this strange and gifted intellect, in which we see the lurid glare, the fearful tossings, and the mighty commotions of the tempest; but, ere it vanishes, a bright gleam of the starry sky, the tranquil ocean, and the green earth stretching quietly beyond. Hence we esteem it at once true and false; subjectively true, but objectively false; true, as a part of the spiritual history of this man, and, as such, most touching and melancholy; terribly true in its delineations of his fights with the foul fiend, and the dark spectres of doubt and disbelief; but false, horribly false, as a delineation of God's world, where there are deathless souls, a blood-bought Church, a blessed Cross, and an Eternal Spirit, all conspiring to hallow and ennoble this earth, where there have been a Paradise and a Calvary; and where there shall yet be a new Jerusalem, descending, bride-like, from above; and a Great White Throne.

There are many other papers of no ordinary value in this collection. We have one on Werner, who appears successively through life as profligate, play-wright, and priest, with about equal success in each; one on Goethe, the many-souled, for whom the author has a passion verging on idolatry, and whose character and works are dwelt upon with loving reverence; one on the learned and laborious Heyne; one on the mystic and half-inspired Novalis; one on the lofty and high-hearted Schiller; one on Boswell's Johnson, in which the glorious old mammoth and his attendant monkey are depicted to the life; one on the clever, shameless, and truthless Diderot, in whom the baboon and the philosopher struggled for the mastery; one on the volcanic Mirabeau, with his mingled fire of

heaven and hell, his spots of greenness and fruit, and his torrents of consuming lava; one of great beauty on Sir Walter Scott; and one on the Paraguayan Dictator, Francia, to whom Carlyle's sympathies were drawn out by the dash of heroism in his composition. Besides these, there are some strange fragments on history; lighter sketches of the great impostor Cagliostro, and the Diamond Necklace; and some critical dissertations on German literature.

Such is a brief summary of the contents of this volume of Miscellanies; a volume, which, if the Carlylese in which much of it is written is once mastered, will, in its deep earnestness of tone, its wonderful stores of modern literature, its quaint and scorching wit, and often its high and antique eloquence, amply repay the most careful perusal.

As we propose to follow not so much the chronological order of Carlyle's works, as the order we deem most advantageous to a proper comprehension of them, we turn to his "Past and Present," and "Chartism."

"Past and Present" is an effort to solve the difficult problem of England's future, by noting some differences and resemblances between her past and present. It consists of four books, severally denominated, the Proem, the Ancient Monk, the Modern Worker, and the Horoscope.

The first book, whose chapters are termed Midas, Sphinx, Manchester Insurrection, Morrison's Pill, Aristocracy of Talent, and Hero-Worship, is designed to set forth, in its quaint way, the question to be discussed. That question is the State of England, what is it, and how is it to be bettered? England is rich; but, like long-eared Midas, she begins to discover that something more is needed by her than gold. She begins to perceive that her destiny is a Sphinx-riddle which she must solve or perish. This riddle is propounded to her in the fearful tones of popular disquietude, coming to an occasional outburst of savage energy, like the Manchester Insurrection. In answer to the query, How is this frightful disease of society to be cured? the political quack brings forth some "remedial measure," some "Morrison's pill," with proofs, in staring capitals, that it is the panacea for all political maladies; but the disease lies too deep for mere palliative nostrums and remedial measures. Others allege that there must be an Aristocracy of Talent, a government of the wisest. This is true; but the question arises, Are these wisest in actual existence? Or, if they do exist, how shall they be recognized, in an age when men look so much more at the outward circumstances than at the inward worth? The true solution of this problem is, that men must begin to recognize

some nobler element in their nature than that of selfishness; must begin to labour for higher ends than merely mercenary ones; in a word, must begin to reverence the Heroic in human character and conduct, and learn to practise a true and intelligent "hero-worship." This, however, implies a radical change in the very heart of society, and one that lies too deep to be accomplished by Acts of Parliament and leading articles by able editors. The nature of this change may be suggested by comparing the present state of England with her condition seven hundred years ago.

Such, in brief, is the train of thought which, amid endless digressions, involutions, metaphors, and epithets, of the strangest kind, runs in a broken thread through the first book of this work.

The second book is a rendering into Carlylese of the Chronicles of Jocelin, of Brakelond, a garrulous Boswellian monk of the twelfth century, who reported, in his crabbed monk Latin, the deeds of Samson, abbot of the monastery of St. Edmund; and had the good fortune to remain in decipherable manuscript until he was sent forth in a new dress by the Camden Society, and embalmed in the quaint conglomerate of "Past and Present."

We have, in the first three chapters, a characteristic account of the rise of St. Edmund's Monastery, in which the author, as a matter of course, detects his favourite principles of work-worship on the one hand, and hero-worship on the other; producing, at length, a nucleus of reverential regards to the "landlord Edmund," that gradually grew to the monastery of St. Edmundsbury. We have then detailed to us the internal condition of the monastery under the rule of Abbot Hugo, a weak, half-blind old man, who, under the influence of designing parasites, plunged the affairs of the establishment into the direst confusion. When the confusion has become well-nigh intolerable, Abbot Hugo dies, in consequence of injuries received during a journey to propitiate the favour of St. Thomas a Becket. The poor old man obtains deliverance from his abbatic troubles, but in an unexpected and somewhat undesirable way.

We are then introduced to the real hero of the book, Monk Samson; a grave, taciturn, strong-hearted child of poverty; who, from the lowly position of a mendicant, is elevated to that of Lord Abbot of St. Edmundsbury. He sets himself manfully to work, and, after encountering innumerable troubles, in deranged and exhausted finances, clamorous creditors, mutinous monks, turbulent nobles, and even Cœur-de-Lion himself, by his strong, earnest nature, comes forth victorious from them all, restores the affairs of the monastery to order, and does a great work in his generation. At this point in his career, the gossipping annals of Jocelin suddenly

stop, and the brave Abbot vanishes from our sight, leaving us ignorant of his ultimate fate.

The object of this narration may be gathered from the following passages of one of the concluding chapters:—

"It was not a Dilettanteism this of Abbot Samson. It was a reality; and it is one. The garment only of it is dead: the essence of it lives through all time and all eternity!

"And truly, as we said above, is not this comparative silence of Abbot Samson as to his religion, precisely the healthiest sign of him and of it? 'The unconscious is the alone complete.' Abbot Samson, all along a busy workingman, as all men are bound to be, his religion, his worship, was like his daily bread to him; which he did not take the trouble to talk much about: which he merely ate at stated intervals, and lived and did his work upon. This is Abbot Samson's Catholicism of the twelfth century; something like the *ism* of all true men in all true centuries, I fancy. Alas, compared with any of the *isms* current in these poor days, what a thing!

"But of our Dilettanteisms and galvanized Dilettanteisms; of Puseyism—O Heavens, what shall we say of Puseyism in comparison to twelfth-century Catholicism? Little or nothing; for, indeed, it is a matter to strike one dumb.

> 'The Builder of this Universe was wise,
> He plann'd all souls, all systems, planets, particles:
> The plan He shaped his worlds and Æons by
> Was—Heavens! was thy small Nine-and-thirty Articles?'

That certain human souls, living on this practical earth, should think to save themselves and a ruined world by noisy theoretic demonstrations and laudations of *the* Church, instead of some unnoisy, unconscious, but *practical*, total, heart-and-soul demonstration of *a* Church; this, in the circle of revolving ages, this also was a thing we were to see. A kind of penultimate thing, precursor of very strange consummations; last thing but one. If there is no atmosphere, what will it serve a man to demonstrate the excellence of lungs? How much profitabler when you can, like Abbot Samson, breathe; and go along your way!"—Pp. 115, 116.

From this extract it will be perceived that the author finds in the ancient monk an exemplification of his favourite doctrines,—that hero-worship, the reverence with which a truly great man is regarded and obeyed, is the grand conservative principle in human affairs; and that the hero is the unconscious worker, the man who does his allotted task with quiet energy, and leaves the issue with higher powers. The implication is, (for the author does not deal much in explicit statements,) that England needs, in the present, men of like faith, like energy, and like heroism, with this brave old Abbot of the past. The Carlylism that is interwoven with this picture of the twelfth century, we forbear to notice until we come to discuss it as a whole.

The third book is termed the Modern Worker. The first chapter, headed "Phenomena," is a lamentation over the sham and trickery which invest everything in modern times, from the enormous sham

hat, sent trundling through the streets of London as an advertisement, to the tin-cased champion of the Coronation, and the stuffed figure of the Pope, set up to relieve his gouty holiness from the labour of kneeling so long to bless the people on *Corpus-Christi* day. The author then denounces what he terms the "Gospel of Mammonism," or the insane greed of money making; and the "Gospel of Dilettanteism," or the pretensions of an idle aristocracy; and, under the heading of "Happy," condemns that incessant inquiry after mere happiness, that marks every class in society. He then dwells with great satisfaction on the character of "the English" people, as a silent, grave, working race, rather than an adroit, talking one; and a race whose past history shows that it is not well to drive them to determined action by an obstinate retention of abuses. The subversion of the earnest spirit of Puritanism, and the reign of insincerity, in both government and literature, for the last "Two Centuries," are then deprecated. The result of this misgovernment has been, "Over Production," and consequent distress. He then again warns an "Unworking Aristocracy" of the evils their pampered idleness is forcing on; and endeavours to convince a "Working Aristocracy," that, in seeking for a repeal of the Corn-Laws and for Free Trade, as the grand remedies of existing evils, they are mistaken. These measures are only palliatives, which, after they cease to act, will allow the evils to return with increased violence. In the six concluding chapters, denominated, severally, "Plugson of Undershot," "Labour," "Reward," "Democracy," "Sir Jabesh Windbag," and "Morrison again," the author repeats similar doctrines in the quaint, abrupt, and seemingly disconnected manner that is indicated by these odd titles.

The fourth book is termed Horoscope. The author first asserts, with new illustrations, his favourite idea of a real "Aristocracy," a born governing class, which shall not be marked by the horrible venalities developed by the investigations of the "Bribery Committee." He then refers to the "One Institution," that of war, that has descended unchanged in its essential features from the remotest past; and from the analogies it affords, suggests some improvements for the future. He hints at the possibilities of introducing the same thorough organization and rigid superintendence in the tasks, wages, dwellings, and sanitary condition of the labouring class, that now exist in regard to the military; and proposes an enlarged system of education and emigration, which shall be at once stringently binding, and yet to a great degree gratuitous. He then addresses the "Captains of Industry," "the Landed" and "the Gifted," urging them to gird themselves for the work that is assigned them; and

proposes a greater "Permanence" in the relations between employer and employed, as a remedy for some of the existing evils.

These things are not formally or explicitly stated; but are hinted, suggested, and half concealed under wild dreamings, snatches of the most matchless beauty, endless repetitions of the Carlylean philosophy, bitter scorn, gentle pity, deep-shaking laughter; and every combination of notes from that weird gamut which this strange spirit knows so well how to use.

The small treatise on Chartism, which was published about a year before Past and Present, is a discussion of the same general subject, and contains the germs of the larger work. The titles of the chapters suggest the character of the work, and its general resemblance to the fuller treatise. They are, Condition-of-England Question; Statistics; New Poor-Law; Finest Peasantry in the World; Rights and Mights; Laissez-Faire; Not Laissez-Faire; New Eras; Parliamentary Radicalism; and Impossible.

The most striking portion of the work is a condensed sketch, in the author's peculiar style, of the history of England, from which we make an extract:—

"To this English people in World-History, there have been, shall I prophesy, two grand tasks assigned! Huge looming through the dim tumult of the always incommensurable present time, outlines of two tasks disclose themselves; the grand industrial task of conquering some half or more of this terraqueous planet for the use of man; then, secondly, the grand constitutional task of sharing, in some pacific, endurable manner, the fruit of said conquest, and showing all people how it might be done.

"Hail to thee, poor little ship Mayflower, of Delft-Haven; poor common-looking ship, hired by common charter-party for coined dollars; caulked with mere oakum and tar; provisioned with vulgarest biscuit and bacon;—yet what ship Argo, or miraculous epic ship built by the sea-gods, was other than a foolish bumbarge in comparison! Golden fleeces, or the like these sailed for, with or without effect; thou, little Mayflower, hadst in thee a veritable Promethean spark; the life-spark of the largest nation on our earth;—so we may already name the trans-Atlantic Saxon nation. They went seeking leave to hear a sermon in their own method, these Mayflower Puritans; a most honest, indispensable search; and yet, like Saul, the son of Kish, seeking a small thing, they found this unexpected great thing!"—Pp. 359, 362.

We pass by for the present the peculiarities in these works, that will fall more naturally under a general view of Carlylism, and content ourselves with a brief criticism.

As pictures of the evil they are designed to portray, they are unparalleled. There are passages of surpassing power and beauty, in both the works, which cannot be read unmoved. They flash upon the question under discussion the most fearful gleams of light, that seem to lay bare the whole region of doubt with blazing distinctness, projecting it against the distant sky in tracery of fire. There are

pictures of mocking but terrible power, that might have been sketched by the pen of a Mephistophiles; and that one can scarce read without a shudder. But as practical treatises they are comparatively useless. They point out the evils with sufficient clearness, but fail to indicate either the causes or cure of them with any satisfaction. The very play of genius that lightens and flashes through the whole work, tends rather to dazzle than to aid our vision. Instead of a clear path before us, illumined by the light of day, we are perplexed by alternate sheets of fiery brightness and rayless gloom; strange and phantom faces gleam out upon us from the sudden glare, and vanish from our sight with the shrill and mocking laughter of fiends. We are bewildered by the alternate excess of light and darkness.

The remedies proposed, or rather circuitously suggested, are but palliatives, and partake too much of what the author himself terms the Morrison-pill character. Emigration and education, the only specific items proposed, may be important, but they do not reach the heart of the evil. By his own repeated testimony, England must have a religion; but a religion is not to be obtained by emigration or education. In her present condition she may work, and thus fulfil the gospel of Carlylism; but her work may be that of a blind giant, the dread work of ruin. She needs an entire regeneration of society at its heart, and experience proves that this regeneration can only take place from the gospel of Jesus Christ, and from that very form of it which the author slightingly represents as "looking into its own navel;" and not by the gospels of Jean Jacques, Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, or Thomas Carlyle.

One grand objection to these books is, that they contain either too much or too little religion. Had they been mere political disquisitions on economics, we should neither have looked for any reference to religion, nor condemned its absence. But when the author refers so frequently and earnestly to the most grand and peculiar doctrines of revealed religion, when he insists so strongly upon their vital relation to the question in discussion, we have a right to expect a fuller recognition of the forms in which God has embodied these truths, and from which the knowledge of them was first obtained by our author himself. If the heart of the English people must be informed by these truths, we have a right to demand of the author, why he has so casually and slightingly referred to those vast and powerful agencies instituted by God, and the only efficacious instruments for this end that have ever been used? If the Unseen and the Eternal must be brought in contact with the living heart of society, we ask how is this to be done? Instead of referring us to the living Word, the labouring Church, and the magnificent machinery of the gospel,

we are told that the remedies lie in education, emigration, and work. We do not charge it upon our author that he is an unbeliever; but we do charge it upon his works, that, omitting all reference to the divinely appointed agencies for the regeneration of society, and suggesting none others in their stead, they are not only grossly defective in practical value, but likely in some minds to produce all the effect of the writings of one who despised and hated the whole system of revealed religion.

The principal value of these works lies in their suggestive character. They have acted, and will act, on minds that are more practical and more capable of going into detail than the mind that issued them, and thus must exert a wide and powerful influence. And the very defects to which we have referred, will bring them into welcome contact with many minds that would turn away from them with contempt, were their recognition of revealed religion more distinct and positive. While, then, we regret this omission, we hope that it may be overruled for good in the end, by introducing the great truths of religion to minds that would receive them in no other form. We believe, that notwithstanding these defects, the effect of their perusal on the active and devoted Christian will only be to make him more active and more devoted. While, if in any case they have a tendency to confirm the rationalist and the unbeliever in their attitude of hostility to the Church, it will be the result rather of their previous opinions, than of any doctrines clearly taught in the volumes themselves.

The only remaining work of our author to which we can at present allude, is his last: "The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, with Elucidations." On this production our strictures must be briefer than we could desire.

The work consists of an Introduction, comprised in five chapters, and the Letters and Speeches of Cromwell, in ten books. The introductory chapters are termed: Anti-Dryasdust; Of the Biographies of Oliver; Of the Cromwell Kindred; Events in Oliver's Biography; and, Of Oliver's Letters and Speeches. They give a sketch of Cromwell's history up to the point when it begins to appear in his letters and speeches, and have all the quaintness, sarcastic wit, and graphic power that mark the other writings of the author. The spirit and scope of the whole may be gathered from a few sentences from the chapter Anti-Dryasdust:—

"But the thing we had to say and repeat was this: that Puritanism is not of the nineteenth century, but of the seventeenth; that the grand unintelligibility for us lies *there*. The Fast-day Sermons of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, in spite of printers, are all grown dumb! In long rows of little dumpy quartos, gathered from the bookstalls, they indeed stand here bodily before us;

by human volition they can be read, but not by any human memory remembered. We forget them as soon as read; they have become a weariness to the soul of man. They are dead and gone, they and what they shadowed; the human soul, got into other latitudes, cannot now give harbour to them. Alas! and did not the honourable Houses of Parliament listen to them with rapt earnestness, as to an indisputable message from heaven itself? Learned and painful Dr. Owen; Dr. Burgess, Stephen Marshall, Mr. Spurstow, Adoniram Byfield, Hugh Peters, Philip Nye;—the printer has done for them what he could, and Mr. Speaker gave them the thanks of the house: and no most astonishing Review article of our day can have half such "brilliancy," such potency, half such virtue for producing belief, as these poor little dumpy quartos once had. And behold, they are become inarticulate men—spectral—and, instead of speaking, do screech and gibber."—P. 9.

"And then further, it becomes apparent, altogether contrary to the popular fancy, that this Oliver was not a man of falsehoods, but a man of truths; whose words do carry a meaning with them, and, above all others of that time, are worth considering. His words—and still more his *silences* and unconscious instincts, when you have spelt and lovingly deciphered these also out of his words,—will in several ways reward the study of an earnest man."—P. 13.

These sentences contain the ruling ideas of the book. The Letters and Speeches have been corrected in their spelling, punctuation, and sometimes language, by the editor, and we can fully believe him when he says, that this was "a job of buck-washing" he does not long to repeat. They are connected, and, as he terms it, elucidated, by annotations, narratives, soliloquies, and dramatic scenes with wooden-headed Dryasdusts, and other hapless unfortunates, who appear ever and anon, Caliban-like, to receive a shower of blows from this Prospero, and be driven back to the lair of their leaden stupidity. There are pictures scattered through the work that seem like etchings done by a flash of lightning—they stand out with such vivid intensity from the page. Take the following portrait of Cromwell:—

"Does the reader see him? a rather likely figure, I think; stands some five feet ten or more; a man of strong, solid stature, and dignified, now partly military carriage; the expression of him, valour and devout intelligence.—Energy and delicacy on a basis of simplicity. Fifty-four years old, gone April last; brown hair and moustache are getting gray. A figure of sufficient impressiveness; not lovely to the man-milliner species, nor pretending to be so. Massive stature, big massive head, of somewhat leonine aspect; wart above the right eye-brow; nose of considerable blunt-aquiline proportions; strict yet copious lips, full of all tremulous sensibilities, and also, if need were, of all fierceenesses and rigours; deep loving eyes, call them stern, looking from under those craggy brows, as if in life-long sorrow, and yet not thinking it sorrow, thinking it only labour and endeavour; on the whole, a right noble lion-face, and hero-face, and to me royal enough."—Vol. ii, p. 64.

The first thing that arrests our attention is the plan of the work. "It is from his own words," the author remarks, "from his own letters and speeches well read, that the world may first obtain some dim glimpse of the actual Cromwell, and see him darkly face to face."

But is this true? Let any man refer to his own personal history, and ask himself whether a fair, full, and impartial statement of it can be gathered from his letters? Or compare the authentic biography of any distinguished man with his genuine letters and speeches, and how much do we find of the one, not comprised in the other? This is true even of those men who have most fully recorded their lives in their epistolary communications, and whose times have afforded them the amplest leisure to make this record: how much more is it true of such men as Cromwell, who wielded the sword and sceptre so much more easily than the pen; and whose time was engrossed with acts rather than with words.

The letters and speeches of a man in power are usually apologies for his acts, rather than impartial narrations of them; and from the necessity of the case they must be so, for the laws of human nature prevent a man from being an impartial biographer of himself. It would, therefore, seem impossible to give a full and truthful biography of any man, but especially of such a man as Cromwell, from his letters and speeches. The inevitable form of such a work must be eulogistic.

Such, accordingly, do we regard this sketch of the *man* of the seventeenth century. It is a most valuable work, full of important materials, important thoughts, and magnificent historic pictures; but still, at best, but a splendid apology for "the great rebel." We look in vain for that masterly analysis of character, that delicate discrimination of motive, that firm balancing of right and wrong, and that clear-sighted tracing of the original nature of the man, and the mode in which outward circumstances acted, and were acted upon, by that nature, which are manifested in the sketches of Diderot, Voltaire, and Burns.

We are not deficient in admiration of the brave old Puritan, perhaps even prone to a contrary extreme, but we cannot regard him as the faultless hero he seems to be from this representation. He was great, brave, strong-hearted, and, in the main, sincere; but he was a man of iron and clay, and hence much of his work did not endure. He was, beyond contradiction, the mightiest man that ever sat upon the English throne, and his lot was cast in evil days; but if Puritanism was what our author represents it, and we believe rightly represents it, to have been; and if Cromwell had been as free from selfishness, ambition, and despotism, as we are led from this work to suppose; we cannot think it possible that the purest and best men of that age would have been estranged from him as they were; and so much of the huge fabric of his power have perished with himself.

To us Cromwell stands midway between Bonaparte and Washington, blending as much of the good and evil of both as could unite in

a single nature. Our great objection, therefore, to this work, is its want of discriminating fidelity in depicting the character of the hero,—a want whose error stretches in one direction almost as far as the polished slanders of Hume and Clarendon in the other.

It is with a painful sense of historic injustice that we read this indiscriminate defence of all Cromwell's conduct and opinions. We do not remember a breath of disapprobation expressed for a single act that he ever did, or word that he ever uttered. Even the bloody campaign in Ireland, where men were slaughtered by thousands, and even women and children, in one instance, and where every humane man must declare that there was needless rigour, and desire to close the page of Oliver's history that records it, even this dreadful campaign finds an apologist in Mr. Carlyle, who denounces the condemnation of the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford, as "rose-water surgery." The defence of such atrocities better beseems the plea of the advocate than the decision of the judge.

We fear, therefore, that the effect of the work may be, to some extent, to confound historic truth and moral distinctions, and to lead to a feeling which no one has more sternly denounced than our author,—that success is the criterion of right, and that the end will justify the means, provided these means are of a bold and energetic character.

But the fact most surprising to most readers, is the appearance of the man who has been suspected of Infidelity, and even Pantheism, as the apologist, admirer, and even avowed believer in the most strait-laced Puritanism. It is with some surprise that men hear him talking of Cromwell's "conversion," his "deliverance from the jaws of eternal death," as the "grand epoch for a man; properly, the one epoch; the turning-point which guides upward, or guides downward, him and his activity forevermore;"—of the "Life Everlasting, and Death Everlasting;" of his "choosing the better part," and longing "toward the mark of the prize of the high calling;" and declaring, in view of some of the deepest spiritual exercises of Cromwell's soul,—"Brother, hadst thou never, in any form, such moments in thy history? Thou knowest them not, even by credible rumour? Well, thy earthly path was peaceabler, I suppose. But the Highest was never in thee, the Highest will never come out of thee. Thou shalt at best abide by the stuff; as cherished house-dog, guard the stuff,—perhaps with enormous gold-collars and provender: but the battle, and the hero-death, and victory's fire-chariot, carrying men to the Immortals, shall never be thine. I pity thee; brag not, or I shall have to despise thee." These, and other statements equally strong,

will sound strangely to those who have only known the author of Sartor Resartus, and Past and Present.

We would fain hope that much of the spirit that breathes through this work arises from the fact, that its author is drifting back nearer to his old ancestral faith, and beginning to hear, amid the jargon of Neology, the sweet voices of early years. But it will be remembered that a prime article in his creed is an intense faith in all heroisms. Regarding Puritanism as such, he believes in it, and sympathizes with it as a great truth, but not by any means the whole truth. But still his hearty approval of it is made in terms that stand in welcome contrast to his sneering reference to evangelical religion in our days, as "looking at its own navel."

The feature about the work which we regard with the most unfeigned gratitude and satisfaction, is the triumphant vindication it affords of the heroic character of all true religion; and the withering scorn it pours upon those who are disposed to sneer at it as enthusiasm and hypocrisy. There are passages of burning invective upon the mocking scoffers, who have been accustomed to make themselves merry with all serious religion, that are scarcely excelled in our language. For this vindication, and for the powerful defence he has made of the religion of the seventeenth century, and its prominent professors, the Christian world owes Carlyle a debt of the profoundest gratitude. The influence of this work will be to show to many, that there is far more to respect, admire, and even love, in earnest religion, than they have ever been accustomed to suppose.

With these brief strictures we are compelled to dismiss this work, and to postpone to a future number our remarks on the three most peculiar of our author's works; and on his system, style, and general influence in the great world of letters. We shall then direct the attention of our readers more especially to the beautiful edition of Carlyle's works, now in course of publication by Harper and Brothers, which have been received too late for more than a passing notice in this number.

Art. IX.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) We have received a copy of the second edition of Dr. Latham's treatise on "*The English Language:*" (London, Taylor & Walton, 1848, 8vo., pp. 581.) The work has been thoroughly revised and greatly enlarged. It is divided into six parts, of which the first treats of "*the general Ethnographical relations of the English Language,*" in four chapters, exhibiting severally "the Germanic affinities of the English Language, and the languages of the Gothic stock;" the "Celtic stock of languages, and their relations to the English;" the "Anglo-Norman, and the languages of the Classical Stock;" and, finally, "the position of the English language as Indo-European." Part II. exhibits the "*History and Analysis of the English Language,*" in six chapters: 1st. The historical elements (Celtic, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, etc.) of which the language is composed; 2d. The Old Saxon; 3d. The relation of the English to the Anglo-Saxon; 4th. The dialects of the English; 5th. The Lowland Scotch; 6th. Certain undetermined and fictitious languages of Great Britain. Part III. treats of "*Sounds, Letters, Pronunciation, and Spelling,*" in ten chapters, in which the general nature of articulate sounds, their possible combinations and actual permutations and transitions, and the modes of uttering and writing them, are sought to be set forth scientifically. Part IV. exhibits "*Etymology,*" that is, in its grammatical sense, as dealing with the changes of form that words undergo in the *English* language. The subject is amply treated in thirty-nine chapters. Part V. is occupied with "*Syntax,*" in which the author lays out of the case much that is commonly called Syntax, and confines his attention to uses *requiring* explanation. This division embraces twenty-eight chapters. Part VI. treats of "*Prosody,*" in which rhyme, measure, scansion, and the different metres used in English verse, are briefly set forth. We have thus given a pretty full statement of the contents of this elaborate work. For a criticism of it we are not now prepared. A glance at its contents shows that it brings together a variety of matter not to be found in any other book in the English language. We should not look the gift-horse in the mouth. Yet we cannot suffer even this brief notice to pass without remarking, that in spite of the learning, ability, and acuteness which characterize the work, its dogmatism is often offensive, and its affectation of point and antithesis as disagreeable as it is out of place in a scientific treatise. Finally, the book sadly needs an index; its place is not supplied by the table of contents, full as it is.

(2.) *The Year-Book of Missions; containing a Comprehensive Account of Missionary Societies, British, Continental, and American. With a Particular Survey of the Stations, arranged in Geographical order.* By Elijah Hoole, one of the General Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society: (London, Longmans, 1847, 8vo., pp. 423.) Mr. Hoole deserves well of the churches for this excellent work. Although he claims for it no other merit

than that of "compilation and arrangement," we must accord him the additional praise (and that no small one) of recognizing a *want*, and knowing how to supply it. A comprehensive survey of the missionary labours of the Christian Church, made in such a way as to form merely a useful book of reference, has long been needed; but this work not only meets that demand, but is really readable, in great part. The work follows the *geographical* order, and, "beginning at Jerusalem," compasses the globe.

"The details of missionary operation commence in the Holy Land, 'beginning at Jerusalem;' the stations of the various societies, European and American, are traced thence to the eastward, through Armenia and Persia, to the borders of the Sikh state of Lahore, in Northern India. Thence the missions of the various societies are followed to Bombay, and down the western or Malabar coast. The thread is then resumed in the north-west, and pursued over the vast continent of India to its metropolis, Calcutta; and thence down the eastern or Coromandel coast, to Madras, Tranquebar, and Travancore, including the inland districts, and passing over to the island of Ceylon. The missions in the great countries farther east next come under review; those of Assam, Arracan, Burmah, Siam, China, and the large and populous islands of the Chinese seas. By an easy transition, Van Diemen's Land, Australia, and New-Zealand, next demand attention; and the reader is thence led northward, through the great Pacific Ocean, by way of the Friendly Islands and the Feejees, the Society Islands, and other Polynesian groups, the last of them being the Sandwich Islands, to the western coast of the northern portion of the continent of America. There the aboriginal tribes of America claim a deep interest, from those residing on the banks of the Columbia, to the subdued empires of Central America, and the wanderers on the shores of Hudson's Bay, Labrador, and Greenland; and next, the missions among the settlers in Canada, and the other colonial possessions of the British empire on the continent and islands of the northern division of the New World. The numerous missions in the West Indies are the next in order; and then those of the southern portion of the continent of America. The course thus far observed is resumed on the coast of Africa, where the missions extend from the islands and shores of the River Gambia, for more than two thousand miles of coast, running chiefly to the south and east, to the banks of the Gaboon River; fifteen hundred miles south of the Gaboon are the missions in the Damara Country and in Namacqualand; and by way of the south-east coast, they extend through many tribes of Hottentots and Kaffers to Delagoa Bay on the eastern side of the continent. Farther to the north, missions are found at Mombas, Ethiopia, Abyssinia, and Egypt, and on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean Sea. Resuming the survey at Gibraltar—Spain, France, Germany, Denmark, Ireland, all are witnesses of missionary labour and zeal. The Missions to the Jews throughout Europe, though not the least in importance, are the last in order, except the missions in Greece, and the successful mission to the Armenians in the Turkish empire—an enterprise commanding admiration by its boldness and skill, and exciting thankfulness for its success, and for the evidence it has elicited that Divine goodness is extending a spirit of intelligence and toleration among the professed followers of the false prophet."—*Preface*, pp. iii, iv.

Prefixed to the account of the missions in each country or district, is a brief account, topographical and descriptive, of the region and its inhabitants. These statements are generally made with great tact and neatness.

There are, finally, two copious indexes, one of missionaries, and the other of mission stations, throughout the world. Such a book is invaluable, nay, almost indispensable, to every minister who wishes to keep up the missionary spirit among his people. May we hope that our Missionary Secretary will prepare an edition, with such additions as will fit it fully for home use?

(3.) ANOTHER work of the same kind, but of special instead of general scope, is the "*Hand-Book of Bengal Missions in Connexion with the Church of England: together with an Account of General Educational Efforts in North India*, by Rev. JAMES LONG, Church Missionary in Calcutta:" (London, 1848, 12mo., pp. 520.)

(4.) For many years we have been indebted entirely to Germany for everything in the way of Biblical Introduction. Indeed, there has been no Introduction to the Scriptures deserving the name, written originally in the English language; *Hartwell Horne's*, which has done good service in the absence of better books, is a compilation mainly from German writers, made, too, without much discrimination or independence. It cannot be denied that while Horne's Introduction has given a mass of information not to be obtained elsewhere by English readers, it has yet done much to diffuse superficial and slight views of the whole subject, both in England and in this country. *Hug's* admirable digest of Introduction to the New Testament (Fosdick's translation) has shown our students a better way; but it is in many parts superseded. We are now happy to introduce to our readers an "*Introduction to the New Testament*," containing an examination of the most important questions relating to the authority, interpretation, and integrity of the canonical books, with reference to the latest inquiries, by SAMUEL DAVIDSON, LL. D.: (London, Bagsters, 1848, vol. I, 8vo., pp. 430.) This first volume embraces the Gospels—omitting, however, the criticism of the text, which is treated of in the author's "Lectures on Biblical Criticism," a work which he intends soon to reissue in an enlarged and improved form. In the present work the four Gospels are taken up in order, and the chief topics of Introduction discussed at considerable length. For instance, in treating Matthew, the following heads are made, namely: I. Some notices of the writer; II. The persons for whose use this Gospel was originally designed; III. The language in which it was written; IV. Its characteristic peculiarities; V. Apostolic origin, or authenticity; VI. Integrity; VII. Time and place of composition; VIII. Contents. All the later views on these topics are carefully canvassed, sometimes even with an excessive and unnecessary minuteness. It is not our purpose now to characterize the book definitely, but simply to introduce it to our readers; we may hereafter point out what we conceive to be its faults. Intended for *scholars*, it does not supply the lack of a suitable elementary book for students, which is still a desideratum. Guerike's *Einleitung*, in the hands of a competent workman, might afford the basis for such a book on the New Testament. Who will address himself to the task?

(5.) WE are less pleased with a work by the same author, entitled, "*The Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament unfolded:*" (London, Jackson & Walford, 1848, 8vo., pp. 458.) Dr. Davidson was once a Presbyterian, is now a Congregationalist, and sets himself to do his best for the system of Congregationalism. The principles he attempts to establish are,—

"*First.* That those who profess to believe the Gospel should associate in obedience to Christ's commands, for the promotion of their mutual edification, by the use of the means pointed out in the New Testament.

"*Secondly.* That a company of such persons, or, in other words, *a Church*, consists of those only who give credible evidence of piety, and may conveniently assemble in one place.

"*Thirdly.* That every Church should have office-bearers for the right and orderly management of its affairs; namely, elders, or bishops, and deacons; the former to teach and govern the flock; the latter, to manage the temporalities of it.

"*Fourthly.* That every Christian Church is subject to Christ alone, no external power whatever, whether civil or sacred, having ecclesiastical jurisdiction over it.

"*Fifthly.* That it is fully competent to transact its own affairs, being complete within itself.

"*Sixthly.* That it is the duty of every such society to maintain and propagate the truth."—Pp. 380, 381.

This is unadulterated Congregationalism: and, of course, *we* do not think it would be difficult to show that the author has failed to make all his positions good. He frees the system, however, from some of the difficulties under which it labours in this country—and, at the same time, is not sparing of censure on Congregationalists, for the wretched way in which they have marred what he calls "the extraordinary merits of their system." He says:—

"Its own friends have proved themselves but children in managing its movements. Instead of being eminently wise, they have handled it with foolish rashness. Ignorant, to a great extent, of its philosophical symmetry, and unacquainted with the rudiments of government, they have exposed the heavenly machinery to the scorn of men; and yet it is the very system with which the ignorant and unskilful should not actively intermeddle."

These faithful wounds of a friend reveal the very weaknesses inherent in the system, that will ever confine it to merely local and transient influence. The volume forms the thirteenth series of the "Congregational Lectures."

(6.) We have on our table a portly volume with the title, "*Christian Theology Explained and Defended*, by WILLIAM COOKE:" (London, Partridge & Oakey, 1848, 1 vol., 12mo., pp. 547.) It contains a series of eighteen lectures on Christian Theology, from the stand-point of Wesleyan Methodism, Mr. Cooke being a minister of the Wesleyan New Connexion. The style is clear, vigorous, and occasionally eloquent; the only fault in this respect is prolixity, and that is perhaps due to the form in which the work was originally made up, namely, a serial publication in small cheap parts. The principal aim of the author is to vindicate orthodox Christianity against Unitarianism, so that the chapters on Inspiration, the use of Reason, the Trinity, the Incarnation, &c., are the most extended and elaborate. On the whole, the book is a creditable proof of the industry and ability of the author.

(7.) A SPECIMEN of clear thinking and good writing on a metaphysical subject, is given in a treatise "*On the Developement of the Understanding.* By HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD, A. M., late Fellow of Chr. Coll., Camb.:" (London, 1848, 12mo., pp. 133.) This writer (who appears to be a disciple, with some modifications, of Kant and Cousin) seeks to "indicate faculties and motives to action belonging to the constitution of man, by which he might be led, from the first dawn of his intercourse with nature, to the knowledge of space, form,

body, necessity, cause, and the like,"—topics that embrace all the main subjects of metaphysical inquiry. The investigation is carried on with much acuteness and originality; the book fully deserves the notice of all who are interested on such inquiries. In the chapter on Free-will, the writer holds that "the will is not *an act or a faculty, but the disposition of the agent with respect to action;*" and maintains, that by thus blotting out metaphysical volition entirely, he has removed all the moral as well as logical difficulties of the subject.

"The ordinary theory of the will supposes that in every voluntary act two distinct processes may be distinguished, namely, first, an act of volition, by which the agent *wills* the act to be performed; and, secondly, the actual performance, which necessarily follows whenever the act in question is a matter within the physical ability of the agent. Moreover, this distinction must be supposed to hold good in the case of mental acts, as well as in those that are accomplished by means of muscular exertion, and thus have a visible existence in the material world."

"Now, I argue that this division of action into volition and performance, which lies at the root of the whole Necessarian controversy, is completely erroneous. I urge the absurdity of treating that as a separate act of which no one can possibly have any separate experience; and as the most specious instance of a bare volition that can be brought forward is obviously a determination to do a future act, I endeavour to show (as others have done before) that that is not the kind of volition with which the argument is really concerned. Between a previous determination and the final performance there is no necessary connexion. We may, or may not, please to carry our determination into effect; but if we do, the act is performed, not in virtue of the previous determination, but of the energy exerted in the very moment of accomplishing the final act. The previous determination is a complete act in itself, which ought (on the ordinary theory) to admit of being split up into volition and effectuation; and if it do not seem easy to make such an analysis, it does not concern me, who altogether deny the separate existence of the elements sought for." —Pp. 76, 77.

(8.) The *Hulsean Lectureship* in the University of Cambridge was founded by the will of the Rev. J. Hulse, M. A., dated July 21, 1777. According to the terms of the will, some clergyman in the University is to be chosen annually, to "preach twenty sermons in the whole year," at "St. Mary Great Church, in Cambridge," on the Evidence for Revealed Religion; the Truth and Excellence of Christianity; Prophecies and Miracles; direct or collateral proofs of the Christian Religion; the more difficult Texts or obscure Parts of the Holy Scriptures; or any one or more of these topics, at the discretion of the Preachers. The Court of Chancery has allowed the number of lectures to be reduced to *eight;* and these are delivered annually, and afterward printed by the lecturer. The intentions of the founder were most laudable; but the restriction of the lectures to *Apologetics* has necessarily led to great repetition, and, in fact, to the publication of many heavy and comparatively worthless volumes. We have the volume for 1847—"*On the Canon of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and on the Apocrypha,*" by Chr. Wordsworth, D. D.: (London, 1848, pp. 294.) The book is written in a style level to the humblest capacity, and its range of thought and argument presupposes a very limited stock of information indeed upon the part of the undergraduates for whom the lectures were prepared. Its Church principles, too, unfit it for general use. The Lectures for 1845 and 1846 were of a much higher order, delivered by the Rev. R. C. Trench, the writer of the well-known and admirable "Notes on the Parables of Christ." The topic of

1845 was, "*The Fitness of Holy Scripture for Unfolding the Spiritual Life of Men;*" and the Lectures treat, with great originality of thought and beauty of illustration, of the unity, variety, inexhaustibility, fruitfulness, and development of Scripture. The subject for 1846 was, "*Christ the Desire of all Nations, or the Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom;*" opening a field comparatively new, and capable of yielding the richest fruit. To show how Christ had been for ages "the Desire of all Nations;" to trace the yearnings of the Heathen mind for a Deliverer, and to show that these "dreams were exactly that which ought to have preceded the world's awaking," is, indeed, a worthy aim, requiring extensive learning and acute judgment for its successful execution. These qualities the lecturer brings to his task, and his work is one of the most attractive and instructive that English theology, of late years, has produced.

(9.) Of books on Education there has been no lack, nor will there be so long as it is the most important subject, next to religion, on which books can be written. But the most remarkable book on the subject that has appeared of late years is a translation of "*Levana; or, the Doctrine of Education,*" by Jean Paul Fr. Richter: (London, 1848.) The first edition of the original appeared in 1806: but the genial spirit of Richter fits all times, and the work is as fresh for us as if newly written. It abounds in all the peculiarities of the author—his alternate quaintness and gorgeousness of style; his massive breadth of thought, with playful and digressive illustration; his wonderful knowledge of the human heart, with the most unconscious exposure of his own; his acute metaphysics, with a broad, practical experience. The work treats mainly of home-training; which, indeed, is almost the only *developing* education which Richter allows to be possible, and must be accomplished within the first few years of life. The work abounds in gems of thought and illustration, a few of which we present to our readers without special connexion:—

"Where do the children more resemble the parents—and to anything else than a mirror of himself, be it a flat, a concave, or a convex one, the teacher cannot wish to mould and polish his pupil—than even in those places where the educators are silent, among savages, Greenlanders, and Quakers?"

"Repetition is the mother not only of study, but also of education. Like the fresco painter, the teacher lays colours on the wet plaster which ever fade away, and which he must ever renew until they remain and brightly shine."

"Not the cry, says a Chinese author, but the rising of a wild duck impels the flock to follow him in upward flight."

"That the age writes so much on education, shows at once its absence and the feeling of its importance. Only lost things are cried about the streets."

"Education is always counselled to do as much as possible during the first year of life; for it can then effect more with half the power than it can in the eight with double, when the sense of freedom is aroused, and all the conditions of being indefinitely multiplied. As farmers believe it most advantageous to sow in mist, so the first seeds of education should fall in the first and thickest mist of life."

"To ordinary teachers a naughty trick seems a wicked nature—a pimple or a pock-mark as parts of the countenance."

"Whosoever, out of the musical *abcdefg*, should change, for instance, a piece set in *c* to *b*, would injure the piece much; but not so much as a teacher who would convert the all-variously arranged natures of children into one uniform tone."

"Among nations the head has, at all times, preceded the heart by centuries, as in the slave-trade; yes, by thousands of years, as will perhaps be the case in war."

"He who possesses religion finds a providence not more truly in the history of the world than in his own family history: the rainbow, which hangs a glittering circle in the heights of heaven, is also formed by the same sun in the dew-drop of a lowly flower."

"Let not cheerfulness be confounded with enjoyment. The cheerful man wins our eye and heart, as the morose man drives both away: it is the contrary with pleasures; we turn our back on the luxurious, and open our heart to the starving."

"The most delightful and inexhaustible play is speaking; first of the child with itself, and still more of the parents with it. In play and for pleasure, you cannot speak too much with children; nor in punishing, or teaching them, too little."

"Let the child experience in play his future life; and since from that the mountain and storm pressure of tedium cannot be removed, let the child sometimes feel it, in order afterward not to perish under its weight."

"And what else, in fact, is cramming lesson upon lesson but unceasingly to sow one field full of seed upon seed? A dead corn granary may possibly come out of it, but no living harvest-field. Or, in another simile, your watch stops while you wind it up; and you everlastingly wind up children, and never let them go."

"Many lose their religion, without knowing how, merely because they hear discussions, and nothing else, about it."

(10.) An attempt at a *genesis* of Life, from such a man as Coleridge, cannot but command attention. An unfinished sketch of a theory of his on the subject has been lately published, under the title of "Hints towards the Formation of a more Comprehensive Theory of Life:" (Philadelphia, reprinted, 1848, pp. 94.) Like almost everything else of Coleridge's, it is a fragment; but his fragments are worth more than most men's complete works. The editor (S. B. Watson, M. D.) prefixes an "Introduction," intended to popularize the subject; a task which he might as well have pretermitted.

(11.) Messrs. Lane & Scott have lately published "*Christ Crucified; or, a Plain Scriptural Vindication of the Divinity and Redeeming Acts of Christ: with a Statement and Refutation of the Forms of Unitarianism now most Prevalent.* By George W. Clarke:" (18mo., pp. 324.) The author's object, as stated in his Preface, is to afford a concise view of the arguments for the orthodox doctrines of the Trinity and Atonement, for the "thousands who have not at their command either the means to purchase or the time to read extensive works on systematic theology." In this unpretending guise, Professor Clarke introduces what is really a most valuable digest of the best books on the subject, and also a vigorous and well-directed assault upon the strong-holds of Unitarianism itself. This last is found in the *Second Part* of the work, which, on the whole, we regard as likely to be its more useful feature. The false pretences of the miscalled *liberal* system, and the lamentable morality that it tends to breed, are laid bare mercilessly—yet in a good spirit throughout. Wherever Unitarianism, *Christianism*, or similar forms of error prevail, this little book should be extensively circulated.

We cannot agree with the author as to the genuineness of 1 John v, 7.

(12.) Prof. Loomis' text-books in Mathematics are models of neatness, precision, and practical adaptation to the wants of students. We have now before us the third volume of the series, namely, "*Elements of Plane and Spherical*

Trigonometry, with their application to Mensuration, Surveying, and Navigation:" (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 8vo., pp. 148.) Enough of trigonometry is given for all practical purposes, and the applications to Mensuration, &c., though adequately exhibited, are set forth with great brevity, as appears plainly from the fact of all the topics being embraced in less than 150 pages. This is precisely the kind of book to meet the approbation of *practical* teachers.

(13.) "*A Manual of Morals for Common Schools.* Also adapted to the use of Sabbath Schools and Families:" (Andover, W. H. Wardwell, 1848, 1 volume, small 12mo., pp. 175.) The writer of this little manual has made use of Wayland, Dymond, &c., but more of the Scriptures, believing that the "word of God is the great repository of all moral truth," and that "religion is the surest and completest foundation of morality." Such a book has been long needed in schools, and this supplies the want excellently.

(14.) THE day has gone by, at least in our branch of the Church, when a defence of revivals of religion could be necessary. But a clear exposition of their nature, their Scriptural character, their necessity, and the best means of promoting them, has long been wanting to our Methodist literature. Such a work is now supplied in "*Revivals of Religion; their Theory, Means, Obstructions, Uses, and Importance, with the Duty of Christians in regard to them,*" by Rev. JAMES PORTER, A. M.: (18mo., pp. 260, Boston, Peirce; New-York, Lane & Scott.) The book is written, as the author states in his Preface, "for general circulation among the people, and not for the fastidious and critical;" but we hope it will fall into the hands of *preachers* as well as people, and stir both up to new diligence. The *means* of promoting the work of God, —preaching, pastoral duties, prayer, personal effort, &c., are set forth with clearness and earnestness; then follows a statement of the *obstructions*, in the Church and out of it, to which revivals may be subject; after which the chief *objections* commonly urged against revivals are stated and refuted. The work closes with a view of the importance of revivals, and a pungent appeal to Christians, by way of application of the whole. We trust this portable and convenient little manual will be widely diffused among our people; and that, in the closing words of the author, the revival and spread of religion may be "the theme, the burden, and the successful business" of all Christ's professed followers.

(15.) DR. OLIN is, in our judgment, the ablest writer that American Methodism has ever possessed. And his late Discourse on "*The Relations of Christian Principle to Mental Culture, a Discourse to the Graduating Class of Wesleyan University, July,* 1848," is one of his best:—it is made up of solid and massive thoughts, expressed in the most apt and vigorous language. Were it in our power, we should put it into the hands of every student in our colleges, and of every cultivated or student-like young man in our Church. It has brought down upon ourselves a new and fearful sense of the responsibilities of study and of personal culture; and it must produce this effect upon all whose hearts are not seared by sin, or utterly debased by worldliness.

(16.) Who can tell how many copies of Bunyan's "*Pilgrim's Progress*" have been uttered among men? Of the beautiful edition published by Lane & Scott, and edited with so much taste and judgment by Mr. S. B. Wickens, we see that the *eighth thousand* is now just struck off. The new issue is in an enlarged form, and is got up in many styles of neat and tasteful bindings for the holidays. Our friends need not go abroad for the book, as this edition, from our own press, is not only admirably printed, but contains one of the best biographies of Bunyan that has yet appeared, and is enriched with a number of judicious notes (of the best kind, mainly from Bunyan's own writings) and a copious index.

(17.) Jacob Abbott is well known to write in a style of ease and grace that fits him admirably for the preparation of books for the young. He is now engaged on a series of histories for Messrs. Harpers, which will give apt employment to his ready pen, and will furnish excellent reading for the youth of the land. Of these we have received the "*History of Mary, Queen of Scots,*" a beautiful volume, with illuminated title-page, and many illustrative engravings. The perpetual interest of the eventful story of Queen Mary's life does not flag in Mr. Abbott's hands; the chief points are well selected, and the trying and varied scenes of the life of the unfortunate queen are depicted in the most graphic manner. The History of Charles the First, of Alexander the Great, and others, will follow; and the series will form an admirable substitute for the so-called light reading with which the minds of our youth are so likely to be poisoned. Since the above lines were written, we have received another volume of the series, namely, the "*History of King Charles the First of England,*" and have read it through at a sitting, with a sense of real pleasure that our *forced* readings never afford. These books will only need to be known in order to obtain extended circulation.

(18.) An excellent instance of the play of Hamlet, with the Prince left out, is afforded in a book entitled, "*Sacred Poets of England and America for three Centuries,* edited by Rufus W. Griswold:" (New-York, D. Appleton & Co.) It contains 500 pages of extracts, and allots *one* page to Charles Wesley—with a critical notice, showing clearly that the learned Editor knows little or nothing about either Charles Wesley or his poetry. The fact is, that the book is made up mainly from two works prepared by bigoted High-Churchmen in England. Bishop Mant's machine-made verses are allowed six pages; Doddridge finds no place at all!

(19.) Classical teachers in this country generally find too little time for instruction in Mythology: perhaps, indeed, a just sense of the importance of this branch of education has not generally prevailed. There has been no want of books on the subject; but they have generally been compendiums made from compendiums; and the light of modern research and speculation on the subject has hardly been put before our younger students at all. The want of a more copious treatise, and one embodying more of the philosophy of mythology, has long been felt; and it is now, to a great extent, supplied in a

treatise of "*Grecian and Roman Mythology*, by M. A. DWIGHT, with an Introductory Notice by Professor Tayler Lewis, and a Series of Illustrations in Outline:" (New-York, G. P. Putnam, 12mo., pp. 437.) The book takes the Theogony of Hesiod as a basis; and, according to Professor Lewis, the author "has most faithfully and accurately performed her task," in setting forth his Mythology. The Introduction supplies what some will think a necessary corrective of the too physical tendencies of the mode of exposition adopted in the body of the work. As a book of reference, or as a work to be *read* by students in schools or colleges, along with some briefer compendium, we think this volume will serve an excellent purpose. A full table of contents would add greatly to its *practical* value as a school-book.

(20.) THE December number of "*Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*" contains its usual variety of valuable commercial and statistical information. No merchant, who is endowed with even a moderate share of intelligence and enterprise, will be without this Journal—and even beyond the mercantile class it deserves general circulation.

(21.) MR. MAGOON, author of the "Orators of the American Revolution," is getting to be quite a prolific writer of books. His latest is a species of religious Theophrastus, entitled, "*Proverbs for the People; or, Illustrations of Practical Godliness drawn from the Book of Wisdom:*" (Boston, Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln, 12mo., pp. 272.) A series of characters are drawn,—not in outline, but with minute sketches, and in full colouring,—such as the "Censorious Man," the "Decorated Fool," the "Knave Unmasked," &c.,—each illustrating some one of the vices or virtues, and each founded on a passage in that record of nearly all practical wisdom, the Book of Proverbs. Mr. Magoon is a graphic and striking, rather than an accurate or elegant writer; he has a fixed aim always, and rarely misses it. Books of practical morals are always useful; and we commend this as a new and attractive one.

(22.) THE articles of Dr. Edward Beecher, published in the Biblical Repository some years ago, on the import of the word *βαπτίζω*, attracted, deservedly, great attention from their originality, profoundness, and candour. These articles were republished in England, and drew forth a reply from Dr. Alexander Carson, of Edinburgh, the Coryphæus of the Baptist denomination in Great Britain. All intelligent and unprejudiced readers of Dr. Carson's writings know him to be a bitter partisan, using invective more freely than logic, and abounding more in dogmatism than in argument. These qualities were fully and even disgustingly displayed in his replies to Dr. Beecher, which were as feeble and inconclusive as they were violent and insulting. The whole controversy is now laid before the public in a handsome volume, entitled, "*Baptism, with reference to its Import and Modes*," by EDWARD BEECHER, D. D., (New-York, John Wiley, 12mo., pp. 342.) It is not necessary for us, at this late day, to set forth the nature of Dr. Beecher's able argument; it is enough to say, that no person, interested in the study of the subject, *can* be

deemed fully acquainted with it, who has not given careful attention to Dr. Beecher's views; and that, in our opinion, no theological library can be complete without this book.

(23.) "*The Moral, Social, and Professional Duties of Attorneys and Solicitors,*" by SAMUEL WARREN, Esq., (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 18mo., pp. 306,) is a book quite readable for non-professional readers, as well as for those to whom it is more especially addressed. The specific class described (attorneys and solicitors, as distinguished from barristers) does not exist in this country; but as our lawyers combine all these functions, the lessons of practical wisdom and professional virtue which the book inculcates, cannot fail to be useful. It would be a great thing for the country if the standard of honour and virtue, in a class of men so powerful for good or evil, could be elevated as high as the teachings of this work would raise it.

(24.) DR. HODGSON, of the Philadelphia Conference, is a very acute and able writer. Few men among us are capable of closer logic; indeed, it seems to be his delight to play with the nicest distinctions, and to analyze the minutest elements of every question he discusses. His "*Ecclesiastical Polity of Methodism Defended*" (New-York, Lane & Scott, 18mo., pp. 132) is a refutation of certain objections brought against the Methodist system of Itinerancy, especially of the objections commonly brought by Congregational writers. And while refuting these objections, the writer carries the war into Africa, and exhibits strikingly the difficulties of the "elective" mode of fixing the pastoral relation. The following is a specimen:—

"Mr. Tyler, in his Congregational Catechism, at the close of his article on the Constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church, objects that our system is 'contrary' to the 'highest advancement of the members in Christian knowledge and experience.' This, he says, requires a 'permanent ministry.' What does he mean by a *permanent ministry?* He either misapprehends the facts of the case, or is somewhat unfortunate in his phraseology. The itinerant Methodist ministry is permanent. It is constant and unceasing. Much is said about 'the permanency of the pastoral relation.' Perhaps this is what he has reference to. Here, as I have shown, our ministry has the advantage greatly. Our pastoral relation never ceases, never intermits, so long as we possess the requisite qualifications. The mere change of a pastor, from one part of the field to another, does not suspend the relation. The very act which dissolves his pastoral relation to one Church, places him in the same relation to another. The Churches are never without pastors. The pastors are never without Churches. Whereas, on his system, multitudes of ministers are thrown out of that relation, while their eligibility is unimpaired, and while multitudes of Churches are destitute of pastors. This ambiguous phraseology is designed to signify a permanent union between a particular Church and a particular minister. But if this be necessary to constitute a permanent ministry, and to secure the 'highest edification and improvement of the people,' the permanent ministry includes but a very few individuals; and but very few of the Churches—even of those which elect their pastors—are favoured with the advantages described."—Pp. 95–97.

It has generally been conceded by others, and admitted by Methodists themselves, that the itinerant system is best adapted to a new and thinly settled country. Dr. Hodgson puts the matter in a new light in the following passage:—

"The greatest difficulties of the itinerancy are found in new and thinly settled countries. The conferences, districts, and circuits, must be spread over a wider territory. The stations must be at a greater distance from each other. The toil and inconvenience of removals are so much the greater, and also of continued travelling around districts and circuits. To one who has any understanding of the philosophy of Methodism, it must be at once apparent, that every new city or village which springs up operates in our favour, by bringing our Churches into close contiguity. Every new road opened, every old one repaired, every turnpike, every canal, every foot of railroad, every new steamboat, every bridge, is so much added to our facilities. It is as if the whole community were at work to cast up a highway for us. Our ends are answered just as much as if the money were subscribed and the work done by us, or by others for our special benefit. The friction of our ecclesiastical machinery is continually diminishing.

"And what is thus working to our advantage, is operating against the other system. Parishes are no longer secluded. They are constantly visited by strangers. The people will hear new voices, and be captivated by novelty. The settled minister will have to work hard to retain the preferences of his hearers. They will travel more, hear a greater variety of ministers abroad, and thus widen the field of comparison. The minister himself, if he is not quite satisfied, can take a trip of several hundreds of miles; give specimens of his eloquence to several different congregations in the course of a week or two; and thus open the way for a call."—Pp. 116-118.

We trust this little work will obtain general circulation. It can be read in a few hours; and will afford ample means of stopping the "mouths of gainsayers."

(25.) The state of Holiness, or Christian Perfection, has been illustrated in the lives of Christians in almost every age, and in almost every branch of the Church. Many instances of elevated religious experience are recorded among the Lives of the Roman Catholic Church; and a beautiful one is that lately reproduced by Professor Upham, in the "*Life of Catharine Adorna*," (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1848, 1 vol., 18mo., pp. 249,) of which a copy of the third edition is before us. It is a touching record of a life of entire consecration to God, and of a soul bathed in His love. The dialect in which the doctrine of Holiness is taught in the book (as in most works of this author) is very distasteful to us, and that, mainly, because we think it can hardly fail to form erroneous modes of thought, and, consequently, of religious life. But, in spite of the dialect, the work has kindled our hearts, and inflamed our longings for a purer, holier life of love.

(26.) Many works of practical morality of high value have been issued from the Methodist Book-Room, and among them few have been more widely useful than "Mason on Self-Knowledge." An excellent companion to this work has lately appeared in "*A Concise System of Self-Government in the Great Affairs of Life and Godliness*," by J. Edmondson, A.M.: (New-York, Lane & Scott, 18mo., pp. 299.) After some preliminary observations on the moral obligations of men, and on the possibility of self-government through Divine grace, the work treats, first, of the government of the mind and of the body in general; and then, in order, of self-government in business, company, retirement, society, amusement, &c.; and, finally, of self-government in the religious, civil, and political relations of life. The book shows a large knowledge of life, and a genial sympathy with all its forms; and its style is plea-

sant and attractive, though not remarkable for vigour. Its moral rules are founded upon the only sure basis—religion. The book deserves, and we hope will secure, a large circulation among the young.

(27.) "*Elements of the Conic Sections and Analytical Geometry*, by JAMES H. COFFIN, A. M., Professor of Mathematics, &c., in Lafayette College:" (New-York, Collins & Brother, 1848, pp. 158.) In this treatise the doctrine of the Conic Sections is taught first geometrically; and in a second part, the student is taught how to represent lines, curves, and surfaces analytically, and to solve problems relating to them. We have examined the work with care, and testify to the skill, tact, and neatness of its expositions. Most books of analytical geometry are blind to scholars—most of them never learn, unless they have a teacher unusually skilful and diligent, how to interpret algebraical expressions, or how to make practical use of equations. It is precisely for its clearness, its *practical* character, and its adaptation to the work of the recitation-room, that we heartily commend this volume.

(28.) THE "*Growth of the New-York Conference*" could be treated of by no man more fitly than by the venerable author of the discourse with that title lately issued by Messrs. Lane & Scott. Dr. Bangs was himself *pars magna* of most of the history he tells of. Few men have deserved better of the Church; his long career of service as Missionary, Preacher, Editor, and Author, has identified his name with American Methodism, and entitled him to the love and honour of all who are capable of appreciating worth and goodness. May he yet live long, happy in the love of God, and in the esteem of his brethren! and may the Sermon before us not be the last lesson of wisdom we may receive at his hands!

We have not space for an analysis of this Discourse, but recommend our readers to procure and read it for themselves. There is no diminution of vigour in Dr. Bangs' style, or of independence in his thoughts, as the following extract will show. Speaking of the necessary modifications which our circuit-system has received, in the more densely peopled parts of the country, he proceeds:—

"To reproduce the old circuit system, as some ignorant enthusiasts, whose views are directed by their prejudices, have frequently clamoured for, would inevitably empty our churches, disperse our congregations, and scatter us into fragments. The only effectual way to preserve our system in its native vigour, is, for all concerned, ministers and people, to have their hearts continually burning with love to God and man, which will lead them to attend strictly to the doctrines, duties, and ordinances of the Gospel, as unfolded by Wesley and his immediate followers; to keep up with energy the proper itinerancy, to yield it our hearty support according to its requirements, both temporally and spiritually, and then shall the God of our fathers continue his blessing with us. This modification of the itinerancy implies no abatement of zeal in the cause of God, nor any diminution of love to the system, or of labour to secure its prosperity; but it is only accommodating ourselves to the progress of events, the improvements of the age, the increase of our membership, and the consequent multiplication of our labourers and labours, that we may fill up every gap, and leave no duty unperformed. We might as well wish that our thickly populated country might go back to its former scattered settlements, and be reduced

to its former wilderness state, as to desire that our present stations and lessened circuits should relapse into their former extended sphere, and thus be reduced to the necessity of preaching every day once in two weeks. Those of us who can remember these days of feebleness, when our appointments were few and far between, can well recollect the disadvantages under which we laboured; for while sinners might be awakened under our preaching, during our absence for two weeks, in those places where there were settled ministers, they would labour to allure them from us, and they thus reaped that on which they had bestowed little or no labour: indeed, in the most populous cities and villages, more especially in the New-England States, we could establish no permanent congregations, and collect but a few into classes, until we succeeded in furnishing them with stated preaching and the ordinances of the Church every Sabbath. Since then our work has become more established, our preaching and character better known and appreciated, and our increase has been proportionably great."—Pp. 15, 16.

(29.) THE illustrated editions of the British Poets, issued by Messrs. Harper & Brothers, have attracted much attention. Thomson, Goldsmith, and Milton we have before noticed; and now we find upon our table COWPER, in two beautiful volumes, with abundant illustrations. The letter-press is exquisite—the paper and printing perhaps the best that the Harpers have shown in any of their issues; and the illustrations (with one exception, which, unfortunately, is the first to which the reader opens) are worthy of the text—which is all that need be said of them. In noticing these editions, all criticism of the *writings* is out of place; we have only to speak of the form in which they appear. And we say to our readers, that the English Poets have never appeared in a form more elegant, attractive, and convenient, than that of Messrs. Harpers' recent issues.

(30.) MESSRS. LEA AND BLANCHARD (Philadelphia) are doing a most acceptable service to the cause of classical learning in their republication of Chambers' Classical Series, edited by Schmitz and Zumpt. They have already published Sallust, Cæsar, and Virgil, of which the two former are sold at 50 cents each, and the latter at 75 cents. Editions of the other classical authors generally used in schools are to follow, got up in the same style, and at similar low prices. The costliness of classical text-books is a very great evil—and we welcome this series as the dawning of a new era. As far as we have examined the books, they seem very well prepared; avoiding that bane of scholarship, excessive annotation, which offers a premium to indolence on the part both of teachers and pupils. We have no doubt of the ample success of the series.

(31.) MRS. MARKHAM'S "*History of France, from the Conquest of Gaul by Julius Cæsar to the Reign of Louis Philippe*," (12mo., pp. 630,) has been republished by Messrs. Harper & Brothers. In addition to the high merits of the English edition, the present one is furnished with an excellent Map of France, besides notes, questions, and a supplementary chapter, bringing down the history to the present time, by Jacob Abbott. No other book on French History, accessible to American schools, can compare with this.

(32.) The publication of the "*Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*," which was suspended for several years, has been resumed in a new series. It is now issued in two parts, folio, per annum, or four in two years, making a volume, at $1 25 each part. The first two numbers of volume I. are before us, and give ample testimony to the value of the institution, the zeal of its members, and the skill with which its affairs are managed. There are in the two parts twenty-two fine lithographic plates, those of birds being coloured in the best style. The list of subscribers is published at the end of the second number; and, to our surprise, we notice that there are but *six* copies taken in New-York. Are Philadelphia and Boston always to remain so far in advance of our city in devotion to science, even in the lowest, the *pecuniary* kind of devotion?

(33.) We do not know a book that we can more cheerfully commend to families than the "*Cyclopædia of Moral and Religious Anecdotes*," by Rev. K. Arvine, A. M., published by Leavitt, Trow, & Co., and now completed in a handsome 8vo. volume of 889 pages. It contains a treasury of attractive and wholesome reading for children.

(34.) Dr. Ernest Sartorius is well known as one of the most thoroughly evangelical divines of Germany. His principal writings are: "Religion beyond the Limits of mere Reason, on the Principles of true Protestantism, as opposed to Rationalism," 1822; "Contributions to the Defence of Evangelical Orthodoxy," 1826; "The Lutheran Doctrine of the Insufficiency of Free-will to the higher Morality," 1831; "The Doctrine of Holy Love; or, Outlines of Evangelical Morality," vol. I, 1840, vol. II, 1844. This last work is still in progress. His little work on the "*Person and Work of Christ*" has met with great favour; and a translation from the fifth German edition has been lately made by Rev. O. S. Stearns, A. M.: (Boston, Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln, 1848, 1 vol., 18mo., pp. 161.) It consisted originally of a course of lectures before a mixed audience, and is therefore a popular and practical, rather than scientific treatise. Although our language abounds in works of this character, the present will be welcomed as presenting the subject in a light somewhat different from that to which we have been accustomed. The translation appears to be faithful, and is, in general, well expressed.

(35.) "Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates affords so excellent a course of reading for the younger students in our Colleges, that its absence hitherto from the list of text-books is much to be regretted," says Professor Anthon, in the Preface to his new and elegant edition of the Memorabilia, just issued by Messrs. Harper & Brothers. What "lists of text-books" it has been "absent from," we do not know; but we know of more than one on which it has stood prominent for years—and we ourselves made pleasant use of it in teaching nearly a dozen years ago. We have a dim recollection that Pro-

fessor Packard's edition was the best our boys could get—and it served its purpose excellently well for its day. The beautiful edition got out with such scholarly taste and skill by Mr. Robbins, a year or two ago, seemed to leave nothing to be desired in the way of school-texts of the work. But now our teachers can have choice between two excellent editions, as this of Professor Anthon's is furnished with all the apparatus of prolegomena, notes, &c., that could possibly be desired in a text-book. The "Prolegomena" are Kühner's, and are very valuable; Dr. Wigger's "Life of Socrates" is also a well-known and meritorious work; and the Essay on the "Worth of Socrates as a Philosopher," by Schleiermacher, deserves its place, even if it did not correct Wigger's view on several points. Indeed, we have never seen matter compiled more aptly for the illustration of an author than in this edition of the Memorabilia. The notes contain the body of Kühner's, with much additional matter, and are, therefore, excellent. But why in the world does Professor Anthon refer to *Jelf's* Kühner, instead of the American edition? If we are not mistaken, he could have referred to the latter with more ease than the former, as Kühner's *own* references are made to his Schulgrammatik, which Edwards and Taylor have translated, as well as to his Ausfuhrliche Gram., on which Jelf's is founded. Few college students in this country will possess Jelf—all, it is to be hoped, will have Kühner—then why refer to the inaccessible book rather than to the accessible? We think this edition would have found its way into college-classes where it will not now be used, if its references had been made to the American edition of Kühner. Professor Anthon has expurgated the text of this edition—wisely, we think. As usual with Harpers' publications, the work is admirably printed and bound.

(36.) Mr. G. S. Appleton (Philadelphia) has sent us the *fourth edition* of a little collection of verses not unworthy of its title, "*Christian Songs*," by Rev. James Gilborne Lyons, LL. D. They are pervaded by a pure religious sentiment and a genuine Christian feeling. The best piece in the book is "The Venal Sanctuary"—a *real* feeling is the best poetical inspiration. Grand Churches, with sold pews, and no place for the poor!

"O for a prophet's tongue or pen,
To warn the great in wealth and birth,
Who build their God a house, and then
Plant there—the meanest pomps of Earth;—
To brand that Church, which spurns the poor
From every vain and venal pew,
Where 'clothed in purple' herd secure
To kneel or sleep—the lordly few!

"Give me the shed, low, bare, and plain,
Where love and humble truth abide,
Rather than Earth's most noble fane
Defiled by selfish pomp and pride:
Give me the damp and desert sod,
Wall'd in by dark old forest trees,
Roof'd over by the skies of God,
But perish temples such as these!"—P. 69.

(37.) The new edition of "*The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection Stated and Defended*," &c., by George Peck, D. D., (Lane & Scott, 12mo., pp. 470,) contains some alterations and improvements, to which we call the attention of our readers. Parts merely incidental to the general subject have been largely retrenched, and two new lectures have been added, one upon "the Law," and the other upon "the difference between Regeneration and Entire Sanctification." As these topics are much discussed, and are, to a certain extent, still open to discussion, we are glad that Dr. Peck has taken occasion to extend and fortify his general positions still further in these lectures. The work has deservedly secured the approbation of the Church, being, as it is, the only extended and scientific discussion of this great theme extant among us.

(38.) "*Duff's North American Accountant, embracing Single and Double entry Book-Keeping*," (New-York, Harper & Brothers, large 8vo., pp. 192,) appears to us (and we have some right to speak, for a large part of our own *writings* are preserved in MSS. in massive ledgers, in a certain counting-house) to be an admirable exposition of the art, setting it forth with great clearness and simplicity.

(39.) At a future day we hope to give our readers a careful article on Bushnell's "Views of Christian Nurture:" (Hartford, E. Hunt, 12mo., pp. 250.) A fearful responsibility rests upon the Church for the training of her young—and the Church's lethargy on the subject is profound. It must be a trumpet voice that shall wake her. Without pledging ourselves to all Dr. Bushnell's views, we yet sympathize far more with him than with the friends in New-England he has so terrified. The doctrines of his book, or similar ones, must be proclaimed from our house-tops. No part of the world needs them as do the American Churches, with whom baptized children seem to be regarded as little heathens—just as if they had not been baptized at all. With the exception of the Baptists, who go wrong on principle, it seems to us that our own beloved Methodism is less awake to her duty in this particular than any other branch of the Church. The Episcopalians, those of them at least who hold to baptismal regeneration without qualification, run to the opposite pole of error from the Baptists—but they see their duty, and strive to fulfil it. We repeat it, from our hearts—on this subject *we need a great awakening.*

(40.) We have received from Mr. John Ball, (of the late firm of Sorin & Ball,) who has established himself in business in North-Fourth-street, Philadelphia, a copy of the fifth American edition of "*Short Sermons on Important Subjects*," by Jonathan Edmondson, A. M., with an Introduction by Rev. J. P. Durbin, D. D., 8vo., pp. 535. As the work has been before characterized in our pages, and the author and editor are well known, it is needless for us to do more than let our readers know that the work is still issued, and where it may be had. There are *one hundred and forty* excellent discourses in the volume—which thus deserves its title of "Short Sermons."

(41.) We welcome the monthly visits of the "*Southern Methodist Pulpit.*" Its Editor is an old and valued friend, and so too are many of its contributors. These bonds are not sundered by the rupture of Church ties: it would be sad indeed if private griefs were to be added to the public. The "Pulpit" is welcome also because it contains good and substantial sermons from *Methodist* preachers. The November number has one from our friend Prof. Cross, on "Evil Speaking," marked by his usual energy both of thought and style; and another from Rev. M. J. Blackwell, on "The Home of the Saints," which points us to that blessed inheritance, the redeemed and glorified Earth which the "meek" are to possess. In that fair land we hope one day to meet many of our friends of the South.

(42.) The second volume of the "*History of Congress, Biographical and Political,*" by Henry G. Wheeler, (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 8vo., pp. 563,) contains matter of more general and permanent utility than the first, as it furnishes a complete history of Internal Improvements in the United States and Territories, and the political discussions in regard thereto. And the biographical sketches are full of interest, exhibiting generally the rise of strong men from humble to lofty station by dint of industry and perseverance, under the benign freedom of our republican institutions.

(43.) The "*Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Pittsburgh, Pa.*, 1848," (Lane & Scott, 8vo., pp. 180,) is better adapted to reference than those which have preceded it, as it has a copious *Index* at the end. And for reference, if for no other use, every Methodist preacher should keep the Journals of our highest judicatory.

(44.) "*The Journal of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, in New-England, in* 1620; *reprinted from the Original Volume, with Historical and Local Illustrations of Providences, Places, and Persons,* by George B. Cheever, D. D.," is a beautiful duodecimo of 350 pages, which we have received from Mr. J. Wiley, too late, however, to give anything more than this bare announcement in the present number. The title alone will form a sufficient attraction to many of our readers.

(45.) The "*Report of the Commissioner of Common Schools to the Legislature of New-Hampshire, for* 1848," shows that the Commissioner (Rev. R. S. Rust, of the New-Hampshire Conference) is fully aware of the important duties of his post, and capable of performing them. His statements are clear, business-like, and suggestive throughout.

(46.) Our readers who wish to purchase "*Chillingworth's Whole Works*" will be glad to know that a good edition, in an octavo volume of 764 pages, has been issued in Philadelphia; and is kept on sale at a low price by Messrs. Lane and Scott.

(47.) A NEW edition of SHERLOCK'S excellent "*Discourse concerning the Divine Providence*" has been issued by Mr. John Ball, Philadelphia. The subject is one that presents difficulties to many even pious minds; and we know no writer by whom it has been treated in a better spirit and with clearer discrimination than Sherlock. By the way, we may remark that the issues of the house of Sorin and Ball were always excellent; and Mr. J. Ball seems determined to secure an equally high character as a publisher.

(48.) FEW of our readers are aware of the real value of the books published in the SUNDAY-SCHOOL LIST by Messrs. Lane & Scott,—certainly we ourselves had no idea, until we entered upon a personal examination of the fruits of Mr. Kidder's labour and enterprise in his department, that so rich a selection had been made and published. We wish to direct the attention of our readers especially to the reprints of the monthly issue of the "Religious Tract Society," containing a series of small volumes on topics of general interest, all prepared on Christian principles, and adapted to the use of children and families, as well as to Sabbath schools. Among these are,—

The Life of Julius Cæsar.

Glimpses of the Dark Ages; or, Sketches of the Social Condition of Europe, from the Fifth to the Twelfth Century.

Dawn of Modern Civilization; or, Sketches of the Social Condition of Europe, from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century.

Jamaica, Enslaved and Free.

The Solar System.—Parts I and II. By Thomas Dick, LL. D.

Ancient Jerusalem. By Dr. Kitto.

Modern Jerusalem. By Dr. Kitto.

The Life of Cyrus.

Sketches of the Waldenses.

The Life of Mohammed.

The Caves of the Earth; their Natural History, Features, and Incidents.

History of Protestantism in France, to the Reign of Charles IX.

Magic, Pretended Miracles, and Remarkable Natural Phenomena.

Origin and Progress of Language.

Among the latest issues is, "*The Blind Man's Son; or the Poor Student successfully struggling to overcome Adversity and Misfortune,*" a neat 18mo. of 270 pages, detailing the story of a poor youth's struggles, difficulties, and final success in securing a collegiate education.

We hope that not only Sunday-school teachers, but parents and others will turn their attention to our own list of Juvenile books. They *need* not go elsewhere to procure gift-books or reading-books for their children and little friends. Our advertising columns will afford them a better opportunity of seeing the extent and riches of the lists adapted respectively to the different classes and ages of youth.

A peculiar feature of most of these works is, that they are beautifully illustrated, in many instances, by cuts *drawn and engraved expressly for the works*, under the direction of the Editor.

*** Several Notices are laid over for want of room.

Art. X.—THE CHARGE OF PLAGIARISM AGAINST DR. PALEY.

Well do we remember the delightful impression of satisfaction which the opening paragraph of Dr. Paley's Natural Theology made upon our minds when we first took up that work in college days. Especially did "*the watch*," found in that lone walk over the heath, strike us, as it has done thousands of others, as the most apt and perfect specimen of illustration that we had ever seen. Alas for human frailty—the watch was *stolen*, spring, wheels, dial-plate, glass, and all! All this appears, and more, from an apparently well-sustained charge of plagiarism, brought against Archdeacon Paley by a writer in the *Athenæum*. We have never met with the allegation before, although the name of the writer said to have been robbed is one not at all unknown, and his work in question has been translated into various languages. To put the case fairly before our readers, we quote from the writer in the *Athenæum* at some length.

"I can show that Dr. Paley's work is a mere running commentary on another publication,—to the author of which he has acted with great unfairness, and in flagrant violation of the literary moralities. I charge him with taking the leading arguments and illustrations of his 'Natural Theology,' from a book of the same nature written by Dr. Nieuwentyt of Holland, and published at Amsterdam about the year 1700—full one hundred years before the Doctor's treatise made its appearance.

"Bernard Nieuwentyt was one of the most erudite philosophers of Holland in the seventeenth century. About the year mentioned, he published a work in Dutch 'To Prove the Existence and Wisdom of God from the Works of Creation.' This treatise excited considerable attention throughout Europe; and Mr. Chamberlayne, a member of the Royal Society of London, undertook its translation into English under the title of 'The Christian Philosopher.' This was published in three volumes octavo, by Messrs. Longman & Co., in 1718–19. A French translation was afterward published at Paris, in quarto, with numerous plates, under the title of L'Existence de Dieu démonstrée par les Merveilles de la Nature.' [The work was also translated into German, under the title 'Rechter Gebrauch der Weltbetrachtung zur Erkenntniss der Macht, Weisheit, und Güte Göttes, übersetzt von J. A. Segner,' *Jena*, 1747, 4to.—Ed.]

"To show the connexion between Mr. Chamberlayne's 'Christian Philosopher' and Dr. Paley's 'Natural Theology,' I give the plan of both publications in parallel columns. The reader will see their almost complete identity:—

General Arrangement of Dr. Paley's "Natural Theology."	*General Arrangement of Dr. Nieuwentyt's "Christian Philosopher."*
Dr. Paley lays down his "Statement of the General Argument" in two or three sections.	Dr. Nieuwentyt has his "General Epistle to the Reader," in which the same "General Argument" is employed.—But more of this hereafter.
Paley commences the application of his argument of design with an examination of the structure of the human body. Chapters 3 to 11, inclusive, contain his illustrations. Chap. 9 is devoted to the *muscles*.	Dr. Nieuwentyt also commences his application of the argument of design by an examination of the human body. "Contemplation" 10 is devoted to the *muscles*,—containing 16 sections, illustrated with many plates.
Paley commences his 12th chapter with Comparative Anatomy.	Nieuwentyt describes properties of Air, Meteors, Water, Earth, and Fire.
In the 20th chapter Paley commences with the structure and nature of Plants.	Nieuwentyt enters upon the consideration of Comparative Anatomy.
Paley makes his observations on the "Elements," Air, Water, Fire, Light, &c.	The nature of Plants is considered by Dr. Nieuwentyt.
Paley's 22d chapter is on "Astronomy."	The 21th "Contemplation" of Nieuwentyt is on the "Visible Heavens."
Paley concludes with some general remarks on the nature and existence of a Deity.	Dr. Nieuwentyt ends his disquisitions on Astronomy, &c., with remarks of a similar nature on the same subject.

"This is the arrangement of both treatises,—and you will perceive how closely Paley has followed the Dutch philosopher. But the matter does not rest here. I cannot demand so much of your space as would suffice even to indicate all the coincidences running through the illustrations of both works; but I must claim your indulgence while I refer again to the introductory observations of each author. You will find that Paley has been no stranger to 'The Christian Philosopher.'

General and Introductory Argument of Nieuwentyt.

Nieuwentyt commences with some general statements as to the argument of design which is suggested to the mind by any work of contrivance and skill. He then says,—"That this may be shown after a more plain and not less certain manner, let us apply to some particular thing what has just been advanced in general, and, as it were, in an abstracted manner; and *let us suppose that in the middle of a sandy down, or in a desert or solitary place*, where few people are used to pass, any one should find a *watch*, showing the hours, minutes, and days of the months,—and having examined the same, should perceive *so many different wheels, nicely adapted by their teeth to each other*, and that one of them could not move without moving the rest of the whole machine; and should further observe, *that those wheels are made of brass, in order to keep them from rust; that the spring is steel, no other metal being so proper for that purpose; that over the hand there is placed a clear glass; in the place of which, if there were any other but a transparent matter, he must be at the pains of opening it every time to look upon the hand.* Besides all which, he might discover in it a hole, and exactly opposite thereto a little square pin. He would likewise see hanging to this same watch a little key composed of two pieces, making a right angle together; at the end of each of which there was a square hole so ordered that one of them was exactly adapted to the little pin in the said hole, which being applied thereto, a chain would be wound up, and a spring bent, by which means the machine would be continued in motion, which otherwise would be in an entire rest. He might also find, that the other square cavity, at the end of the little key, was adapted to another pin or instrument, which being turned this way or that, makes the hand move faster or slower. At the other end of this little key there would be a flat handle, which being movable therein, might give him the conveniency, that in the winding it up he should not be obliged to take hold of it at every turn of his fingers. Lastly, he would perceive, that if there were any defect either in the wheels, spring, or any other part of the watch, *or if they had been put together after any other manner, the whole watch would have been entirely useless.*"

General and Introductory Argument of Paley.

Dr. Paley pursues precisely the same line of argument, with very little variation in the language.—Paley says, "In *crossing a heath*, suppose I pitched my foot against a stone, and asked how the stone came to be there, I might possibly answer that, for anything I knew to the contrary, it had lain there for ever; nor would it perhaps be very easy to show the absurdity of this answer. But suppose I had found a *watch* upon the ground, and when we come to inspect the watch we perceive (what we could not discover in the stone) that the several parts are framed and put together for a purpose,—for example, that they are so formed and adjusted as to produce motion, and that motion so regulated as to point out the hour of the day; that if the several parts had been *differently shaped from what they are, of a different size from what they are, or placed after any other manner*, or in any other order than that in which they are placed, *either no motion at all would have been carried on in the machine*, or none that would have answered the use that is now served by it. To reckon up a few of the plainest of these parts or offices, all tending to one result: we see a cylindrical box, containing a coiled elastic spring, which by its endeavour to relax itself, turns round the box. We next observe a flexible chain (artificially wrought for the sake of flexure) communicating the action of the spring from the box to the fusee. *We then find a series of wheels, the teeth of which catch in and apply to each other*, conducting the motion from the fusee to the balance, and from the balance to the pointer; and at the same time, by the size and shape of these wheels, so regulating that motion as to terminate in causing an index, by an equable and measured progression, to pass over a given space in a given time. We take notice that *the wheels are made of brass, in order to keep them from rust; the springs of steel, no other metal being so elastic; that over the face of the watch there is placed a glass*, a material employed in no other part of the work, but, *in the room of which, if there had been any other than a transparent substance, the hour could not have been seen without opening the case.*"

"Now, did Paley know of such a person as Nieuwentyt,—and had he a knowledge of that author's writings? I have looked carefully through the edition of the Archdeacon's work of 1803, through that edited by *Parson*, in 1826, and through the last, by Lord Brougham and Sir Charles Bell; and I find that Paley mentions Nieuwentyt's name only *once*,—thus: 'Dr. Nieuwentyt, in the "Leipsic Transactions," reckons upon one hundred muscles that are employed every time we breathe.' Here the

foreign philosopher is recognized, together with the nature of the subject on which he had written. Now, it so happens that the whole of Nieuwentyt's work first appeared in the 'Leipsic Transactions:'—so that Paley must at any rate have seen it in this detailed form. You will bear in mind that the argument or proof on which the whole of the 'Natural Theology' of Paley is founded (and the same remark applies to Nieuwentyt's work) possesses a distinct unity of character. The illustrations may be multiplied *ad infinitum*,—but the argument itself is always the same. It is simply this,—that when we perceive design or contrivance, the mind naturally, by an almost instinctive impulse, draws the conclusion that there must be a designer or contriver. On this general ground alone, Paley was bound on every principle of literary integrity to have acknowledged his obligations to 'The Christian Philosopher.' But to the 'Natural Theology,' *as a whole*, he has no literary claim whatever. Such a title as 'An Abstract of [or Commentary on] Dr. Nieuwentyt's Christian Philosopher,' would have been properly descriptive of its nature, and of the amount of Paley's claim in respect of it."

As for the *argument* on which Dr. Paley's book is founded, namely, that "contrivance proves design," he was under no obligation whatever to acknowledge any debt to Nieuwentyt; the argument may be found as fully stated, as far as its substance is concerned, in *Xenophon's Memorabilia*, as in either of the works in question, and had been the property of all thinking minds for ages before they were written. But the body of the charge is far more substantial and important, namely, that Dr. Paley not only used the main thought of his predecessor, (which, as common property, he had a perfect right to use,) but also adopted his *plan*, not only generally but in detail, employing his illustrations, and, in some instances, appropriating his very language. To call such wholesale theft as this a "legitimate use of authorities," is to play at fast and loose not merely with words, but with common honesty. The mention of Nieuwentyt's name in the case referred to by the correspondent of the *Athenæum*, proves that Dr. Paley knew that writer; but there is still further proof in an acknowledged quotation from the "*Religious Philosopher*," which may be found in the ninth chapter of the "Natural Theology." On this latter fact a defender of Dr. Paley, in a subsequent number of the same journal, tries to frame an excuse for him, namely, that this mention of the name proves that there "could be no intention on Dr. Paley's part to conceal his acquaintance with the book, or his obligations to Dr. Nieuwentyt and his translator." On the contrary, the *particular* reference only makes the case stronger, as negativing, at least by implication, the *general* appropriation of the work referred to.

Another writer in the *Athenæum* finds a different solution of the difficulty, namely, that the work grew out of Paley's oral lectures delivered while tutor in Christ's College, and that as nearly thirty years elapsed between the delivery of the lectures and the publication of the book, the writer forgot the sources of his early information. There is some plausibility in this. College lectures are mainly compilations; and, as in their oral delivery it would be little less than absurd to give every authority, it is not unusual for lecturers to omit references even in their MSS. But the man who could, after the lapse of even twice thirty years, print such a compilation as his own, must either be dishonest or a dotard. Now it is not pretended that Paley was in his dotage when he published the "Natural Theology;" he was too shrewd a man not to know what he was about: it therefore only remains for us, as far as we can now see, to class him among the great plagiarists.

Art. XI.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Great Britain.

British Wesleyan Conference.—It may be thought somewhat late to refer to the proceedings of this body, as part of our religious intelligence. Our design, however, is to put on permanent record such statistics and other information as may be valuable for future reference; and this could not well be done until the new arrangement of the contents of the Review came into operation.

The British Conference for 1848 commenced at Hull, on the last Wednesday in July. The various connexional committees, to which the Conference confides much of its business, on account of its sessions being limited, by the "Deed of Declaration," to twenty-one days, meet during the week prior to the opening of Conference. The meetings of those committees at the late Conference appear to have been remarkable for much greater latitude of discussion and free expression of opinion than at any former time. We shall briefly refer to the statistics given in the report of each committee.

The Book Committee.—The capital of the Book-Room is £35,535, diminished from the former year by £1561. The total sales of books and proceeds of advertisements for the year amounted to £35,973 13*s.* 10*d.*—say about $174,000. The sales of books in the circuits, by the preachers, amounted to nearly five times as much as those at the London Establishment. The circulation of the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine was 8000; of the abridged edition, 3500; of the Youth's Instructor, 4750; of the Miscellany, (formerly the Family Visitor,) 50,000; and of "Early Days," a child's periodical, 34,000. Sales of the Hymn-Book, 93,470, and of the Sunday-School Hymn-Book, 15,195. The number of Tracts published was 1,469,174. The Conference subsequently recommended the experiment of cheaper publications, and instructed the Book Committee accordingly.

Chapel Relief and Building Committee.—Seventy-nine new chapels had been built during the year, twenty-six of them without permission from the committee. Of these the cost was nearly £10,000; of the former, £37,391, with a debt of £9000, and a yearly income toward it of £1675. An improved style of architecture had been generally adopted. It is within our knowledge that application was made by an influential member of the Chapel Building Committee for plans, with specifications of American Church edifices.

Education Committee.—Within the last six years the British Wesleyans have taken a very active part with reference to education. Their Sunday Schools were always effective; they have now numerous day-schools in vigorous operation. The Report of the committee gave the number of the latter as 408; namely, 164 for boys, 58 for girls, 130 for both sexes, 56 for infants, embracing together 37,679 scholars, and supported at a yearly expense of £24,112. Eighteen new schools had been established, and the committee had sustained 20 male and 17 female teachers at the Glasgow Normal School.

Of Sunday Schools there were 4169, in which were 442,896 scholars of both sexes, being an increase during the year of 17,825; 22,703 scholars met in select classes preparatory to their admission into the churches. There were 81,780 teachers, (an increase during the year of 2125,) of whom 57,724 were members of society, (being an increase of 4326.) The annual cost of maintaining these Sunday Schools was from £26,000 to £27,000.

The Report of the Committee was accompanied by a unanimous request that the Conference would appoint a secretary, whose whole time should be given to this department of connexional labour. The policy of establishing a Wesleyan Normal School was discussed, and leave ultimately granted by the Conference for its establishment, when the Committee had raised the funds necessary for its completion.

Wesleyan Theological Institution.—What we have seen published in reference to this institution has not been very full or explicit, and our private sources of information lead us to suspect that one branch of it, at least, has not produced the matured and abundant fruit that was anticipated from it. In the two branches there was an increase of twenty-four students, an increased expenditure, and a deficiency of £1200 to meet the current expenses. We shall not be surprised if the more recently established branch of the institution—that at Didsbury, near Manchester—is eventually abandoned.

Missionary Committee.—The Report of this Committee occasioned much discussion, pointed inquiries being directed by both clergy

and laity to the items of home expenditure, such as printing, expenses of deputations, outfits, &c. The discussions, which were carried on amicably, were serviceable to the cause of Missions, and resulted in an understood agreement that a vigilant oversight of the expenditures should be maintained, and that the form of the annual accounts should be so far altered as to afford more minute information to the friends and members of the Missionary Society. We do not think it needful to encumber this summary with the statistics of the Society's operations, as they are pretty generally known, at least in their aggregate. A recommendation from the Committee, introduced in the Conference, to employ an additional missionary secretary, whose duty it should be to attend meetings, and visit various parts of the country, to supersede, as far as possible, the somewhat expensive and inconvenient "deputation system," met with strong opposition, and was withdrawn.

THE CONFERENCE.—Seven vacancies in the legal hundred were filled, five by seniority, and two—Revs. Francis A. West and William Bartow—by election. Rev. Dr. Newton was elected president for the fourth time, over Rev. Joseph Fowler, who was subsequently elected secretary. A strong feeling against re-elections has for some years prevailed in the body, overcome mainly by Dr. Newton's personal popularity. It seems to have been understood that hereafter re-elections should cease, unless under very extraordinary circumstances.

Thirty-one preachers, after a probation of four years, were received into full connexion; fifty-four candidates for the ministry in Great Britain were received on trial, eight in Ireland, and sixteen on foreign stations. Among the latter were two natives of Africa, two of the East Indies, and a chief of the Friendly Isles. Twenty ministers had died in Great Britain and Ireland, and three on foreign stations. Eighteen in England and six in Ireland became supernumeraries. Doctor BUNTING applied for that relation; but the Conference were unwilling to grant it, and it was finally agreed that he should continue at his post, on a similar understanding with that between the General Conference and our venerable Bishop Hedding.

Dr. DIXON's introduction to the Conference has been elsewhere spoken of in this number.

The report of the *Auxiliary Fund*, being a preachers' fund, is made directly to the Conference by the treasurer or secretary. The income for the year was £11,755, and there would be a deficiency of £2642. To meet this, and prevent its recurrence, each preacher, in full connexion, for whom a house had been provided, was required to subscribe two guineas annually; each supernumerary, probationer, and married preacher, without a house, one guinea.

The *State of the Connexion* occupied the Conference during one entire sitting. The total membership was reported at 459,454; namely, in Great Britain, 333,861; decrease, 518; in Ireland, 23,142; decrease, 1491; and on foreign missions, 97,451; decrease, 2852; making an apparent total decrease of 4861. From the reported decrease on foreign stations, however, were to be deducted 1987 members transferred from the missions in Upper Canada to the Canada Wesleyan Conference, reducing the real decrease on mission stations to 865, and the total decrease to 2874. The principal decrease on the missions had occurred in the West Indies, under peculiar circumstances. The greatest decrease at home had taken place in Cornwall, 1300 members of society having emigrated to Australia during the year. The decrease in Ireland was not so large as might have been anticipated. In addition to the membership reported, there were 20,816 "persons on trial." Many suggestions were made in connexion with this subject, and a special minute made upon the published Journal of the Conference in reference to it.

The *Stations* occupied the Conference much longer than usual, and the body did not finally adjourn until the 11th of August.

We may take another opportunity for a review of the English Wesleyan economy, and of some minor points, more or less entering into the proceedings of the Conference of 1848. We cannot dismiss the subject, however, without expressing surprise, and, all things considered, regret, that our English brethren persist in holding their Conference sessions with closed doors. We cannot doubt that, sooner or later, the custom will have to be abandoned. A progress party is rising up and gaining ground in the Conference, which looks more to the popular opinion than do the preachers of the older school; and these are finding increased favour with the people. Among the membership, also, are indications of a growing desire to have more knowledge of the sayings and doings of the Conference—of the internal working of the system in its various departments; and we cannot see why such knowledge should be withheld from them. Moreover, the secrecy with which the business of Conference is conducted

supplies the enemies of Wesleyan Methodism with a power of annoyance and injury, which the opening of the doors to spectators would greatly weaken and abridge.

It is also worthy of remark that notice was given, at the commencement of the Conference, but subsequently postponed until next year, on account of the pressure of business, of the introduction of two resolutions covering the grounds that no government grants should be received in aid of Wesleyan Missions, and that, in reference to the controversy respecting the connexion between the Church and State, Wesleyan ministers should be allowed to take which side their judgments and consciences might dictate. The right of private judgment on this question the Conference of course has never interfered with; but it has required its members to abstain from public participation in the controversy between the Dissenters and the Established Church, holding that that is an inferior question, beyond the legitimate sphere of those who are called of God, exclusively set apart for the preaching of the Gospel and the salvation of souls. We incline to think that the Conference will not be moved from this position.

The Evangelical Alliance.—This association seems to assume a more tangible form, and to be altogether more prosperous in England and on the Continent of Europe than in the United States. Many causes contribute to this result, principally that denominational differences are more marked there than here. In other words, the sectarian spirit is more prevalent, and there is felt, consequently, by sincere Christians and good men, a greater necessity for an Evangelical Alliance. The French section of the association has held meetings in several cities, with apparent success. The "Evangelical Society of Geneva" had a most interesting session. Rev. Dr. Merle d'Aubigné took a prominent part, and delivered a spirited address, of an anti-Papal character. There seems, perhaps, some ground for apprehension that, upon the Continent of Europe at least, the Evangelical Alliance will dwindle down into a mere anti-Popery association—an object which, however desirable, is more circumscribed and exclusive than that originally contemplated.

The British organization has held its second annual conference. An address to the members of the Evangelical Alliance in the Swiss Canton de Vaud, sympathizing with them in their struggles for religious liberty, was agreed upon. This branch has divided itself into various sections, each section taking charge of some important issue, as Popery, infidelity, the desecration of the Lord's day, the religious state of Great Britian, education on Christian principles, &c., leaving the members of the conference to identify themselves with any section for which they may have a preference. Subdivisions of the British organization have also been formed. An "intermediate conference" was held in London in October. Thomas Farneer, Esq., of the Methodist Church, plaeed at the disposal of the conference £300 for the promotion of inquiries respecting Popery, infidelity, and Sabbath desecration. The 13th of November was appointed as a day for special prayer, that peace might be preserved in the British dominions, and that the events on the European Continent might be overruled for the promotion of Christian union. The conference adjourned after adopting a resolution that, in future conferences, matters of subordinate interest should be compressed, as far as possible, into narrower limits, and that the time might be occupied with subjects relating to the spiritual edification of the members and the developement of brotherly love.

Christian Nurture—*Our English Wesleyan Brethren.*—We have long been aware that several of the ministers of that connexion were, personally, deeply interested in this subject, and in their respective circuits were exercising a vigilant pastoral care over the children of their congregations and Church members. Revs. Samuel Jackson, Francis A. West, Peter M'Owan, Samuel D. Waddy, and others who might be named, have been among the most active in this duty, the fruit of whose individual labours will be perpetuated in the Church. For a while, however, this movement was confined to isolated action, each minister carrying out his views on his own plans. The most usual custom was for the preacher to assemble the children on the Saturday, in the lecture-room, or Sunday-school attached to the Church, and catechise, counsel, and pray with them. From these were generally chosen a select class, composed of those who had given evidence of a serious disposition, who were met by the preacher once a week, and were watched over with special care.

The young men were generally met by the preacher at an early hour in the morning. Mr. West has always been exceedingly zealous in this branch of the work, judging from the means of information within our reach. He appears to have formed classes of young

men upon every circuit where he has laboured. Primarily their object appears to have been, the intelligent study of the Bible, especially the Gospels and Epistles; but other works were embraced in their reading as they advanced. Mr. West appears sometimes to have had two or three of these classes in operation at once, the senior class reading with their pastor, in addition to an analytical study of the Epistles to the Romans and Hebrews, Paley, Butler, and Pearson. He also has frequently delivered lectures to young men, the fifth edition of one of which now lies before us, and proves the author to be eminently qualified, by sound judgment and clear perception, for the work in which he takes so lively an interest.

The Rev. Samuel Jackson appears to have devoted his attention principally to the establishment and care of catechumen classes, and the general subject of pastoral care of the young. The subject was brought before the Conference in 1846, and that body appointed a committee to examine the various plans proposed, and to make any further suggestions they might deem expedient. The resolutions proposed by the committee were adopted at the Conference of 1848, and are inserted in the published "Minutes." These resolutions start with the sound principle that it is the duty of all Christian pastors to feed and take oversight of the lambs as well as of the sheep of the flock of Christ; and proceed to give general directions for a system of doing this, devolving the responsibility upon the minister, but permitting the employment of lay assistants when necessary. A committee was appointed to take the general direction of this effort.

Various publications have been issued, tending to promote this work. A monthly magazine, called the Catechumen Reporter, edited by Rev. Samuel Jackson, is devoted exclusively to the subject. Mr. Jackson's sermon before the Conference—"The Church Responsible for her Youth"—has been widely circulated; as also one on "Religious Education in Responsible Hands," and some minor publications by himself and his brother, Rev. Robert Jackson. Mr. West has published several excellent treatises, in the form of lectures and addresses to young men—one in review, we believe, of Mr. Emerson's lectures in Manchester—a sermon on the Responsibilities of Christian Mothers, and other works. Besides these measures, committees and associations are formed, and a constant intercourse is kept up between the friends of the cause. In the matter of the Christian nurture and pastoral care of their young people, the English Wesleyans have set us an example that we should do wisely to follow. The subject is of sufficient importance to be deeply considered, and in a more extended form than the present.

Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel.—The Nonconformist (English) newspaper, an organ of the Dissenters, says that it has trustworthy authority for confirming a common report in London, that the Rev. Baptist Noel, a deservedly popular clergyman of the Established Church, is about to secede from the Church of England. He retains his charge until midsummer. The rumoured cause of his secession is said to be a disapproval of the connexion between Church and State. Mr. Noel has long been known as a prominent adherent of the low or evangelical party in the Church.

Germany.

Evangelical Church Confederation.—An association bearing this title has lately been formed, having some affinity, in its constituency and objects, to the Evangelical Alliance. It assembled in October, in the ancient city of Wittenberg. There appears to be in Germany, among the evangelical churches, a growing desire for closer union and fellowship. And well may they long for some common ground, where, rallying around the essential doctrines of the Bible, they may make a firm stand in behalf of the pure, experimental, practical *truth* as it is in Jesus. The Protestant Church in Germany has been for years passing through a "fiery trial," by false doctrine, rationalism, political changes, &c., and probably a confederation of the evangelical churches would go far to restore the tone of loving simplicity and truth. Such a confederation or alliance is contemplated in the Wittenberg movement.

The invitation summoning the assembly, bore the signatures of some of the best known clergymen and professors,—Krummacher, Eichhorn, Hengstenberg, Ebrard, and others. The objects of the assembly were declared to be, 1. An exhibition of the essential unity of the Gospel. 2. A united testimony against the various opponents of the Gospel. 3. Reciprocal counsel and assistance. 4. To act as umpire in all cases of disagreement which may arise between churches which are members of the League. 5. To guard and defend the rights of the Protestant Church. 6. To

afford counsel and assistance to isolated evangelical churches, whether within or without the German pale. 7. The maintenance of unity with all evangelical churches throughout the world; and, 8. The united prosecution of all works of love, especially of home missions, for the evangelization of the nominally Christian world.

The meeting was attended by about five hundred persons, clergy and laity, among whom, besides the eminent men mentioned above, were Julius Müller, Nitzsch, Dorner, Von Gerlach, Hengstenberg, and others. The assembly appears to have been blessed with peculiar manifestations of the Divine presence.

France.

THE REFORMED CHURCH OF FRANCE.—The French law which prohibits Protestants meeting in General Synods, still remains in force, as before the revolution of February; nevertheless, a sort of informal Synodal Assembly of the Reformed Church of France has recently been held, without, however, any very satisfactory result. Some of the Consistories declined sending delegates. There was some difficulty about the credentials of some who were present. A more serious difficulty, however, arose on the subject of publishing a Confession of Faith. The Orthodox party desired it; the Rationalists strenuously opposed it, and succeeded in substituting for a creed an address to the churches, which, as a preamble, should be placed at the head of their organization. The Assembly then entered upon the discussion of a plan of ecclesiastical organization. The "Address" was so ingeniously non-committal upon the tenets of the Church as to give general dissatisfaction to the orthodox party, and offended the moderate men of the other party by its too skilful employment of Scripture passages which could be understood either way. The session was closed on the 7th of October, the whole proceedings resulting in the formation of a "Free Church" on the part of the Evangelical party, and, on the part of the Rationalists, in the adoption of a plan of organization consisting of sixty-six articles, which were transmitted to the government, without whose sanction they would have no force.

ART. XII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

THERE has hardly been a season for many years in which so little publishing has been done in Europe, especially of the larger and more valuable books, as the past autumn. The German catalogues are filled with the titles of political volumes, pamphlets, *brochures*,—a division which formerly took but small space, in comparison with the theological and classical.

Theological.

EUROPEAN.

THE interpretation of Prophecy continues to excite great attention in Great Britain, far beyond anything known in this country. A new Quarterly, specially devoted to the subject, and styled "The Quarterly Journal of Prophecy," made its first appearance in London in October. According to the prospectus, it is to be pre-millennial in its principles; and, while attaching itself to no Church in particular, it will aim at being the organ of pre-millennialists in all Churches. The following extract is a specimen of the earnestness with which the subject is taken up:—"It is God, then, who is thus summoning us to hear. He is going before us in this path, beckoning us to follow. It is His call that we are now seeking to obey. His voice is too distinct to be slighted or mistaken. He is seeking to arouse his saints, and warn a heedless world. Let us with all haste respond to his call; for the time is short. The lines of all prophecy are now seen to be *converging*,—converging with unparalleled rapidity, and toward a point manifestly *near*. Shall we not eagerly watch the convergence, and proclaim to others what we see? The Lord himself open our lips and guide our pens!" Among the many publications on the same subject, we notice "Apocalyptic Sketches; or, Lectures on the Book of Revelation, delivered in Exeter Hall by Rev. J. Cumming, D. D.;" which has passed through six edi-

tions: the "Seventh Vial, being an Exposition of the Apocalypse, with special Reference to the present revolution in Europe." The Mystery of Providence; or, the Prophetic History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. A Historical Exposition of Rev. viii, ix; by the Rev. T. R. Birks. The First Volume of Revelation Readings: an Aid in Searching the Apocalypse; by the Rev. A. Dallas. Redemption Drawing Nigh: a Defence of the Pre-millennial Advent; by the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar. Popular Objections to the Pre-millennial Advent, and to the Study of the Prophetic Scriptures, Considered; by George Ogilvy, Esq., of Cove; second Edition. Prophetical Landmarks: containing Data for helping to determine the Question of Christ's Pre-millennial Advent; by the Rev. Horatius Bonar: second Edition. The Hill of Zion; or, the First and Last Things illustrative of the Present Dispensation; by Rev. Thomas Watson, M. A. Besides many others. The following passage from the Presbyterian Review (Edinburgh) will show the progress of interest in the subject in Scotland:—"It is now sixteen years since this Journal sought to direct attention to the subject of unfulfilled prophecy. Frequently during this period have we endeavoured to lay it before our readers in many of its details, presenting the coming of the Lord as the Church's blessed hope. Our testimony has not been unblest. At that time there were few, very few, in Scotland, who could be prevailed upon to give the subject a patient hearing. Now the difference is immense. Inquiry into the subject is wide-spread. The belief of the pre-millennial advent gains wide and rapid ground among us. The fixed and fierce prejudice against it is narrowed considerably, as well as softened. It is proclaimed from many a pulpit, and advocated in many a circle. The circulation of pre-millennial works in Scotland is very great, and the avidity with which they are read is not a little remarkable. An association for the study of the prophetic word was formed during the last General Assembly, among ministers of the Free Church. A course of lectures on the chief points of unfulfilled prophecy is projected. A prophetical journal will forthwith be commenced, supported by the friends of Millenarianism throughout Scotland and England, so that, though discontinued in one shape, our testimony will be prolonged in another. A series of Prophetical Tracts will ere long be thrown into circulation. Yet all this is little; for the time that remaineth is short! The night cometh. The outriders of the King are arriving day by day. The sound of his chariot-wheels is already heard in the distance. The last earthquake has begun to heave. The world's thrones are dissolving, in preparation for the setting up of the throne of the Son of Man. The crowns of earth are falling from the heads of its princes, there to lie till He comes to gather them up, and place them upon his own head as the rightful heir of all."

Our readers who desire a clear and distinct account of the rise, progress, and present condition of Rationalism in Germany will find it in *Amand Saintes, Histoire du Rationalisme Allemand.* This work has been translated into German, under the title, *Kritische Geschichte des Rationalismus in Deutschland*, 1 vol., 8vo., by C. G. Ficker, who has added notes and excursus which greatly increase its value. An English translation is also announced in London. The same subject has been taken up from the Roman Catholic point of view by several French authors. The Abbé *de Valroger* has written *Etudes sur le Rationalisme Contemporain*, 1 vol., 8vo., which is highly praised by Catholic journals. Professor *Chassay*, of Bayeux, is also carrying on a series of volumes on the whole subject of the credibility of the Gospel History, of which we have received two volumes, one reviewing French Infidelity, and the other German Rationalism. There is the usual French clearness and precision of statement, with a good body of research, in these volumes: but the *Church* is held up throughout as the only refuge against the distractions of skepticism.

The Presbyterian Review (Edinburgh, W. P. Kennedy) is conducted with a good deal of ability. The July number, in an article on the "Ministerial Character and Work," contains the following significant passage: "We remember the time when we should have deemed it impiety to proclaim in the pulpit Christ's welcome to every returning sinner, without prefacing and closing the invitation with a strong saving clause respecting the sinner's inability and God's absolute sovereignty. The consequence was, that unwittingly we 'corrupted the word of God.' In seeking to set up a fence around God's attributes, we barred the inquiring sinner's way into the kingdom. It is miserable work this. Why not suffer God to be his own guardian? *He* does not shrink from offering a cordial welcome, unencumbered by any reserving 'but.' Some of our readers may not have forgotten the flash of

holy indignation (the term is not too strong) which lighted up the eye of Chalmers when, speaking of this mode of dealing with God's message, and figuring the alternative whether some village congregation should be handed over to the ministrations of an Arminian Methodist, or to ministrations of the kind now indicated, he declared his unhesitating preference for the 'Wesleyan, with all his Arminianism,' to 'one of your stiff buckram Calvinists,' who should tremble to preach a free salvation, lest his Calvinism should suffer damage. It was like the sagacious man. Are there not such 'stiff buckram Calvinists' in our pulpits at the present day? none who, in their zeal against some prevailing heresy, have substituted for the simple Gospel of Christ the wranglings of theological disputation? Souls cannot live on mere negations."

Among the most important publications of the last year in Germany, is Prof. WIESELER'S "Chronology of the Apostolic Age, to the Death of the Apostles Paul and Peter; an Inquiry into the Chronology of the Acts, and the Pauline Epistles." There is also an Appendix on the Epistle to the Hebrews, and Excursus upon the Stay of Paul and Peter in the city of Rome. The work makes 606 pages, 8vo. Dr. Wieseler is joint Editor with Dr. Lücke, of the "Vierteljahrschrift für Theologie und Kirche," (published at Göttingen,) of which we have received the numbers for the last year. This journal is one of the cheapest issued, (a little over two dollars a year,) and although it is taken up a good deal with the ecclesiastical affairs of the Kingdom of Hanover, it yet has some article of general interest and value in almost every number.

We have received a *brochure* on a similar subject to the large work of Dr. Wieseler, mentioned above; namely, "Von der Zeitrechnung der Lebensgeschichte des Apostels Paulus, und den Schwierigkeiten sie zu bestimmen, von C. A. Agardh:" Stockholm, 1847. 8vo., pp. 43.

Those of our readers who are unacquainted with "Clark's Foreign Theological Library" will thank us for informing them that Mr. Clark, of Edinburgh, has been engaged since 1846 in the issue, by subscription, of a library of translations from the most eminent German writers. The subscription is one pound sterling per annum, which, with costs and charges of delivery, would be about seven dollars in New-York; and for this sum four 8vo. volumes a year are delivered to subscribers. Twelve volumes are now published; namely, Hengstenberg's Commentary on Psalms, 3 vols.; Hagenbach's History of Doctrines, 2 vols.; Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History, 2 vols.; Olshausen on the Gospels, vols. 1 and 2; Neander's General Church History, vols. 1 to 3.

A new work of some pretension has lately been published, of which we cannot speak from personal knowledge, entitled, *Principles of Textual Criticism*, with their Application to the Text of the Old and New Testaments, illustrated with thirteen lithographed and coloured fac-similes of interesting Biblical manuscripts, Hebrew, Hebrew-Samaritan, Greek, Syriac, and Latin. By the Rev. JOHN SCOTT PORTER, Professor of Sacred Criticism and Theology to the Association of Nonsubscribing Presbyterians in Ireland. The object of the book is stated to be, "to furnish to the student of sacred literature a hand-book of Textual Criticism, wherein the most important principles by which a critic must be guided shall be briefly investigated —the main facts relating to the text both of the Old and New Testaments accurately stated—the mode of applying these facts and principles for the correction or verification of the text, illustrated by a few interesting examples—and reference given to the chief writers who have treated on this science, and in whose works more complete information may be procured."

Messrs. Bagsters, of London, who have published so many valuable editions of the Bible and of Biblical works, are now engaged in issuing the "*Bible of Every Land*," designed to illustrate the progress of Divine Truth in connexion with missionary efforts, and to supply materials and authentic facts for those who are interested in philological researches in relation to the languages into which the sacred Scriptures have been translated. The subjects more especially dwelt upon in the work are,—the Literary History of the Scriptures; the Geographical location and statistics of every nation, tribe, and people, that have a version of Scriptures in their own tongue; the main features of every language that has hitherto been so honoured, &c. The work is illustrated with coloured ethnographic maps and specimen portions of every accessible version of Scripture.

The "*Library of the Fathers*," translated by members of the English Church, is still in course of publication by Parker, London. The latest volumes issued, namely, the 24th, 25th, and 26th, are Augustine on the Psalms, vols. I. and II., and Augustine on John, vol. I. Of the series of original texts, the follow-

ing have been issued by the same publisher: Augustini Confessiones, 8vo.; Chrysostomi Homiliæ in Matthæum. Edidit F. Field, A. M. 3 vols., 8vo. Chrysostomi Homiliæ in Pauli Epistolam Primam ad Corinthios; Chrysostomi Homiliæ in Pauli Epist. II. ad Corinthios. The remainder of the text of St. Chryostom's Homilies on St. Paul's Epistles will follow in due course.

On the 1st January, 1849, was to appear in London Part I. of "*The Life and Letters of St. Paul;* comprising a complete Biography of the Apostle, and a Paraphrastic Translation of his Epistles, inserted in chronological order." Edited by the Rev. W. J. Conybeare and the Rev. J. S. Howson; 4to., richly illustrated by maps, views, engravings of coins, &c., to be published in monthly parts.

The following are recently published or in press in London: The Tabernacle of Israel and its Holy Furniture and Vessels, drawn on a uniform scale, and printed in colours, with metallic illumination of gold, silver, and brass, to represent the costly materials of the originals. By H. W. Soltau:—The Conspiracy of the Jesuits: an Authentic Disclosure of the Secret Plan of the Order; by the Abbate Leone; with an Explanatory Introduction, by M. Victor Considérant, Member of the National Assembly of France, 1 vol., post 8vo.:—Twelve Letters to the Rev. Dr. Keith, in Reply to the Strictures published under his name against the "Horæ Apocalypticæ," and on his "Signs of the Times;" by the Rev. E. B. Elliott, M. A.:—A Selection from the Correspondence of the Rev. J. T. Nottidge, M. A., Rector of St. Helen's and St. Clement's, Ipswich:—The Christian Doctrine of Sanctification Considered; in Eight Sermons, preached before the University of Oxford, at the Bampton Lecture for 1848; by the Rev. E. G. Marsh, M. A., 1 vol., 8vo.:—An Atlas of Prophecy; being the Prophecies of Daniel and St. John; the Text; with an Historical Elucidation, illustrated by maps. 4to.:—The Holy Land Restored; or, an Examination of the Prophetic Evidence for the Re-establishment of the Hebrew Kingdom in Syria; by the Rev. A. G. Hollingsworth, M. A.:—The Unity of God's Moral Law, as Revealed in the Old and New Testaments. "The object of this work is to meet the Popular Fallacy, which supposes a difference in principle to exist between the Law of the Old Testament and that of the New."

Among the most important European publications in Theology and Biblical Literature in the past year, besides those heretofore mentioned in this journal, are the following:—

Biblisches Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch, von Dr. Geo. Ben. Winer. 3. sehr verb. u. verm. Aufl. II. Bd. 2 Hft. (Paran—Satan.) Leipzig.

Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Buch Jesaia u. zur Geschichte der jesaianischen Zeit, von C. P. Caspari. Berlin, 1848. 356 pp. 8vo.

Die unblutigen Opfer des mosaischen Cultus: ihre Liturgie, ihre symbol.-typische u. dogmat. Bedeutung. Eine im J. 1847 von d. theol. Fac. zu München gekrönte Preisschrift. Von Val. Thalhofer, Cleriker. Regensburg, 1848. 319 pp. 8vo.

Scholia Hellenistica in Novum Testamentum e Philone et Josepho, patribus apostolicis, aliisque Ecclesiæ Antiquæ scriptoribus necnon Libris Apocryphis maxime depromta. Instruxit atque ornavit. E. G. Greenfield. London, 1848. 498 pp. 8vo.

A Brief Commentary on the Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus. By the Rev. Alex. Patterson. Edinburgh, 1848. 184 pp.

Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter. By J. Brown, D. D. 3 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1848.

Theologische Ethik von Dr. Rich. Rothe, Prof. zu Heidelberg. 3. Bd. 2 Abthl. Wittenberg, 1848. 1125 pp. 8vo.

Homiletik der evang.-protestant. Kirche systematisch dargestellt, von Dr. Alex. Schweizer, Prof. zu Zürich. Leipzig, 1848. 405 pp. 8vo.

Acta Apostolorum ab Sancto Luca conscripta ad codicis Cantabrigiensis omnium præstantissimi reliquorumque monumentorum fidem post Griesbachium, Lachmannum, alios ita recensuit et interpretatus est Frid. Aug. Bornemann, Th. et Ph. Dr., etc., ut nunc demum divini libri primordia eluceant. Pars prior textum complectens cum selecta lectionis varietate. Grossenhainæ, 1848. 236 pp. 8vo.

Henrici Thierschii de epistola ad Hebræos commentatio historica, 1848. 15 pp. 4to.

Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel. Von Heinr. Ewald. Göttingen, Dieterich. 1848. 392 pp. 8vo.

Dr. Philipp Marheineke's christliche Symbolik, oder comparative Darstellung des katholischen, lutherischen, reformirten, socinianischen und des Lehrbegriffes der griechischen Kirche; nebst einem Abriss der Lehre und Verfassung der kleineren

occidentalischen Religions-Parteien. Herausgegeben von Steph. Matthies und W. Vatke. Berlin, 1848. 626 pp. 8vo.

Die Gemeinde in Christo Jesu. Auslegung des Briefes an die Epheser von Dr. Rud. Stier. 2. Hälfte. 1. Abthl.: Grund., Weg u. Ziel der Kirche. u. s. w. Berlin, 1848. 160 pp. 8vo.

Geschichte des alten Bundes von J. H. Kurtz. 1. Bd. Berlin, 1848. 304 pp. 8vo.

Protestantismus u. Philosophie von K. Fr. A. Schelling, Diak. u. Pfr. Hamburg u. Gotha. Perthes. 1848. 176 pp. 8vo.

Dr. H. Andr. Chr. Hävernick's, weil. ord. Prof. d. Theol. an der Univ. Königsberg, Vorlesungen über die Theologie des Alten Testaments, herausgeg. von Dr. Heinr. Aug. Hahn. Mit einem Vorwort von Dr. J. A. Dorner. Erlangen, 1848. 254 pp. 8vo.

Der heilige Bernhard und sein Zeitalter. Ein historisches Gemälde, entworfen von Dr. Aug. Neander. 2. umgearb. Aufl. Hamburg u. Gotha, Fr. u. Andr. Perthes. 532 pp. 8vo.

Original Thoughts on various Passages of Scripture; being the Substance of Sermons preached by the late Rev. R. Cecil. (Never before published.) Taken down by some of his hearers; and now edited by Catherine Cecil. Lond., 1848. 720 pp. 8vo.

The Lord's Prayer. Nine Sermons preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, in the months of February, March, and April. By Fred. Denison Maurice. Lond., 1848. 130 pp. 12mo.

Christ's Intercessory Prayer: Six Discourses on the seventeenth chapter of St. John; preached in April and May, 1848. By the Rev. E. Scobell. London, 1848. 202 pp. 8vo.

AMERICAN.

Messrs. Lane & Scott, New-York, are preparing several important and interesting new works and new editions. Among them are, "*The Familiar Letters of Rev. John Fletcher*," in a neat 12mo. form. These sweet and spiritual letters have long been out of print in any portable form, and this convenient edition will be welcome to the religious public. The "*Causes, Evils, and Cures of Heart and Church Divisions*," selected from the works of Burroughs & Baxter, by Bishop Asbury. The use of this book is recommended strongly in the Discipline of our Church, and the Agents have accordingly prepared a very neat reprint, in 18mo., which will soon be ready. "*Annals of Methodism in West Jersey*," by Rev. G. A. Raybold, 1 vol., 18mo. The "*Waldos;* or, Incidents of the American Revolution," 1 vol., 18mo. "*Our English Bible*," containing an account of the translation and of the history in general of its preparation, &c.—a most interesting and attractive theme. The Committee for the revision of the *Hymn-Book* have been industriously at work upon that important duty, and have made as rapid progress as was consistent with the magnitude and weight of the undertaking. As soon as possible, the work will be put to press.

Messrs. Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln, of Boston, will soon publish Dr. Harris' new work, "*Scientific Theology*," vol. II. By special arrangement with the author, (who will participate in the profits of the edition,) the American publishers will be supplied with the early sheets of the future volumes of this work, and issue it simultaneously with the London edition. The same publishers have also just issued "*Wayland's University Sermons*," recently delivered in the Chapel of Brown University, on many of the moral and religious topics of the day: 12mo. *Contents:*—Theoretical Atheism—Practical Atheism—the Moral Character of Man, Love to God, three Sermons—the Fall of Man—Justification by Works Impossible—Preparation for the Advent of the Messiah, two Sermons—the Work of the Messiah, two Sermons—Justification by Faith—A Day in the Life of Jesus of Nazareth—the Fall of Peter—the Church of Christ—the Unity of the Church—the Duty of Obedience to the Civil Magistrates, three Sermons—the Recent Revolutions in Europe, two Sermons.

Baker & Scribner (New-York) will shortly publish the "*Writings of the late John M. Mason, D. D.*," in 3 vols., 8vo., with a portrait.

It is said that the "*Jefferson Papers*" (to be published by order of Congress) contain, besides political and diplomatic correspondence, &c., also treatises on religious subjects —particularly a commentary on the Life and Character of the Apostle Paul.

Classical and Miscellaneous.

EUROPEAN.

J. W. Donaldson, author of the *New Cratylus*, *Varronianus*, &c., has just sent forth "a *Complete Greek Grammar*, for the *use of learners*." (London, J. W. Parker, 1848. 12mo., pp. 273.) The author lays the foundation of his book in the modern philological doctrines, or rather facts, of which he has given statements (rather fragmentary than scientific) in the New Cratylus. The book abounds in suggestions that will be useful to teachers and advanced students, but, despite Mr. Donaldson's ingenious preface, we doubt its adaptation to beginners, and do not think it can ever get into general use as an elementary book.

We have received the second edition of Dillenburger's School Horace, (8vo. Bonn, 1848, pp. 560.) It contains a Life of Horace, clear and condensed, in Latin, and an Index to the Horatian Metres. In the notes (which are Latin) the editor has sought to avoid matter suited only for the learned, and all pedantry of reference; while on the other hand he has not filled his pages with elementary matter, which a boy should have in his head before he reads Horace at all, or, at least, could readily find in his Grammar and Dictionary. We should be very glad to see an edition for American schools, with English notes, thus judiciously and discriminatingly made.

A new edition of Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities (1 vol. 8vo., pp. 1300, London, Taylor & Walton) has lately appeared. The prospectus states that "the present edition must be regarded as, to a considerable extent, a new work."—The Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, by the same editor, is rapidly advancing toward completion, the twenty-seventh (and final) number having been announced to appear in December, 1848.

Tauchitz's new subscription edition of Cicero (M. Tullii Ciceronis Opera omnia, uno volumine comprehensa, curis secundis emendatiora, et adnotationibus indicibusque auctiora, edidit Car. Fr. Aug. Nobbe) is now complete. It is beautifully (though rather closely) printed, on fine paper, in royal 8vo., and makes a very convenient library edition. The subscription-price is five (Prussian) dollars.

Rost, Palm, and Kreussler's new Greek Lexicon has reached the letter M, and maintains its high character. The *particles* are worked out by Rost exclusively, with great minuteness and abundant illustration: and this feature constitutes, perhaps, the most striking excellence of the work.

A new Hebrew elementary work, entitled "*Schul-grammatik der ebräischer Sprache, enthaltend die Wort- und Formenlehre*, &c., *bearbeitet* von H. Goldstein (Breslau, 1848, pp. 168), is highly commended in Jahn's Jahrbücher for its adaptation to practical use.

A new edition of Matthiæ's Manual of the History of Greek and Roman Literature has lately appeared in London. Professor Madvig's Latin Grammar has just been translated by the Rev. G. F. Woods, M. A., of University College, London.

The Leipziger Repertorium speaks highly of a new pædagogical work, namely, "Das Unterrichts-Wesen in Frankreich, mit einer Geschichte der Pariser Universität, von Ludw. Hahn," (Breslau, 1848, pp. 746, 8vo.) The same journal contains a eulogistic notice of Prescott's Peru, which (as well as his other works) has been translated into German.

The following are among the most important European works of the past year in classical literature.

De pronomine relativo commentatio philosoph.-philologica, cum excursu de nominativi particula. Edid. Dr. H. Steinthal. Adjecta est tab. lith. signa Sinica continens. Berolini, 1848. Pp. 110, 8vo.

Götterlehre od. mythologische Dichtungen der Alten von K. Ph. Moritz. Mit 65 Abbildd. nach antiken geschnittenen Steinen u. and. Denkmälern des Alterthums. 9. Aufl. Berlin, 1848. Pp. 287, 8vo.

Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst. Von Karl Otfr. Müller. 3., nach d. Handexemplar des Vfs. verb., bericht. u. verm. von Dr. *Fr. G. Welcker*. Breslau, 1848. Pp. 778, 8vo.

Poetarum tragicorum Græcorum fragmenta ed. *Fr. Guil. Wagner*. Vol. III. Vratislaviæ, 1848. Pp. 367, 8vo.

The Agamemnon of Æschylus. The Greek Text, with a Translation into English Verse, and Notes, Critical and Explanatory. By J. Conington, B. A. London, 1848. Pp. 216, 8vo.

Aristotelis metaphysica recogn. et enarrav. Dr. *Hm. Bonitz*, Prof. Pars prior. Bonnæ, 1848. Pp. 278, 8vo.

Etymologicon magnum seu verius lexicon

sæpissime vocabulorum origines indagans ex pluribus lexicis scholiastis et grammaticis anonymi cujusdam opera concinnatum. Ad codd. mss. recens. et notis variorum instrux. *Thom. Gaisford*, Prof. reg. Oxonii. 1848. Fol.

Essai sur la dialectique de Platon, par P. Janet. Paris, Joubert. 1848. Pp. 208, 8vo.

M. T. Ciceronis de officiis libri tres.—Mit einem deutschen Commentar besonders f. Schulen bearb. von *J. Fr. Degen*. Gänzlich umgearb. von *Ed. Bonnell*, Gymn.-Dir. u. Prof. 4. Ausg. Berlin, Veit u. Co. 1848. Pp. 306, 8vo.

C. Corn. Taciti opera quæ supersunt ad fid. codd. Mediceorum ab *Jo. Geo. Baitero* denuo excussorum ceterorumque optimor. libror. recens. atque interpret. est *Jo. Gasp. Orellius*. (Editio major.) Vol. II. Turici. Fuessli et soc. 1848. Pp. 602, large 8vo.

C. Corn. Taciti opera. Ad codd. antiquos exacta et emendata commentario crit. et exeget. illustr. ed. *Frc. Ritter*. Vol. I. et II. Cantabrigiæ. Pp. 716, 8vo.

An indispensable work for all book-collectors, librarians, etc., is the "*London Catalogue of Books*," containing a list of all the books published in Great Britain, from 1814 to 1846, which is published in one thick 8vo. volume. Accompanying this, and adding greatly to its practical utility, is the "Bibliotheca Londinensis; a classified index of the Literature of Great Britain during thirty years; arranged from, and serving as a key to, the London Catalogue of Books. The indices are forty-eight in number, and the student possesses a range of catalogues in which all the distinct branches of literature are grouped under their respective specialities, such as archæology, art, science, education, fiction, law, trade, poetry, divinity, &c."

The London publishers are preparing for publication "The Entire Works of Lord Bacon." A new edition, collected and edited by Robert Leslie Ellis, M. A., Trinity College, Cambridge; James Spedding, M. A., Trinity College, Cambridge; and Douglas Denon Heath, Esq., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

A work of a good deal of pretension has lately been published in London, entitled, *History of the Philosophy of Mind:* embracing the opinions of all writers on Mental Science, from the earliest period to the present time. By Robert Blakey, Esq., author of History of Moral Science; Essay on Moral Good and Evil; Essay on Logic, &c. In four volumes, 8vo. Judging from the table of contents, the book is rather a catalogue of writers on the subject than a history of philosophy. Unless Mr. Blakey has improved vastly since he wrote the "History of Moral Science," we think he must be entirely out of his depth in the present effort.

Mr. J. D. Morell, author of the Historical and Critical View of the Speculative Philosophy of Europe in the Nineteenth Century, (lately republished in a noble octavo, by Messrs. Robert Carter & Brothers, New-York,) has recently put forth "Four Lectures on the *Philosophical Tendencies of the Age*," (London, 1848, 193 pp. 8vo.) The subjects of the lectures are—Positivism, Individualism, the Philosophy of Tradition, and the Principle of Common Sense as a philosophical tendency. We shall probably give a fuller notice of the work in our next number.

A translation of Dante's Inferno into English prose, with the original text and explanatory notes, by J. A. Carlyle, is announced as in press. A *Latin* version has also been published in Italy, and reprinted in Germany, under the title, "Dantis Allighierii, Divina Comœdia Hexametris Latinis reddita ab Abbate dalla Piazza Vicentino. Præfatus est et Vitam Piazzæ adjecit Carolus Witte."

Among the works in general literature advertised as lately published or in press in London, we find the following:

The History of England, from the Accession of James the Second. By Thomas Babington Macaulay. Vols. 1 and 2, 8vo.—The Life and Correspondence of the late Robert Southey. Edited by his Son, the Rev. C. C. Southey, M. A.—The Illustrated Companion to the Latin Dictionary: a Dictionary of all the Words representing *Visible Objects*. With 2000 woodcuts from the antique. By Anthony Rich, Jun., B. A. Post 8vo.—Letters of William III. and Louis XIV., and of their Ministers. Extracted from the Archives of France and England, and from Family Papers. Edited by P. Grimblot. 2 vols. 8vo.—Sacred and Legendary Art. By Mrs. Jameson. 2 vols., square crown 8vo., with numerous woodcuts, and a few etchings by the author.—The Saxons in England: a History of the English Commonwealth until the time of the Norman Conquest. By John M. Kemble, M. A. 2 vols. 8vo.—Loyola and Jesuitism. By Isaac Taylor. Post 8vo.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1849.

Art. I.—PLAN AND STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES.

[Modified from the German of Vaihinger, in the "*Theologische Studien and Kritiken*" for July, 1848.]

Though there have been many expositions of Ecclesiastes, no commentator has yet offered a clear and distinct *plan* of the book.* In attempting, therefore, to study its intimate structure, I have had almost to begin the work *de novo;* although I have made use of the contributions of others as far as possible, especially of Stier, Köster, Ewald, and Umbreit.

My investigations have resulted in the conviction, that this remarkable work possesses a regular rhythmus and structure of strophes, both poetical and rhetorical, the two mutually interpenetrating each other. Indeed, the more I have contemplated the book in these aspects, the more strikingly has its elaborately artistical structure revealed itself.

Looking upon the *praise of enjoyment in life* as a mark of division in the subject, we readily obtain four distinct poetical discourses in the book. But my confidence in this division was shaken by the fact, that what appears to be the main topic of each of the three last discourses, has already been touched upon in the preceding one,—so that the divisions appear to run into each other, and so are incomplete and unsatisfactory. On closer study, however, I discovered that the Preacher *intentionally* takes this course; that is, he throws out incidentally, as it were, in *each* discourse, a thought which he

* M. Desvœux, in his "Philosophical and Critical Essay on Ecclesiastes," (Lond., 1762, 4to.,) gives an analysis of the book, which may be found in Clarke's Commentary, (Introd. to Ecclesiastes.) A different plan was presented by Holden, in his "Attempt to Illustrate the Book of Ecclesiastes." See Horne's Introduction, ii, 248.

makes the complete theme of the next; so that all four are intimately connected together.

The same procedure is shown in the *conclusion*, (ch. xii, 8–14,) which takes up and completes the thought touched upon in ch. xi, 9. I infer, therefore, not only that the conclusion is an integral part of the work, (and not, as some suppose, a later addition,) but also, that the final object of the Preacher was to point to the Immortality of the Soul, as happily explaining the otherwise insoluble enigmas of human life, and to the final Judgment of God, as the hour of harmony between duty and destiny,—here so often mysteriously contradictory.

If, then, it can be shown that the four greater divisions harmonize, and that the lesser ones are united by regular points of transition,—and, still further, that strict regard has been had, even in the form, to dialectical, rhetorical, and poetical laws,—it may not be too much to claim that the original structure of this difficult book is laid open. An attempt at such an exposition is presented in the following pages.

The book is composed of four divisions, logically related to each other, and each treating of the same theme, namely, "*the vanity of human life, and its true aim and end.*" Each of these main discourses is divided into three parts, and these again into strophes and half-strophes. In form they resemble the discourses found in the first part of the Book of Proverbs, and still more in Job; but the development of the thought is far more intricate and difficult.

First Discourse.

The *first* division ends with the close of chapter ii. In ii, 24–26, the writer announces the twofold result;—that the cares and woes of life drive him to despair, (לְיַאֵשׁ, ii, 20,) and that a cheerful enjoyment of life is man's only good, (אֵין טוֹב, ii, 24.) But as this enjoyment must come *from the hand of God*, and is therefore not at man's disposal, it is ranged among the things which are הֶבֶל וּרְעוּת רוּחַ (*vanity and vexation of spirit.*) This ending is very unsatisfactory, and no commentary gives a good explanation of it. But the difficulty is cleared up by observing, on the one hand, that this conclusion harmonizes perfectly with the tone of despair that pervades the *first* discourse; and, on the other hand, that it serves as a transition to the *second*, whose very theme is the dependence of man upon God, and upon his government of the world

Several transitions are obvious in this first division. In ch. i, 2–12,

there is a clear movement of the thought, although it is not marked outwardly, just as in the Psalms the strophes are often distinguishable only by internal signs. Thus, in verses 2, 3, we have the *introductory proposition*:—

"Vanity of Vanities," saith the Preacher, "Vanity of Vanities; all is Vanity.* What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun?"

In verses 4–7 is presented *the life of nature:* and in verses 8–11, human history is represented as confined to a *circle ever repeating itself:* but in verse 12, beginning with "*I, the Preacher,*" the transition is clear. What was before theoretically stated, he now proves by his own experience,—up to verse 18: and again the *proverbs* introduced in verses 15 and 18 mark a pause in the thought. So, in ch. ii, there are obvious formulas of transition; for example, at the end of verse 3, תַּחַת הַשָּׁמָיִם, (*under the heavens,*) and verses 11 and 19, תַּחַת הַשָּׁמֶשׁ, (*under the sun.*) Other formulas again may be marked in verses 23 and 26.

Surveying now the whole discourse in view of these internal and external signs of transition, we trace the connexion of thought as follows:—

THEME, (chap. i, 2,—ii, 26.)—"Since the circle of earthly things, both in nature and in human life, is fixed and changeless, and since experience proves the fruitlessness of toiling for selfish pleasures or earthly wisdom, it is clear that the aim of life should be to receive what good things it affords, without scruple, and enjoy them with thankfulness. Yet these depend not upon man's own volition."—In three subdivisions:—

Subdivision I., (verses 2–11.) That all upon earth is vain and unsatisfactory, is shown by the ever self-repeating circle of nature and of human affairs.

This is divided into three strophes, of which the first contains the *proposition;* the second and third, its *proof,* from two different sides. In harmony with the rising rhythmus, the first strophe contains two verses; the other two, four verses each.

Strophe 1. All upon earth is vanity; what gain then for man? (verses 2, 3.)

2. "Vanity of Vanities," saith the Preacher, "Vanity of Vanities; all is Vanity.
3. What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun?"

Strophe 2. The life of *nature* is confined to a fixed circle: (verses 4–7.)

* The quotations throughout are from the English version.

4. "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: but the earth abideth for ever.
5. The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to his place where he arose.
6. The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north: it whirleth about continually; and the wind returneth again according to his circuits.
7. All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full: unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again."

Strophe 3. Even *man's* history shows no real progress: (verses 8–11.)

8. "All things are full of labour; man cannot utter it: the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing.
9. The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done, is that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun.
10. Is there anything whereof it may be said, See, this is new? it hath been already of old time, which was before us.
11. There is no remembrance of former things, neither shall there be any remembrance of things that are to come with those that shall come after."

Inasmuch as this is but the opening movement of the discourse, we do not find in it the semi-strophes which are seen so often in the Psalms, and sometimes also in Job and in the first part of Proverbs. But the *three-fold division*, which is a never-failing feature of Hebrew discourse and poem,* is here distinctly visible, and will appear again as we advance.

Subdivision II., (chap. i, 12; ii, 19.) That all upon earth is vain, is shown still further by "the personal experience of the writer, whose struggles for happiness and wisdom have ended only in bitter disappointment and increasing sorrow."—Unlike the other subdivisions, this is divided into two parts.

Part I., (i, 12–18.) "In striving after wisdom I found only barrenness and pain."—In three strophes.

Strophe 1. The wisdom-seeker introduces himself: (verses 12, 13.)

12. "I the Preacher was king over Israel in Jerusalem:
13. And I gave my heart to seek and search out by wisdom concerning all things that are done under heaven."

Strophe 2. The most painful studies did not enable him to mend the evils of the world: (verses 13–15.)

13. "This sore travail hath God given to the sons of men, to afflict them therewith.
14. I have seen all the works that are done under the sun; and behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit.
15. That which is crooked cannot be made straight; and that which is wanting cannot be numbered."

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* Comp. Job and the Psalms, according to *Ewald's* exposition, or mine; also *Ewald's* poet. Bücher des A. B. (Poetical Books of the Old Test.) Part I.

Strophe 3. Even the conscious possession of wisdom only increased his sense of pain, verses 16–18.

16. "I communed with mine own heart, saying, 'Lo, I am come to great estate,
And have gotten more wisdom than all they that have been before me in Jerusalem:'
Yea, my heart had great experience of wisdom and knowledge.
17. And I gave my heart to know wisdom, and to know madness and folly;
I perceived that this also is vexation of spirit.
18. For in much wisdom is much grief; and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow."

Part II., (ii, 1–19.) "Futile also was his attempt to combine practical wisdom with pleasure from worldly deeds and joys, and with lofty undertakings; and a foresight of the wasting of all his labour by men to come after him, only deepened his sense of the emptiness of life." In three strophes:—

Strophe 1. The effort and result first stated in a comprehensive, proverb-like proposition, (verses 1, 2.)

1. "I said in mine heart, Go to now, I will prove thee with mirth: therefore enjoy pleasure: and behold this also is vanity.
2. I said of laughter, It is mad; and of mirth, What doeth it?"

Strophe 2. "Life enjoyed to the full, and great undertakings, although carried on in *wisdom*, [strictly to be taken in the Hebrew usage,] gave, in retrospect, no consciousness but that the enjoyment and the toil were alike empty," verses 3–11.

3. "I sought in mine heart to give myself unto wine, (yet acquainting mine heart with wisdom,) and to lay hold on folly, till I might see what was that good for the sons of men, which they should do under the heaven all the days of their life.
4. I made me great works; I builded me houses; I planted me vineyards;
5. I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted trees in them of all kind of fruits;
6. I made me pools of water to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees;
7. I got me servants and maidens, and had servants born in my house; also I had great possessions of great and small cattle above all that were in Jerusalem before me;
8. I gathered me also silver and gold, and the peculiar treasure of kings and of the provinces; I gat me men-singers and women-singers, and the delights of the sons of men, as musical instruments, and that of all sorts.

9. So I was great and increased more than all that were before me in Jerusalem: also my wisdom remained with me.
10. And whatsoever mine eyes desired I kept not from them: I withheld not my heart from any joy: for my heart rejoiced in all my labour; and this was my portion of all my labour.
11. Then I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do: and behold, all was vanity and vexation of spirit, and there was no profit under the sun."

Strophe 3. This dismal sense is heightened by the uncertainty of any enduring result of joy or labour, verses 12–19.

12. "And I turned myself to behold wisdom, and madness, and folly: for what can the man do that cometh after the king? even that which hath been already done.
13. Then I saw that wisdom excelleth folly, as far as light excelleth darkness.
14. The wise man's eyes are in his head; but the fool walketh in darkness: and I myself perceived also that one event happeneth to them all.
15. Then said I in my heart, As it happeneth to the fool, so it happeneth even to me; and why was I then more wise? Then I said in my heart, that this also is vanity.

16. For there is no remembrance of the wise more than of the fool forever; seeing that which now is in the days to come shall all be forgotten. And how dieth the wise man? As the fool.
17. Therefore I hated life; because the work that is wrought under the sun is grievous unto me: for all is vanity and vexation of spirit.
18. Yea, I hated all my labour which I had taken under the sun: because I should leave it unto the man that shall be after me.
19. And who knoweth whether he shall be a wise man or a fool? yet shall he have rule over all my labour wherein I have laboured, and wherein I have showed myself wise under the sun. This is also vanity."

In the second strophe there are two semi-strophes, though not very distinctly marked. Verses 3 to 8 are left without ו conjunctive, while 9–11 are closely connected. The first semi-strophe contains the proposition, the second the result.

In the third strophe the semi-strophes are clearly distinguished by the formula, גַּם זֶה הֶבֶל, *this also is vanity,* in verses 15 and 19. The first points out the difference between the wise man and the fool, yet shows the same fate as common to both; the second gives the depressing additional conviction, that all one gains, with painful toil, must be left to the issues of chance.

Subdivision III., (chap. ii, 20–26.) "Where, then, is happiness, —the end and aim of human life—to be sought?"—Two strophes:

Strophe 1. "Not in seeking human wisdom and grasping at earthly successes; for thereby one gets but conscious emptiness and pain," (ver. 20–23.)

20. "Therefore I went about to cause my heart to despair of all the labour which I took under the sun.
21. For there is a man whose labour is in wisdom, and in knowledge, and in equity; yet to a man that hath not laboured therein shall he leave it for his portion. This also is vanity and a great evil.

22. For what hath man of all his labour, and of the vexation of his heart, wherein he hath laboured under the sun?
23. For all his days are sorrows, and his travail grief; yea, his heart taketh not rest in the night. This is also vanity."

Strophe 2. "But only in a glad enjoyment of the blessings granted by God to cheer the life of his beloved ones," (ver. 24–26.)

24. "There is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink, and that he should make his soul enjoy good in his labour. This also I saw, that it was from the hand of God.
25. For who can eat, or who else can hasten hereunto, more than I?
26. For God giveth to a man that is good in his sight wisdom, and knowledge, and joy; but to the sinner he giveth travail, to gather and to heap up, that he may give to him that is good before God. This also is vanity and vexation of spirit."

The first strophe has two semi-strophes, of which the first depicts the misfortune of leaving to thriftless and profligate heirs what one has gained by wisdom and fortune; the second utters the plaint that all one's care and labour are rewarded only with sorrow and vexation.

Taking the first discourse as a whole, we form the following scheme of its structure according to the number of verses, marking the semi-strophes by figures in brackets:—

Subdivision I.	2,	4,	4		= 10 verses.
Subdivision II. a.	1,	3,	3		
b.	2,	9, [6+3,]	8	[4+4]	= 26 verses.
Subdivision III.	4, [2+2,]	3			= 7 verses.

In all, 43 verses. The strophes are shortest at the beginning and end; fullest in the middle of the discourse.

The first division of the book, then, treats mainly of the disquietude of life. True, it points, at the end, to the *real aim* of life; but as it intimates, at the same time, that the securing of this aim depends, not on man's will, but on God's, who acts his own pleasure in regard to it, the conclusion is, that to strive even for *it* will be vain and fruitless. This peculiar relation of man to the Divine will is therefore made the special object of contemplation in the

Second Discourse.

Theme, (chap. iii, i–v, 19:) "Since experience proves that the issues of all human efforts are bound up with time and events ordained by God, so that man's activity is controlled by his circumstances, it is clear that a glad and moderate enjoyment of life is the highest earthly good."—In three subdivisions:—

Subdivision I., (iii, 1–22.) "Man is involved in higher laws, to him incomprehensible; we see the injustice of men, and their common fate; a cheerful enjoyment of life, in the fear of God, is the only means of getting on, amid the wrongs of the world, and the mysteries of the Divine administration."—In three strophes:—

Strophe 1. "Human activity depends upon time and events—upon a higher, hidden law of life,"* (iii, 1–8.)

1. "To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven;
2. A time to be born, and a time to die; a time to plant, and a time to pluck up that which is planted;
3. A time to kill, and a time to heal; a time to break down, and a time to build up;
4. A time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance;
5. A time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones together; a time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing;
6. A time to get, and a time to lose; a time to keep, and a time to cast away;
7. A time to rend, and a time to sew; a time to keep silence, and a time to speak;
8. A time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace."

Strophe 2: "What profit, then, hath man? (comp. i, 3.) He can neither comprehend nor change the wise and eternal laws of the Divine government; nothing remains, then, but for him to strive in the fear of God for a cheerful life," (iii, 9–15.)

9. "What profit hath he that worketh in that wherein he laboureth?
10. I have seen the travail which God hath given to the sons of men to be exercised in it.
11. He hath made everything beautiful in his time: also he hath set the world in their heart, so that no man can find out the work that God maketh from the beginning to the end.
12. I know [*I have known*] that there is no good in them, but for a man to rejoice, and to do good in his life.
13. And also that every man should eat and drink, and enjoy the good of all his labour, it is the gift of God.
14. I know [*I have known*] that whatsoever God doeth, it shall be forever: nothing can be put to it, nor anything taken from it: and God doeth it, that men should fear before him.
15. That which hath been is now; and that which is to be hath already been; and God requireth that which is past."

Of this strophe verse 9 contains the proposition, after which there seems to be a division into three smaller strophes, of which the first (vv. 10, 11) is introduced by רָאִיתִי, (*I have seen;*) the second, (vv. 12, 13,) and the third, (vv. 14, 15,) by יָדַעְתִּי, (*I have known.*) In the first, it is observed that although God has allotted travail and pain to man, yet is his government faultless; in the second and third, as a result of the former, that cheerful enjoyment and a pious submission to the way of God (which, though unchangeable, is ever developing itself) constitute the highest good of life.

Strophe 3: "In view of the fearful spectacle of injustice which the world exhibits, (yea, even in its courts of justice,) if a

* The preposition לְ is omitted in vv. 4 and 8, though found in the other verses. This may indicate a separation into two semi-strophes—of which the first may perhaps contain the involuntary, the second the voluntary actions; but we cannot *decide* that it is so.

future recompense is hopeless, this cheerful life is man's only sure heritage on earth," (iii, 16–22.)

16. "And moreover I saw [*I have seen*] under the sun the place of judgment, that wickedness was there; and the place of righteousness, that iniquity was there.

17. I said in mine heart, God shall judge the righteous and the wicked: for there is a time there for every purpose and for every work.

18. I said in mine heart concerning the estate of the sons of men, that God might manifest them, and that they might see that they themselves are beasts.
19. For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath; so that a man hath no pre-eminence above a beast: for all is vanity.
20. All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again.
21. Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth?

22. Wherefore I perceive [*I have seen*] that there is nothing better than that a man should rejoice in his own works; for that is his portion: for who shall bring him to see what shall be after him?"

This strophe divides into (1) the proposition, (ver. 16, which obviously continues ver. 10;) (2) the development, in the two unequal parts, ver. 17, and verses 18–21, both introduced by the formula, "*I said in mine heart;*" (3) the refrain, ver. 22, in which the formula רָאִיתִי (*I have seen*) reappears from ver. 16.

"The trouble of man consists not merely in the incomprehensibility of God's good ways, but also in the knowledge of man's evil ways, (ver. 16.) True, we may look to see all set right hereafter by the Divine justice; but God has given man no decided assurance thereof; judging from appearances, and from the fate of the body, men are like brutes, and must die like them, verses 17, 20. Yet whether man's spirit has or has not a higher destination than the brute, must always remain, for mere natural reason, an insoluble problem, (ver. 21.) Amid all this darkness nothing remains for man but to enjoy cheerfully what earth and activity afford," (ver. 22.)

Subdivision II., (chap. iv, 1–16.) "But how difficult it is to secure this tranquil enjoyment, is shown by a clearer exposition of man's dependence upon time, events, and outward laws of nature."—In three strophes:—

Strophe 1. In the *personal* relations of life. (iv, 1–6.)

1. "So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun: and behold, the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter.
2. Wherefore I praised the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive.

3. Yea, better is he than both they which hath not yet been, who hath not seen the evil work that is done under the sun.

4. Again, I considered all travail, and every right work, that for this a man is envied of his neighbour. This is also vanity and vexation of spirit.
5. The fool foldeth his hands together, and eateth his own flesh.
6. Better is a handful with quietness, than both the hands full with travail and vexation of spirit."

Here are two equal semi-strophes, of which the first (verses 1–3) depicts the gnawing wretchedness of the oppressed poor; the second (verses 4–6) depicts the anxieties of even the favoured child of fortune. Oppression grinds the former, envy goads the latter.

Strophe 2. In *the family* and *social* relations of life. (iv, 7–12.)

7. "Then I returned, and I saw vanity under the sun.
8. There is one alone, and there is not a second: yea, he hath neither child nor brother; yet is there no end of all his labour; neither is his eye satisfied with riches; neither saith he, For whom do I labour, and bereave my soul of good? This is also vanity, yea, it is a sore travail.

9. Two are better than one; because they have a good reward for their labour.
10. For if they fall, the one will lift up his fellow: but wo to him that is alone when he falleth; for he hath not another to help him up.
11. Again, if two lie together, then they have heat; but how can one be warm alone?
12. And if one prevail against him, two shall withstand him; and a threefold cord is not quickly broken."

This may also be divided. The substance of the first part is, (verses 7, 8,) that "men who form no family ties live an aimless life, and therefore have no enjoyment either of wealth or labour;" of the second, (verses 9–12,) that "union and society are much better than isolation."

Strophe 3. In the higher sphere of *political life*, in which favour and honour are so uncertain. (iv, 13–16.)

13. "Better is a poor and a wise child than an old and foolish king, who will no more be admonished.
14. For out of prison he cometh to reign; whereas also he that is born in his kingdom becometh poor.

15. I considered all the living which walk under the sun, with the second child that shall stand up in his stead.
16. There is no end of all the people, even of all that have been before them: they also that come after shall not rejoice in him. Surely this also is vanity and vexation of spirit."

Subdivision III., (chap. v,* 1–19.†) The difficulty thus shown (in subdivision II.) gives rise to a series of *moral instructions*. In three strophes:—

* Hebrew text, iv, 17.

† That a dividing line of the book exists at this point has been recognized by all commentators. Most deem it a minor subdivision; but others (e. g., Michaelis,

Strophe 1: "In order to obtain the true good of life, be true, humble, and conscientious, in thy duties towards GOD, the disposer of events,* and sole giver of innocent happiness."† Verses 1–7.

[Since the fact that semi-strophes are employed has been sufficiently shown, we introduce them hereafter without special remark.]

(a) "Bring thy sacrifice and prayer reverently, humbly, and without vain repetitions," (verses 1–3.)

1. "Keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God, and be more ready to hear than to give the sacrifice of fools: for they consider not that they do evil.
2. Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be hasty to utter anything before God: for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth: therefore let thy words be few.
3. For a dream cometh through the multitude of business; and a fool's voice is known by multitude of words."

(b) "Be prudent in making vows, and careful in keeping them, to secure peace of mind," (verses 4–7.)

4. "When thou vowest a vow unto God, defer not to pay it; for he hath no pleasure in fools: pay that which thou hast vowed.
5. Better is it that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow and not pay.
6. Suffer not thy mouth to cause thy flesh to sin; neither say thou before the angel, that it was an error: wherefore should God be angry at thy voice, and destroy the work of thine hands?
7. For in the multitude of dreams and many words there are also divers vanities: but fear thou God."

Strophe 2: "Amid injustice and avarice, (to meet sooner or later with penalties, both inward and outward,) do thou preserve a calm and lofty equanimity," (verses 8–12.)

(a) "Injustice and oppression are punished at last," (verses 8, 9.)

8. "If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter: for he that is higher than the highest regardeth; and there be higher than they.
9. Moreover the profit of the earth is for all: the king himself is served by the field."

(b) "Riches, unjustly gained, bring sorrow instead of joy; but peace often attends the humblest lot," (verses 10–12.)

Seiler, Rosenmuller, and Knobel) make it the main division between the first (theoretical) and second (practical) part of the book. This wholly erroneous view is founded on principles of division entirely modern, and altogether foreign to the Oriental mode of thought. But the "Preacher," who intermingles logic with maxims, and philosophy with morals, delights to weave in proverbs, either as opening or closing points in his divisions and strophes. The latter we have before seen, (i, 15, 18;) the former is shown in the passage before us; and both will appear hereafter again.

* Cf., chap. iii, 11, 14. † Cf., ii, 24; iii, 13.

10. "He that loveth silver shall not be satisfied with silver; nor he that loveth abundance with increase: this is also vanity.
11. When goods increase, they are increased that eat them: and what good is there to the owners thereof, saving the beholding of them with their eyes?
12. The sleep of a labouring man is sweet, whether he eat little or much: but the abundance of the rich will not suffer him to sleep."

Strophe 3: "Since, moreover, wealth is so unstable, and (like the search for wisdom and a splendid life, i, 12; ii, 11) brings so much anxiety and unrest, it is clear that a cheerful enjoyment of life (regarding earthly treasures as merely acceptable *additions*) is the worthiest good," verses 13–20.

(a) "Wealth, from its perishableness and uncertainty, is often a source of grief and pain," (verses 13–17.)

13. "There is a sore evil which I have seen under the sun, namely, riches kept for the owners thereof to their hurt.
14. But those riches perish by evil travail: and he begetteth a son, and there is nothing in his hand.
15. As he came forth of his mother's womb, naked shall he return to go as he came, and shall take nothing of his labour, which he may carry away in his hand.
16. And this also is a sore evil, that in all points as he came, so shall he go: and what profit hath he that hath laboured for the wind?
17. All his days also he eateth in darkness, and he hath much sorrow and wrath with his sickness."

(b) "Life should be enjoyed, therefore, without sad contemplations of its dark side; yet wealth, and the capacity to enjoy it, must be regarded as a peculiar gift of GOD," (verses 18–20.)

18. "Behold that which I have seen: it is good and comely for one to eat and to drink, and to enjoy the good of all his labour that he taketh under the sun all the days of his life, which God giveth him: for it is his portion.
19. Every man also to whom God hath given riches and wealth, and hath given him power to eat thereof, and to take his portion, and to rejoice in his labour; this is the gift of God.
20. For he shall not much remember the days of his life; because God answereth him in the joy of his heart."

Here the exhortation to enjoyment, which was hinted in iii, 12, 22, is fully developed as a conclusion.

Taking the second discourse as a whole, its scheme of structure by strophes, &c., is as follows:—

Subdivision I.	8	,	7	,	7	= 22 verses.
Subdivision II.	6	,	6	,	4	= 16 verses.
Subdivision III.	7	,	5	,	8	= 20 verses.

In all, fifty-eight verses. Its strophe-structure is tolerably even, but fullest at the beginning. As in the first discourse, (i, 2, 14, 17; ii, 11, 19, 23, 26,) so also in the second, (iii, 19; iv, 8, 16; v, 10,) we find the assertion that "*all is vanity.*" As in the first, (i, 3,) so also in this, (iii, 9,) we find the question started, "*What profit*

hath man of his labour?" And, finally, as in the first, (ii, 24,) so in the second, (iii, 12, 22; v, 18, 19,) we find that "*it is good for man to enjoy.*" Hence the three chief views of "the Preacher" are repeated in this second discourse.

Looking at its contents as a whole, we find the objection raised in chap. ii, 24, that "a tranquil life must be God's gift, and, hence, man's striving for it must be vain," is done away by the doctrine that "God has ordered all things well and beautifully, and his restrictive laws are laid down that men may learn to fear him." But other difficulties spring up. The oppressor's wrongs, that must be endured by helpless weakness, the pain of isolated life, or the distractions of society—all are obstacles to enjoyment. These obstacles again may be met "in the fear of God" with steadfast equanimity. But a new one occurs in the enigma that man should be allowed to amass riches, and yet not enjoy them. A new solution to this enigma is hinted at—and is afterwards made the basis of the *third* discourse, just as we found man's dependence on the Divine will made the starting-point of the second. What, therefore, in chap. v, 13–17 is introduced incidentally, is made the complete theme of the THIRD DISCOURSE, which, with the FOURTH, will be exhibited in our next number.

ART. II.—PHYSICAL CAUSE OF THE DEATH OF CHRIST.

A Treatise on the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ, and its Relation to the Principles and Practice of Christianity. By WILLIAM STROUD, M. D. 8vo., pp. 496. London. 1847.

DR. STROUD was well qualified, no less by his piety than by his distinguished attainments, for the production of a treatise upon this subject. Nor was the work before us hastily prepared. The author had been gathering his materials and forming his opinions for more than a quarter of a century. As early as 1830, an outline of the work, comprising, as he tells us, "its principal facts and inferences," was published in the Evangelical Register. Since that time it has been repeatedly revised and enlarged, as new facts and principles, having a bearing upon the subject, were developed in medical science.

From these facts, the reader would be led to expect a valuable treatise; nor will the reading disappoint that expectation. Even though he should fail to reach the same conclusion as the author upon some points, he will scarcely fail of being pleased and profited.

The tone of unaffected piety that pervades the work is not among the least pleasing of its characteristics. The arguments are mainly physiological, but there is everywhere a deferring to "the written Word." We have been the more struck with this, as no class of men are more dogmatical in whatever concerns their profession, or more ready to array themselves against Revelation, when it conflicts with their notions upon certain mental and physiological subjects, than those of the medical profession. Many younger members of the profession would do well to take a hint from so eminent a practitioner and so sound a philosopher.

In this article we propose to confine ourselves mainly to a development of Dr. Stroud's theory respecting the physical cause of the death of Christ. We should, however, do injustice to our own discrimination or candour, did we not confess that the author, in his repeated revisions of the work, has by no means sought condensation. It is not, therefore, free from prolixity and tautology, especially in the second part of the work, where the discussions are mainly theological and speculative. In passing from the sphere of physical and scientific researches, in connexion with Scripture facts, to that of speculative theology, the writer evidently entered upon a *terra incognita*, where he is often confused and baffled. An elimination of some of the speculative portions of the work, and a condensation of other parts, so as to reduce it to half its present bulk, would certainly add to its permanent value.

The object of the work is twofold: First, "To demonstrate an important physical fact connected with the death of Christ;" and, Secondly, "To point out its relation to the principles and practice of Christianity." In the discussion of the first, the author is perfectly at home, and here the great value of the work lies. As to the manner of proceeding, he says, speaking in the third person:—

> "The fact is not indeed now conceived for the first time, having been more or less correctly anticipated by several pious and excellent writers during the last century; but as, in matters of such solemn import, conjecture and probability are not a sufficient ground for conviction, the author has laboured to supply a demonstration of the fact, which he trusts will be both new and satisfactory. He has accordingly been careful not to assume anything which is not generally acknowledged; and has supported every point of the argument with proofs and evidences so combined, as apparently to leave no other alternative than that which is here mentioned. Should the attempt have been successful, it will furnish fresh proof of the value of inductive reasoning;—which, like a sounding-line let down into the ocean of time, has thus, from the depth of eighteen hundred years, brought up to the surface a pearl of great price."—*Preface*, p. 6.

Regarding the "Crucifixion of Christ" as the central fact of the gospel system, and remembering that it has ever been the theme and

the hope of the Church, we cannot but deem it remarkable, that, "of this cardinal fact, the precise nature and the immediate cause have never yet been fully explored." One reason for this has undoubtedly been, the real difficulties that lie in the way of investigation; but a more formidable one is to be found in the fact, that commentators have continued, age after age, servilely to copy each other's expositions, with scarcely a single deviation from the beaten track. Probably, also, the ill-founded apprehension that such inquiries are either presumptuous or impracticable, or, at best, rather curious than useful, has had much to do with the comparative indifference with which the subject has been treated. The author, in prosecuting his investigation, has brought to his aid the light which physiological and mental researches have thrown upon the relations which subsist between body and mind. He has also ventured to bring to the test of a rigid criticism the stereotyped exposition of commentators upon the subject.

In the very prime and vigour of life, and in the full possession of all his faculties, the Saviour entered upon the scene of his last sufferings. The last supper, the departure of Judas, the discourse of the Saviour, the agony of the garden,—are so many striking acts in the drama. His mortal agony upon the cross was of six hours' duration. The divine Presence, restored to him after his agony in the garden, was again withdrawn upon the cross, and the anguish of his spirit led him to exclaim, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" His death was sudden. Nor was his strength exhausted, for he had just cried with a "loud voice." The centurion could hardly believe that he had so soon died; and yet the fact was so evident, that his legs were not broken, as were those of the two thieves. But a soldier pierced his side with a spear, whereupon, says St. John, who was an eye-witness, "immediately there came forth blood and water." Here was evidently a combination of mental and physical causes attendant upon, if not producing, his death.

Having assumed, then, the death of Christ upon the cross, the question arises, whether his death was superinduced by the agony and exhaustion of crucifixion. In order to the determination of this question, a brief inquiry into that mode of punishment and its effects will be necessary.

Crucifixion, as a mode of punishment, prevailed among many nations from the remotest antiquity. The first instance of it on record, probably, is that of the chief baker of Pharaoh, who, Josephus says, was crucified; which by no means contradicts our authorized English version of the Bible, which says simply that he was "hanged," —the two words being interchangeable in the Scriptures. The

Greeks and Romans were accustomed to inflict this punishment upon criminals, especially upon slaves. It was not, as many have supposed, a Jewish mode of execution. The only instances of crucifixion allowed among them was that of the dead bodies of those who had been stoned for blasphemy; hence it was that the "nailing to the tree" was regarded by them as so peculiarly "accursed." And even in that case, the Mosaic Law required that the body should be taken down before sunset of the day on which the criminal had been slain. The instigators of the death of Christ were indeed Jews, but he was condemned by a Roman tribunal, and executed by a Roman law. His death was therefore most ignominious. Under sentence for alleged sedition against Cæsar, he suffered the death the Romans were accustomed to inflict upon their slaves and the vilest of malefactors; and then, also, being "nailed to the tree," in the eyes of the Jews he suffered the most execrable of deaths,—the punishment for blasphemy.

The infliction of punishment by crucifixion continued to be practised till the time of Constantine, by whom it was abolished throughout the Roman Empire;—

"His respect for the cross of our Saviour made him abolish crucifixion. He would not suffer the instrument of our salvation to be dishonoured by any use, not only proper, but capable of making men look upon it with horror. He thought it indecent and irreligious that the cross should be used for the punishment of the vilest offenders, while he himself erected it as a trophy, and esteemed it the noblest ornament of his diadem, and military standards."—P. 34.

From that time forward, a period of fifteen centuries, crucifixion has been rarely witnessed in Europe; and the prevalent ideas of it were derived from painters, poets, or devotional writers, who followed imagination or tradition, rather than the evidence of facts. For correct notions upon this subject, the Christian world is greatly indebted to Salmasius and Lipsius, two eminent scholars of the seventeenth century, who with great industry and perseverance collected and brought together the authentic records of antiquity upon the subject. From their researches, we learn that the cross consisted, in addition to the upright and transverse bars, of a short bar projecting from the upright post, on which the crucified person was seated. "The structure of the cross," says Irenæus, "has five ends or summits, two in length, two in breadth, and one in the middle, on which the crucified person rests." Justin Martyr also speaks of the "end projecting from the middle like a horn, on which crucified persons are seated." Tertullian, a still later authority, speaks of the "projecting bar which serves as a seat." This important part of the cross has been almost entirely overlooked, and the crucified individual

described as having his whole weight suspended on the nails which pierced his hands and his feet.

The process of crucifixion is thus described by Dr. Stroud:—

> "The criminal condemned to this dreadful mode of death, having first been scourged, was compelled to carry the cross to the place of execution,—a circumstance which implies that the scourging was not excessively severe; and that the dimensions of the gibbet did not much exceed those of the human body. On arriving at the spot he was stripped of his clothes, and, after a cup of wine,—sometimes medicated, with a view to impart firmness, or to alleviate pain,—was speedily nailed to the cross, either before or after its erection. In either case he was made to sit astride on the middle bar; and his limbs, having been extended and bound with cords, were finally secured by large iron spikes driven through their extremities, the hands to the transverse beam, and the feet to the upright post."—P. 36.

In this condition, intense and generally protracted suffering was endured, before death came to the relief of the victim. Indeed, crucifixion was a very lingering punishment, producing death generally by the slow process of nervous irritation and exhaustion. The duration of its agonies would, of course, be more or less protracted according to the age, sex, constitution of the individual, and other circumstances connected with the case. "In many cases death was partly induced by hunger and thirst, the vicissitudes of heat and cold, or the attacks of ravenous birds and beasts; and in others, was designedly accelerated by burning, stoning, suffocation, breaking the bones, or piercing the vital organs." Instances have occurred in which individuals, after being for some time upon the cross, were taken down, and, by careful medical treatment, restored to health. The usual duration of life under the torture inflicted by crucifixion may be set down as from two to three days; and cases are on record where life was protracted to five, and even nine days.

Jacobus Bosius, in his "Crux Triumphans et Gloriosa," as quoted by Stroud, says, that Victor, bishop of Amiterna, though crucified with his head downward, survived two days. He also gives an account of a married pair, crucified in the Dioeletian persecution in 286, who hung alive upon the cross nine days and nights, mutually exhorting and encouraging each other, and both expiring on the tenth day. In the year 297, under the emperor Maximian, seven individuals, after being subjected to protracted and cruel tortures, were crucified at Samosata. Of these, "Hipparcus," a venerable old man, "died on the cross in a short time. James, Romanus, and Lollianus expired the next day, being stabbed by the soldiers while they hung on their crosses. Philotheus, Habibus, and Paragrus were taken down from their crosses while they were still living. The emperor, being informed that they were yet alive, commanded that huge

nails be driven into their heads;—and by these they were at length despatched."

The following instances, of a modern date, are selected from among those which have been authenticated by our author:—

"'The capital punishments inflicted in Soudan,' observes Captain Clapperton, writing in 1824, 'are beheading, impaling, and crucifixion; the first being reserved for Mahometans, and the other two practised on Pagans. I was told, as a matter of curiosity, that wretches on the cross generally linger three days before death puts an end to their sufferings.'"

When describing the punishments used in Madagascar, the Rev. Mr. Ellis remarks:—

"In a few cases of great enormity, a sort of crucifixion has been resorted to; and, in addition to this, burning or roasting at a slow fire, kept at some distance from the sufferer, has completed the horrors of this miserable death."—P. 41.

"Bishop Wiseman borrows an interesting narrative, originally written in Arabic, and remarkably apposite to the present purpose, of the execution of a Mameluke, who was crucified under the walls of Damascus, for the murder of his master, and although quite a youth, was possessed of strength and prowess. His hands, arms, and feet having been nailed to the cross, he remained alive from mid-day on Friday to the same hour on Sunday, when he died."—*Physical Cause*, p. 44.

Jesus died within six hours after he was nailed to the cross. We are therefore compelled, in view of the facts above developed, to conclude with our author, "that, in whatever degree the ordinary sufferings of crucifixion contributed to his death, they were not its immediate cause." The bystanders and those engaged in the dreadful tragedy were evidently surprised at the suddenness of his death; and even Pilate, when applied to for his body, "marvelled if he were already dead." The fact, also, that he "cried with a loud voice" at the very moment when life departed, plainly shows that his death could not have been occasioned by exhaustion, as is the case with those who die from crucifixion. Commentators have always felt the force of this, as being "utterly irreconcilable with the idea that life was at its last ebb, from the extinction of vital energy." Matthew Henry says, "Now this was a sign that his life was whole in Him, and nature strong. The voice of dying men is one of the first things that fails. With a panting breath and faltering tongue, a few broken words are hardly spoken, and more hardly heard; but Christ, just before he expired, spoke like one in his full strength." We are compelled then to seek elsewhere the cause or causes of his sudden death.

After putting the various theories that have been devised to account for the suddenness of his dissolution, into the crucible of careful analysis, we find that all which require our serious attention are reducible to two, namely, that the Saviour, "by an act of his own

divine will, yielded up his life,"—which is the general theory of commentators; or, "that some mortal lesion of a vital organ of his human frame suddenly supervened, and was the immediate, and, so to speak, the physical cause of his death,"—which is the theory advocated by Dr. Stroud.

The former of these two opinions is undoubtedly the one most generally received by Biblical commentators; and, most probably, the one that the simple reader of the sacred Narrative would be the most likely to receive. These two circumstances, however, by no means supersede the necessity of a careful examination of the grounds on which it rests. We apprehend that it is derived mainly from that remarkable passage in the Gospel of John, where Jesus says of himself, "I lay down my life that I may take it again. No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself." Now, if we collate this passage with those which positively declare that Christ was slain by his enemies, that he died "the death of the cross," "became obedient unto death," that the Jews were his "betrayers and murderers," that they "crucified and slew" him by the hands of wicked men, &c., we shall hardly fail of reaching the conclusion of the author, that the meaning of this expression is simply, "that in fulfilment of the divine plan of human redemption, Christ voluntarily submitted to a violent death, which he had it in his power to avoid." How perfectly in accordance with this conclusion is the discourse of the Saviour to his disciples in his last journey to Jerusalem, when he took them aside and began to say, "Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of man shall be delivered unto the chief priests, and unto the scribes; and they shall condemn him to death, and shall deliver him to the Gentiles; and they shall mock him, and shall scourge him, and shall KILL him; and the third day he shall rise again." Christ then voluntarily submitted to a violent death; *he was led as a lamb to the slaughter*. This then is the sense in which "Christ laid down his life for us." To place this matter beyond a doubt, the same apostle who made this record of Christ's saying, declares, that as "Christ laid down his life for us, we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren,"—not, of course, by committing suicide, but by submitting to persecution, and even death, if called to make the sacrifice for the cause of Christ, which sacrifice the apostle Paul often declared himself willing to make. And further, in all the Scriptural allusions to the death of Christ, as our author has well said, it is not represented as self-inflicted, but as penal and vicarious.

It has also been argued, that the words employed by St. Matthew, ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα, rendered, "yielded up the ghost," and those employed by St. John, παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα, translated, "gave up the

ghost," imply a voluntary dismission of his spirit, as the actuating cause of his death. To this it would be sufficient to reply, that the other two Evangelists employ the word, ἐξέπνευσε, literally, *died*,—rendered, however, in both of them, "gave up the ghost." But, aside from this fact, there is no force in the argument; for we might draw the same conclusion concerning the patriarchs, because it is also said of them that they "gave up the ghost." Bishop Pearson, in his "Exposition of the Creed," employs the following forcible language, having a relation to the point at issue:—"Should we imagine Christ to anticipate the time of death, and to subtract his soul from future torments necessary to cause an expiration, we might rationally say the Jews and Gentiles were guilty of his death, but we could not properly say they slew him. Guilty they must be, because they inflicted those torments which, in time, death must follow; but slay him actually they did not, if his death proceeded from any other cause, and not from the wounds they inflicted."

Our author closes his discussion of this point with the following judicious observations:—

"After a careful perusal of the passages above cited, it does not require any long or elaborate reasoning to prove that, if the Saviour humbled himself to death, even the death of the cross, if the Father accomplished his designs in this respect through the instrumentality of Christ's enemies, and if in the midst of their fancied triumph over him they were in reality blindly executing the divine purposes, whatever may be the true explanation of his death, it cannot be attributed to supernatural agency."—P. 57.

"That it was in the power of Christ to avoid such a death, had he chosen to renounce the object of his mission, is evident among other reasons from his miraculous overthrow of the hostile band in the garden of Gethsemane; from his question to Peter,—'Thinkest thou that I cannot even now request my Father, and he would send to my aid more than twelve legions of angels? [but] how then would the Scriptures be fulfilled, [which] declare that thus it must be?'—and from his remark to Pilate,—'Thou wouldst not have had any authority at all against me, had it not been given thee from above.'* In all the Scriptural allusions to this subject, the death intimated, although voluntary, is moreover represented not as self-inflicted, but as penal and vicarious. In the very passage which has been thus misinterpreted, the death encountered by the good shepherd for the safety of his flock, is ascribed to the wolf from whom the hireling flees."—*Physical Cause*, Pp. 58, 59.

We will not claim for these arguments a perfect solution of the difficult and mysterious question we have been discussing, for we doubt whether that question is susceptible of perfect determination by human skill and understanding. But we think they clearly evince one point, namely, that the death of Jesus was voluntary only in the sense of his having willingly submitted himself into the hands

* See Matt. xvi, 21; xvii, 22, 23; xx, 17–19; xxvi, 51–54; Mark viii, 31; ix, 30, 31; x, 32–34; Luke ix, 21, 22; xviii, 31–33; John x, 17, 18; xviii, 1–6; xix, 8–11; 1 Thess. ii, 14, 15; Rev. v, 9, &c.

of his betrayers and murderers, that the great dispensation of mercy might be revealed, and man be redeemed. The physical cause of his death must then be sought in some other quarter. Having reached this point, our author proceeds:—

"What then, it will be asked, was the real cause? In conformity with the inductive principles announced at the commencement of this inquiry, it must have been a known power in nature, possessing the requisite efficacy, agreeing with all the circumstances of the case, and by suitable tests proved to have been present without counteraction. It will be the object of the ensuing observations to show that the power in which these characters perfectly and exclusively concurred, was *agony of mind, producing rupture of the heart.*"—P. 73.

Having made this statement, we are now prepared to follow the author through the pathological and physiological researches by which he was conducted to this conclusion.

The influence of intense emotion upon the action of the heart and blood-vessels, and also upon the vital fluid that permeates through them, has been recognized by the most eminent medical writers. Our author thus describes this influence:—

"Agony, or the conflict between two exciting passions having opposite objects, is in this respect peculiarly efficacious; and, when intense, produces violent palpitation, bloody sweat, oppression of the chest, loud cries, and ultimately rupture of the heart. Such rupture is usually attended with immediate death, and with an effusion into the pericardium (the capsule or sac containing the heart) of the blood previously circulating through that organ; which, when thus extravasated, although scarcely in any other case, separates into its constituent parts, so as to present the appearance commonly called blood and water."—*Physical Cause*, pp. 74, 75.

Medical testimonies confirming the above statements are very abundant. A few of them, however, must suffice our present purpose. Baron Haller, "the father of modern physiology," says, that excessive grief occasions palpitation, and sometimes sudden death. He also says that the corporeal effects of anger and terror are nearly alike, including increased strength, and violent motions, both in the heart and throughout the body, and sometimes producing bloody sweat, and other kinds of hemorrhage.* Senac says, anger has in certain cases torn the fibres of the heart, and even opened the ventricles. Also, when fear and terror are suddenly excited, the nerves act with violence on the heart, and derange the order of its movements. The blood, propelled by a general shock, rushes into the heart, and overcharges the auricles as well as the ventricles. Grief and sadness do not act so suddenly, but induce similar disorder.† Corvisart also remarks: "If any one can seriously deny, or even doubt, the fatal

* Elément. Physiol. Corp. Humain. Quoted by Stroud, p. 76.

† Traité du Cœur. Quoted by Stroud, p. 77.

physical influence of the passions on the heart, let it suffice it for him to know that a fit of anger may produce rupture of the heart, and cause sudden death. Complete rupture of the heart has rarely been observed in a sound state of this organ; some examples, however, may be cited of this lesion, in consequence of a violent effort, a fit of anger, &c. But of all the causes capable of producing organic diseases in general, and more especially those of the heart, the most powerful beyond dispute are mental affections."* The general effect of extreme grief and sorrow is thus described by Dr. Chrichton:—"The general corporeal effect of all the modifications of grief and sorrow is a torpor in every irritable part, especially in the circulating and absorbent system: hence the paleness of the countenance, the coldness of the extremities, the contraction and shrinking of the skin and general surface of the body, the smallness and slowness of the pulse, the want of appetite, the deficiency of muscular force, and the sense of languor which overspreads the whole frame. As the action of the extreme branches of the arterial system is greatly diminished, the heart and aorta, and its larger vessels, and the whole system of the pulmonary artery, become loaded and distended with blood. The painful sense of *fulness* which this occasions gives rise to the common expression, which is in some degree descriptive of what really exists. In sorrow the heart is said to be *full*, and in deep sorrow it is said to be *like to burst*. A sense of oppression and anxiety, a laborious and slow respiration, and the remarkable phenomena of sobbing and sighing, naturally arise from this state of torpor and retarded circulation."—*Chrichton on Mental Derangement.* Quoted by Stroud, p. 81.

It will be observed, that the physical effect is owing to the suddenness and the intensity, rather than the nature of the mental emotion. Joy as well as sorrow has been known to produce similar results. Robinson, in his treatise upon the spleen, speaks of "a lady of consummate virtue, who was so sensibly touched with excessive joy on suddenly hearing of the return of her son from the Indies, that the passion was too big for her soul to struggle with, which in a moment disconcerted all the animal springs, and put an everlasting stop to all their motions." Also, of another, who was so extremely affected with sorrow at the departure of her son for Turkey, "that she expired that very moment she was about to withdraw her hand from a parting farewell." Aulus Gellius tells us of one Diagoras who expired in sudden joy at his three sons' being crowned as victors on one day. Livy also mentions an aged matron who, while she was in the depth of distress at the news of her son having been slain in bat-

* Sur les Maladies du Cœur. Quoted by Dr. Stroud, p. 77.

ter, surprised and overjoyed at his sudden return, died in his arms. Philip V. died suddenly on being told of the defeat of the Spaniards; and, according to Zimmerman, a *post-mortem* examination being had, his heart was found ruptured.

Our limits will not permit us further to illustrate the general effect produced by strong mental emotions upon the corporeal system, and especially upon the heart and vital fluid. No one who has read the life of Christ, studied his character and mission, and especially considered the tragic scene protracted through the last eighteen hours of his mortal life, can doubt the presence of incitement to strong mental emotions. The tragedy of his death commenced in the garden, and ended upon the cross. Two questions, however, present themselves for solution, namely, *the bloody sweat* which took place in the garden; and *the rupture of the heart*, supposed by our author to have taken place upon the cross, and to have been "the physical cause" of the Saviour's death.

First, in relation to the *bloody sweat*, as one of the corporeal effects of intense emotion. The author, in brief, gives us the rationale of this phenomenon; and then cites a number of cases in which it has actually occurred:—

"Perspiration, both sensible and insensible, takes place from the mouths of small regularly organized tubes, which perforate the skin in all parts of the body, terminating in blind extremities internally, and by innumerable orifices on the outer surface. These tubes are surrounded by a net-work of minute vessels, and penetrated by the ultimate ramifications of arteries which, according to the force of the local circulation, depending chiefly on that of the heart, discharge either the watery parts of the blood in the state of vapour, its grosser ingredients in the form of a glutinous liquid, or, in extreme cases, the entire blood itself. The influence of the invigorating passions, more especially in exciting an increased flow of blood to the skin, is familiarly illustrated by the process of blushing, either from shame or anger; for during this state the heart beats strongly, the surface of the body becomes hot and red, and, if the emotion is very powerful, breaks out into a warm and copious perspiration, the first step toward a bloody sweat."—*Physical Cause*, pp. 85, 86.

The following instances of *diapedesis*, or sweating of blood, show that the author's philosophy is not without its accompanying facts. The brevity required of us will permit only a condensed statement of a few of the instances cited by him. An Italian officer, in 1552, threatened with a public execution, "was so agitated at the prospect of an ignominious death, that he sweated blood from every part of his body." A young Florentine, unjustly ordered to be put to death by Pope Sixtus V., when led to execution, "through excess of grief, was observed to shed bloody tears, and to discharge blood instead of sweat from his whole body; a circumstance which many regarded as certain proof that nature condemned the severity of a sentence so

cruelly hastened, and invoked vengeance against the magistrate himself, as therein guilty of murder." In the Ephemerides, it is stated that "a young boy who, having taken part in a crime for which two of his elder brothers were hanged, was exposed to public view under the gallows on which they were executed, and was there observed to sweat blood from his whole body." Maldonato mentions "a robust and healthy man at Paris, who, on hearing sentence of death passed upon him, was covered with a bloody sweat." Other instances of the same kind also are on record. Schenck gives the case of "a nun who fell into the hands of soldiers; and, on seeing herself encompassed with swords and daggers, threatening instant death, was so terrified and agitated that she discharged blood from every part of her body, and died of hemorrhage in the sight of her assailants." The case of a sailor is also given, who "was so alarmed by a storm, that through fear he fell down, and his face sweated blood, which, during the whole continuance of the storm, returned like ordinary sweat." Catharine Merlin, of Chamberg, at the age of forty-six, being strong and hale, received a kick from a bullock in the pit of the stomach, which was followed by vomiting blood. This having been suddenly stopped by her medical attendants, the blood made its way through the pores of various parts of her body, the discharge recurring usually twice in twenty-four hours. It was preceded by a prickly sensation, and pressure on the skin would accelerate the flow and increase the quantity of blood. The Medico-Chirurgical Review for Oct., 1831, gives the case of a female subject to hysteria, who, when the hysteric paroxysm was protracted, was also subject to this bloody perspiration. And in this case she continued at different times to be affected with it for three months, when it gave way to local bleeding and other strong revulsive measures. But the case of the wretched Charles IX., of France, is one of the most striking that has as yet occurred. The account is thus given by De Mezeray. "After the vigour of his youth and the energy of his courage had long struggled against his disease, he was at length reduced by it to his bed at the castle of Vincennes, about the 8th of May, 1574. During the last two weeks of his life his constitution made strange efforts. He was affected with spasms and convulsions of extreme violence. He tossed and agitated himself continually, and his blood gushed from all the outlets of his body, even from the pores of his skin; so that on one occasion he was found bathed in a bloody sweat." From these and other instances that might be cited, it is clearly evident that the sweating of blood may be produced by intense mental emotion. The instances of it are comparatively rare, it is true, but, nevertheless, perfectly well authenticated.

The next point claiming our attention is that which relates to the *rupture of the heart*, which is also sometimes produced by intense mental emotion. Instances of this kind are by no means rare, and would probably have been greatly multiplied, had a *post-mortem* examination always been had where there was a presumption that death occurred in this way. The Medico-Chirurgical Review expresses the opinion that this mortal lesion is not so extremely rare as has been generally supposed.* No doubt it is of much more frequent occurrence than the bloody sweat. Dr. Stroud thus explains the manner in which, under such agency, rupture of the heart takes place:—

"The immediate cause is a sudden and violent contraction of one of the ventricles, usually the left, on the column of blood thrown into it by a similar contraction of the corresponding auricle. Prevented from returning backward by the intervening valve, and not finding a sufficient outlet forward in the connected artery, the blood re-acts against the ventricle itself, which is consequently torn open at the point of greatest distention, or least resistance, by the influence of its own reflected force. A quantity of blood is hereby discharged into the pericardium, and, having no means to escape from that capsule, stops the circulation by compressing the heart from without, and induces almost instantaneous death. In young and vigorous subjects, the blood thus collected in the pericardium, soon divides into its constituent parts, namely, a pale, watery liquid called serum, and a soft clotted substance of a deep red colour, called crassamentum:—but, except under similar circumstances of extravasation, this distinct separation of the blood is seldom witnessed in the dead body."—*Physical Cause*, pp. 88, 89.

In exact conformity with these statements, are the views of the most eminent physicians who have devoted special attention to diseases of the heart. Dr. Hope observes, that "it is generally in the left ventricle that the rupture takes place; a circumstance which at first appears remarkable, since this ventricle is the stronger, but for the same reason it contracts more energetically,—and . . . . it is only strong muscles which undergo rupture from the energy of their own contraction. . . . Rupture of the heart into the pericardium is not always immediately fatal, as a solid coagulum or a fibrinous concretion has in several instances been known to arrest the hemorrhage for a few hours." Ten cases are mentioned, eight of which died instantaneously, one in two hours, and the other in fourteen. Dr. Copeland, after enumerating "mental emotions" among other causes of heart-rupture, observes, that in some cases inexpressible anxiety and pain in the præcordia and epigastrium have immediately preceded the rupture; and M. Ollivier supposes it to be produced by the successive rupture of "several layers or fasciculi of muscular fibres." But when the aperture is large, the blood instantly fills the pericardium, and stops the contractions of the heart. Hence, death occurs not so

* See No. for October, 1847.

much in many cases by the mere loss of blood, as by compressing the heart and stopping the circulation.

The physiological truth developed here has been recognized by all people, and every language has its terms to express it. For, as our author remarks, "although the term *broken heart* is not always used literally, it was no doubt originally derived from the literal fact." The poets, in delineating the influence of deep mental emotions, have not overlooked it. Rupture of heart from agony of mind was familiar to the mind of Shakspeare, and was frequently delineated in a most striking manner. As an instance of it, when Macduff is oppressed with grief at hearing of the murder of his wife and children, Malcolm is made to address him:—

> "Give sorrow words: the grief that does not speak
> Whispers the o'er-fraught heart, and bids it break."

So also Mark Antony, by a bold poetic license, is made to represent the death of Julius Cæsar as occasioned, not by the daggers of the conspirators, but by the "bursting of his mighty heart," through grief at seeing his beloved Brutus among them:—

> "This was the most unkindest cut of all;
> For, when the noble Cæsar saw *him* stab,
> Ingratitude, more strong than traitors' arms,
> Quite vanquish'd him: then burst his mighty heart,
> And in his mantle muffling up his face,
> Even at the base of Pompey's Statua,
> Which all the while ran blood, great Cæsar fell."

The same result of grief and sorrow is also recognized by both inspired and sacred poets. The Psalmist says, "Reproach hath broken my heart." (lxix, 20.) "My heart is wounded within me." (cix, 22.) Dr. Watts says:—

> "All my reproach is known to thee,—
> The scandal and the shame:
> Reproach has broke my bleeding heart,
> And lies defiled my name."

The fact of heart-rupture, as a consequence of strong mental emotion, we scarcely need pursue further. But there is one branch of the inquiry which is of great importance, namely, the morbid appearances after death has resulted from such causes; but more especially the state in which the blood is found in the pericardium after death. This is a question to be determined by facts and instances; nor are cases wanting, either in number or authority, to set this matter perfectly at rest. Bonet says, that "in a soldier who died suddenly, after long-continued grief, while all the other viscera were healthy, the pericardium was found to contain not only water, but also much

coagulated blood." Morgagni explains this by saying, "it is not necessary that you should believe this water to have been any other than the serum of the blood separated from the coagulated part, as not unfrequently happens, to a large amount." Dr. Thurnam mentions a case of rupture of the heart, in which the pericardium was found to contain several ounces of serum and coagulated blood. Dr. Townsend, of New-York, mentions the case of an unfortunate female in that city who "literally and truly died of a broken heart, as was found on dissection. . . . . The sac of the pericardium was found filled with about ten ounces of coagulated blood, and two of serum." A case is furnished by Dr. Williams, of Southampton, in which an individual, after suffering ten years of great despondency of mind, died also of a *broken heart.* In the *post-mortem* examination, the pericardium being penetrated by the knife, "a pint at least of transparent serum issued out, leaving the crassamentum firmly attached to the anterior surface of the heart." At the coroner's inquest on the body of James Brown, who died suddenly of rupture of the heart in Manchester, in 1834, the surgeon who performed the *post-mortem* examination stated that "the pericardium contained about a quart of blood and water." A large number of cases to the same point are cited by Dr. Stroud, in which the extravasated blood was distinctly separated into its crassamentum and serum, *blood* and *water.**

We are prepared now to take another step in tracing out the physiological researches of our author; and it is the last that is purely physiological. This point is very clearly stated by a writer in the Medico-Chirurgical Review for October, 1847:—"The separation of the blood into serum and crassamentum seldom if ever takes place completely, as long as it remains in its natural receptacles,—these being at the time in a normal state." This conclusion is based upon the statements of Mr. Paget, after an examination of one hundred and sixty-four cases; and of Dr. John Davy, who furnished a tabular statement of thirty-five cases of *post-mortem* examination, made in the general hospital at Fort Pitt, Chatham, from January to September, 1838,—in only one of which the phenomenon of "transparent serum" was discovered; and also upon the general observation of surgeons. Two conditions, then, only seem to admit of the transformation of the blood into its solid and fluid constituent parts. The

* The following are some of the cases described, namely:—one related by Mr. Watson in the London Medical Repository for 1814; two related in the London Medical and Physical Journal for May, 1822, and for April, 1826; one in the Medico-Chirurgical Review for 1836, (the case of Sir David Barry;) one in the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal for January, 1843; one in the Dublin Medical Trans. for 1830; and two very interesting cases by Dr. France, in Guy's Hospital Reports.

first is when the heart and the vessels are radically affected in their conformation, as in cases of aneurismatic enlargement, &c. The second, and more general case, is when by rupture or lesion the blood is poured out of its natural receptacles; then it seems very generally to be speedily changed into serum and crassamentum, or, to use popular language, into *blood* and *water*.

We proceed now to consider the application of these facts and reasonings to the phenomena connected with the sufferings and death of our Lord Jesus Christ. The scene in the garden was a prelude, and, in some respects, a preparation for that upon Calvary.

When the solemn scenes connected with the last Passover our Saviour would celebrate on earth, had taken place with his disciples, he went forth to the Mount of Olives, crossed the brook Cedron, and entered the garden of Gethsemane. Here he was seized with consternation and great distress, so that he said to his disciples, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death;" and bidding them watch with him, he withdrew about a stone's cast from the three favoured disciples, and, falling upon his face, prayed most fervently that if it were possible that cup might pass from him. Returning to his disciples, he found them asleep; exhorting them to watchfulness, he withdrew, and prayed a second time that the bitter cup might be removed. Then returning, he again found his disciples asleep; departing the third time, he prayed again: "Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless, not my will, but thine, be done. And there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him,"—not relieving him, but strengthening him to bear,—"and being in an agony, he prayed more earnestly: and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground." Such was the agony of the Saviour in the garden. This was no ordinary sorrow, and resulted from no ordinary cause. The cruel mockings and persecutions of a guilty world could not have so affected him. Every other occasion, save this and that like it upon the cross, found him calm, self-collected, and patient, to an astonishing degree. But here was *consternation* and *agony*, such as man never had borne.

The sufferings here experienced by Christ were less bodily than mental,—his soul was exceeding sorrowful,—nor were they inflicted either by men or devils; but he then received "the cup which the Father had given him," and then was fulfilled the declaration,—"It pleased the Lord to bruise him; he hath put him to grief." The agony upon the cross was identical in nature with that in the garden, only more intense, and longer protracted. This is evident from the affecting exclamation upon the cross,—"My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me!" The first agony lasted one hour, and terminated

with the bloody sweat; the other lasted three hours, and terminated his mortal life. The suddenness, as well as all the circumstances under which that life was terminated, abundantly show that his death was the result, not of exhaustion, but of some latent and destructive agency.

Let us observe how our author reasons upon this point:—

"In both, (the agony in the garden and that upon the cross,) mental sufferings of a peculiar character and of extreme severity, produced on the body of Christ their natural effects,—in the garden a bloody sweat,—on the cross sudden death, followed by an effusion of blood and water from his side, when it was afterward pierced by a spear. In both, the immediate cause of these effects, the link which connected them with their more remote cause, the mental anguish, was violent action of the heart, ultimately proceeding to rupture; the proof being that, of all the causes which can be assigned, this alone fulfils the requisite conditions, having been at once present, adequate, and in strict accordance with the circumstances. The death of Christ cannot be ascribed to the ordinary sufferings of crucifixion, because, far from destroying life in six hours, they often allowed it to be protracted to three or four days; nor to miraculous interposition, because he was slain by his enemies, and died the death of the cross; nor to original feebleness of constitution, because, as the priest and victim of an atoning sacrifice, he was perfect in body and mind; nor to temporary weakness, resulting from his recent agony, because his strength was sustained by angelic agency. That his mental sufferings were, on the contrary, adequate to the effect, is evident from their influence at Gethsemane, where, had he not received supernatural aid, they would apparently have proved fatal without the addition of any others; and if in a lower degree they excited palpitation of the heart so violent as to occasion bloody sweat, it is equally evident that, when aggravated and longer continued, they were capable of producing rupture. That the same sufferings were present in both instances, and arose from a sense of the divine malediction, is proved by his referring them in both to the immediate hand of God, by his allusion in the garden to the cup given him by his heavenly Father, and to the ancient prophecy,—'*I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock will be scattered*;'—and by his final exclamation on the cross,—'My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?'—That rupture of the heart, thus induced, was in conformity with the circumstances, and actually implied by them, will now be demonstrated."—*Physical Cause*, pp. 116, 117.

The complaint of the Saviour was not occasioned by the pains and torture of crucifixion,—"He was brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth." He even prayed for his murderers. With what composure did he commit his mother to the care of the beloved disciple! With what self-possession did he encourage the penitent thief by his side! And for three long hours his bodily agonies extorted no groan, occasioned no murmur. All these he could endure; but when the Father withdrew his presence, and left him to *tread the wine-press alone*, the agony of the moment wrenched from his agonized heart the exclamation, *Why hast* THOU *forsaken me!* At the time of the agony in the garden, a natural eclipse of the moon shaded the earth in darkness; but now a supernatural darkness, for the three long hours of

the Saviour's mortal agony, overspread the land. Can anything be more expressive! Here the Saviour agonized, till suddenly *the pitcher was broken at the fountain, and the wheel was broken at the cistern.* At the moment of his intensest suffering the chord of life was snapped asunder. *Agony broke his heart.*

In less than three hours from the time of his death, that is, before the evening sacrifice, at six o'clock, the bodies were taken down from the cross, according to the Jewish law. When the soldiers came to discharge this duty, the thieves were evidently still alive, and were therefore despatched by breaking their legs, according to the Roman custom; "but on coming to Christ, as they perceived that he was already dead, they did not break his legs; one of the soldiers, however, pierced his side with a spear, and immediately there came forth blood and water." Now this is a phenomenon that can be explained only on the theory of a rupture of the heart, and the consequent hemorrhage of blood into the pericardium, when it would speedily be resolved into crassamentum and serum—*blood* and *water.*

The quantity of blood and water must have been considerable, to have attracted such distinct notice, and thus been made a distinct matter of record. And this, we find, accords with the observation of physicians in cases of severe rupture and sudden death. Mr. Watson mentions a case in which the rupture was nearly three-fourths of an inch in length, and where a quantity of coagulum and serum was found in the pericardium, amounting to *about five pounds.* In the case of Sir David Barry, who died suddenly, the quantity of serum and clotted blood amounted "to full five pints." Here, then, so far as *quantity* is concerned, the theory of our author would fully meet the conditions of the case, and encounters no obstacle.

But the Saviour must have been dead less than three hours, probably not more than one and a half, as the body was embalmed and laid in the tomb before six. Would this admit time sufficient for the separation of the blood into its elements? According to Hewson, the process will have perceptibly commenced in a few minutes, "and the complete separation of the serum and crassamentum will occur in an hour." To the same point is the testimony of Mr. Paget and others.

As to the notion that the blood spoken of proceeded from the heart, and the water was the natural fluid contained in the pericardium, and that both were pierced by the spear; it is a sufficient reply to say, that on the most careful examination, the pericardium has been found to contain no such fluid, except in rare cases, and then in extremely minute quantities.* And also the term employed by the

* "Haller states that a small quantity of water, not exceeding a few drachms, has frequently been found in the pericardium of executed persons; but, except under

evangelist denotes clotted blood, rather than the clear fluid that flows from the heart.*

Again, to the supposition that the blood and water proceeded directly from the heart, our author cites three insuperable objections. (1.) That the separation into serum and crassamentum of the blood remaining in the vascular system of dead bodies, is of very rare occurrence. (2.) That such separation, if it happened at all, could not have happened within the specified time of two hours; since, in the majority of cases, the blood remaining in their natural vessels does not even coagulate for the first four hours after its rest has commenced; and in many, it remains fluid for six, eight, or more hours. (3.) That, independently of these difficulties, the escape of such constituents from any of the cavities of the heart would be scanty, slow, and probably indistinct; and therefore at variance with the evangelical narrative. The theory adopted by him obviates all these difficulties. The pericardium would, and often has been found to, contain a much larger quantity of blood than could possibly remain in the heart; the blood effused into it would within the allotted time separate into its elements; and, on the side being pierced, these constituents would flow out in so conspicuous a manner as to attract the notice of the most ignorant or indifferent spectator. If we now recur to the simple narrative of this event in the sacred text, it must be obvious that the discharge of blood and water was considerable, and the distinction between them well marked, to have been so clearly observed, and such a specific record made of it by the evangelist who beheld it.

So far as the physiological argument is concerned, we have now only to follow Dr. Stroud to his conclusion; and this we shall give in his own words:—

"It may, therefore, with certainty be affirmed, that between the agony of mind which the Saviour endured in the garden of Gethsemane, and the profuse sweat mixed with clotted blood which so rapidly followed it, violent palpitation of the heart must necessarily have intervened; this being the only known condition which could have been at once the effect of the former occurrence, and the cause of the latter. In like manner, when on the cross this agony was renewed, and, by the addition of bodily suffering, was increased to the utmost intensity, no other known condition could have formed the connecting link between that mental anguish and his sudden death,—preceded by loud exclamations, and followed by an effusion of blood and water from his

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very peculiar or morbid circumstances, the eminent anatomists, John and Charles Bell, deny the occurrence altogether."—*Physical Cause*, p. 138.

* Hieronymus Bardus, who advocates this theory, "is at a loss to understand how the two liquids could have *issued separately* without a miracle, which, to this extent, he consequently admits."

side, when afterward pierced with a spear,—than the aggravation, even to rupture, of the same violent action of the heart, of which the previous palpitation and bloody sweat were but a lower degree and a natural prelude. If, while every other explanation hitherto offered has been shown to be untenable, the cause now assigned for the death of Christ, namely, rupture of the heart from agony of mind, has been proved to be the result of an actual power in nature, fully adequate to the effect, really present without counteraction, minutely agreeing with all the facts in the case, and necessarily implied by them, this cause must, according to the principles of inductive reasoning, be regarded as demonstrated."—*Physical Cause*, pp. 155, 156.

We have endeavoured in the preceding pages to give a compendium of our author's arguments in relation to the physical cause of the death of Christ, and are not aware that any essential point has been overlooked. We do not know that the human mind will ever be able to attain the certainty of knowledge upon the points here discussed; but hitherto we have met with nothing upon the subject that seemed so plausible, so consistent with rational facts and science, and so accordant with many of the allusions made by the inspired prophets. Indeed, we think strong corroborative testimony to his view might be gathered from the prophecies of the Old Testament. No expressions, certainly, in those prophecies more distinctly foretel the intense thirst or the bloody sweat, than others do the mortal rupture of the heart. In the sixty-ninth Psalm it is said, "Reproach hath broken my heart;" and in the fifty-third of Isaiah, "He poured out his soul (or, as Michaelis and other distinguished Hebraists render it, *his life's blood*) unto death." Mark also the types of the Old Dispensation, which prefigure the expiatory sacrifice of Christ by the "shedding of blood." When, also, we refer to the symbols of his death, the breaking of the bread, the pouring out of the wine, we must confess that the explanation of Dr. Stroud takes a still stronger hold upon our convictions. Nor are we able to dissent, when he says:—

"The peculiar cause of the death of Christ, which, by a regular induction from the evangelical narrative, has been ascertained as a fact, remarkably illustrates the entire series of types and prophecies relating to that solemn event, which could not, indeed, in any other manner have been fulfilled. These, in turn, by their minute and perfect correspondence with the circumstances, afford, if that were necessary, an additional confirmation of the fact itself; and the whole transaction demonstrates with irresistible evidence the special interposition and superintendence of the Deity."

The second part of this treatise is designed to exhibit the relation which the foregoing theory holds to the general doctrine of atonement, and also to the doctrines, precepts, and truths of Christianity. Its pages are instructive, and illustrate largely the piety of their author; but a review of them does not come within our present purpose.

Art. III.—THE DUTY OF FASTING.

That Fasting is enjoined in the Bible as a religious duty, will scarcely be questioned by any who have carefully examined the subject. Still, there may be much difference of opinion among pious people as to what that duty is; by what authority it is made obligatory; how, and on what occasions, it should be observed; and what are its beneficial results. To arrive at safe conclusions on all these points, reference must be had to the law and to the testimony. In such questions, mere human authority is not sufficient: to settle them requires Scriptural precept and divine sanction. Whoever presumes to set up his own judgment in opposition to the sacred record, or to teach what it does not warrant, as essential to salvation, should not be regarded as a safe instructor of those who wish to find the path of life. "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God."

The point of inquiry which requires attention first of all, is, What is fasting, in the sense of the inspired authors? On this subject various opinions have been, and still are, entertained and propagated; and among them is the singular one, that fasting is simply "refraining from sin." To refrain from sinning is in itself certainly right and commendable; but to insist on that as the sense of the term fasting, involves at least one serious difficulty. Fasting is not, and cannot be, practised daily and continuously; it is only occasional; and if to fast is to refrain from sin, then we are required to refrain from sin only on fast-days, which would imply that on all other days we may sin with impunity; whereas the Bible, which enjoins fasting, forbids sin at all times and in every place, and that under fearful penalty. "Awake to righteousness and sin not;"—"The wages of sin is death;"—"The soul that sins shall die." It is declared of the Lord Jesus Christ, on the occasion of his temptation in the wilderness, "When he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he was afterward an hungered." Now will any one presume to say that He, after abstaining from sin forty days, hungered for it? We trust not; and yet, to be consistent, all who contend that fasting is simply refraining from sin, would have to admit the blasphemous conclusion.

Another view of the subject, and one entertained by many who regard themselves as the only true Church of Christ, is, that fasting is merely a change in the manner of living, from the use of certain articles of food to the use of others. While their conscience, acting in the light of their creed, or more properly in the darkness of it, will not allow them on any consideration to eat meat during certain

days of the week, and certain weeks of the year, it does strangely allow them, on the same days and weeks, to eat fish, butter, eggs, vegetables, fruits, and most luxuries of the country. It is really amusing to read over a printed bill of sumptuous fare, made out by a prelate who assumes to have the consciences of the people in his own keeping, for a forty days' fast. Serious as the subject is, to read of a "fish-dinner" on fast-day is enough to excite a smile. To us this appears to be a singular kind of fasting,—one which requires but little sacrifice of taste or self-denial, and which need not diminish the strength or flesh of those who practise it, however long the fast may be protracted. Daniel and his fellow-captives, while receiving their court education, were sustained only on pulse and water; and yet, at the period of examination, "their countenances appeared fairer and fatter in flesh than all the children which did eat the portion of the king's meat" and drank of his "wine." And why should not any healthy individual gain both flesh and strength during "Lent," with all its various substantials and luxuries? Such feasting may justly be regarded as a burlesque on the Christian duty of fasting. How different was the case with the devoted Psalmist, when he said, "My knees are weak through fasting; and my flesh faileth of fatness!" Psa. cix, 24.

To fast in the proper sense of the term, is to abstain entirely from food and drink of every kind for a given time,—the period of such abstinence to be determined by the circumstances of the individual, and the nature of the occasion which moves him to observe it. The king of Nineveh, under just apprehension of the judgments of the Almighty, proclaimed a general fast, saying, "Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste anything: let them not feed, nor drink water." Jonah iii, 7. Saul, afterward Paul, when stricken down by the power of God, and brought under sore conviction of sin, "was three days without sight, and neither did eat nor drink." Acts ix, 9. Many other facts similar to these might be recited, going to prove beyond all reasonable doubt that fasting, in the Scriptural sense of the term, is neither refraining occasionally from sin, nor a mere change of diet, but entire abstinence from all temporal refreshments of every sort for a given time.

Having settled the meaning of the term fasting,—very briefly, it is true, but, as we trust, satisfactorily, at least to such as believe the Bible,—the next point which claims attention is the authority for observing this duty as above explained.

This authority, to be satisfactory, must be clear and unequivocal, and from a source entitled to universal respect. Such authority, we maintain, is abundantly furnished in the Holy Scriptures, in the

recorded examples of inspired religious teachers, and in plain and obvious precept. In regard to the first, it is in place to observe, that the example of uninspired persons, however pious, is not good authority; and therefore may be imitated or not, according to our own conviction of duty, without involving the sin of omission. Uninspired men are as liable to be mistaken as ourselves. Perhaps most of the truly pious, from Moses to the present day, have fasted, and their example might be profitably imitated;—but of itself it imposes no obligation upon us. But with inspired men the case is different. When a man was called of God to be a Prophet or an Apostle, and was inspired by the Holy Ghost, he became an infallible teacher of religious doctrine, experience, and practice, and whatever duty he enforced by example, as an inspired man, was obligatory upon others, as far as applicable to their cases. The holy Prophets of the Old Testament and the holy Apostles of the New Testament were all inspired men;—as such they fasted, and did it understandingly, and thereby settled the practice of fasting as a duty in the Church, Jewish and Christian. They were not deluded fanatics, but holy men of God, speaking and acting as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; and consequently their example rested upon others in this respect, and now rests upon us, with the force of religious obligation.

In addition to the example of inspired men on the subject of fasting as a religious duty, we have the authority of direct divine precept. That God required the Jews to fast on the day of expiation, and on other occasions, will probably be admitted by all careful Bible readers, and hence we shall not occupy the room which would be requisite for inserting the proofs. And it is equally clear that our Lord and his Apostles taught the Christians to fast, both by precept and example, not at regularly recurring periods, but as an occasional duty. Christ gave his disciples special directions how to perform the duty of fasting, and therefore, by fair inference, gave it his sanction,—as it cannot be presumed that he would give them direction how to perform an act which was either unlawful or useless. The certain proof that our Saviour did give such direction is found in sundry places, and, among others, in Matt. vi, 16–18, which we shall have occasion to cite hereafter.

Again, when interrogated by the disciples of John Baptist, why they and the Pharisees fasted frequently, while his disciples fasted not, "Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bride-chamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them? but the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast." Matt. ix, 15. Here our Lord compares the season of

his personal intercourse with his disciples to a festival at or after a wedding; which, being a time of feasting and rejoicing, was not a proper time for fasting, and hence it was not required of them at that time. But, alluding to the time when his personal intercourse with them on earth should cease, and to all after-times of conflict and trouble, he said, "Then shall they fast." Now, this last phrase, "Then shall they fast," is not to be regarded as a mere prophecy that such an event should transpire, but as an expressed sanction of it, and an assurance that it would be done; as if he had said, "Though I do not wish my disciples to fast while I am personally with them, I do approve of their fasting after I shall have been taken from them."

Moreover, our Lord taught that there were some evil spirits in man which could not be dislodged without fasting, saying, "This kind can come forth by nothing but by prayer and fasting." Of course, when other means have been tried without success, that of adding fasting to prayer should not be neglected: it comes in as the last resort. And what our Saviour taught his disciples respecting the duty of fasting by word, he enforced by his own example, only with more severity on himself than they were capable of enduring: "When he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he was afterward an hungered." Now, in view of all these recorded facts,—that our Lord Jesus Christ, who was "God manifest in the flesh," and "spake as man never spake," prescribed the manner of fasting, authorized his disciples to fast after he should be taken from them, and added his own personal example to enforce his teaching,—it is difficult to account for the hesitancy of some people in admitting that fasting is a Christian duty, and their slowness of heart to believe it is required of them. It was not so with the Apostles.

That the inspired Apostles, who were eye and ear witnesses of what Christ taught and did, regarded fasting as an important part of Christian duty, is certain from the following facts:—First, they practised it themselves, "In all things approving themselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings," (2 Cor. vi, 4, 5.) Secondly, they enjoined fasting on others, saying to husbands and wives, "Give yourselves to fasting and prayer," (1 Cor. vii, 5.) And what inspired Apostles practised themselves, and required private Church members to practise, must certainly be regarded as a Christian duty, by all who take the Holy Scriptures for the rule of their faith and conduct.

We shall next turn our attention to the occasions of fasting. And here let it be premised, that stated fasts at regularly recurring periods,

such as were practised by Pharisees, and are still required by Papists, were not appointed, commanded, or practised by our Lord or his Apostles. The Pharisees fasted "twice in the week" statedly, on certain days of the week; but all the authority they had for doing so was the "tradition of the elders," which, Christ declared, "made void the commandments of God." The Papists pretend to observe as regular fasts, certain days of the week and certain weeks of the year; but all the authority they have for that practice is found in the tradition of the Fathers, the decrees of councils, the bulls of popes, and the proclamations of bishops,—all which savours strongly of the work of supererogation, and is therefore not only without any Divine sanction, but is contrary to the Divine will, as revealed in the new covenant.

While considering this point, it is proper to remark, that in the ecclesiastical polity of Methodism, "fasting or abstinence" is included among the "general rules," but without designating any definite or stated time of fasting. Again, among the duties of a preacher in charge, is the following: "He shall take care that a fast be held, in every society in his circuit, on the Friday preceding every quarterly meeting." The time of the quarterly meeting, however, is not regulated by the moon's phases, nor by a particular Sabbath in the month, nor anything of the kind; but is appointed from quarter to quarter, with reference to convenience and utility, and the quarterly fast goes with it. All we claim for this rule is, that it is a "prudential regulation," not possessing the force of divine law. As such, we approve and defend it, as one calculated to promote uniformity, and secure general attention on the part of Church members. The fast was appointed on Friday, because the framers of the rule intended the quarterly meeting to follow on Saturday and Sabbath,—not because the New Testament Scriptures designate any particular day of the week as a day of fasting. It is likewise probable that our fathers fixed on Friday, in common with other evangelical Churches, as being suitable, because it was understood to be the day of the week on which our Saviour suffered. All these considerations were proper in establishing a prudential regulation. We maintain that in regard to the duty of fasting, as well as in regard to other duties enjoined in the Word of God, some things are left to be determined by circumstances. For example, Christ said to his ministers, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature;" but did not say the gospel should be preached on the first day, or some other day of the week,—that it should be preached in the forenoon, afternoon, or evening; nor that it should be preached in a house called a church, or some other building, or in the open air, but sim-

ply that it should be preached in all the world, and to every creature, leaving times and places to be settled according to circumstances. In like manner, Christians are required in the New Testament to fast; but it is not there determined whether they shall fast on Friday, Monday, or some other day of the week; nor yet that they shall fast yearly, quarterly, monthly, or weekly; but they are left to regulate their times of fasting as circumstances may render most proper. Fasting, therefore, is to be regarded as an occasional duty, to be practised from time to time, as the necessities and interests of communities and individuals may require. And if it should be objected by any, that this view of the subject tends to weaken the obligation to fast, let all such objectors remember, that the obligation to fast exists in the Word of God, and not in the time designated by church authorities for discharging that obligation. The objection will be further obviated by carefully weighing what now follows respecting the occasions of fasting, which may and doubtless do come up in the history of nations and individuals.

A time of public calamity and general distress, in progress or in prospect, is a proper occasion for a general fast. When the deceitful and intriguing Haman had procured a decree from King Ahasuerus, that all the Jews in his extended provinces should be massacred on a given day, Mordecai the Jew communicated the sad intelligence to Queen Esther, who was also a Jewess, and she appointed a three days' fast to be solemnly kept by herself, her maidens, Mordecai, and their countrymen, as far as they could give notice, which by God's blessing proved successful in averting the fearful calamity. Perhaps we, as a nation, are in no immediate or apparent danger of a general massacre, by any organized or legalized system of persecution, at present, whatever may transpire hereafter. Still, we are expecting soon, and have good reason to expect, a return of that dreadful scourge of nations, the Indian Cholera, in the epidemic form, which, if unrestrained by Providential interference, may sweep millions of this generation, and even hundreds of thousands of our own countrymen, from the face of the earth into the world of spirits. In anticipation of so terrible a visitation in our land, a day of general humiliation, fasting, and supplication would be highly proper. There could not be any occasion more suitable than that for a national fast; and as no human foresight can ascertain who shall be marked as its victims, every individual should consider himself or herself as personally and deeply interested: for, when the sweeping pestilence shall break upon us, it will probably, as on a former occasion, reach all classes of the community. In 1832–33, though distinguished medical men had prophesied that none but

the dissipated, lewd, and filthy had anything to fear from Cholera, none of the most wealthy merchants, profound scholars, brilliant statesmen, skilful physicians, and godly ministers, as well as steady farmers and sober mechanics, with their wives and children, were seen suddenly to fall under its deadly grasp. So it may be again. Let all see to it that their peace be made with God, and to this end let them fast and pray, and use all the appointed means.

There have been, and probably will be, many local and private events of an afflictive kind which have formed, and will form, sufficient occasions for sectional and private fasts. The wicked city of Nineveh fasted, and thereby escaped general destruction; and every wicked city has abundant reason to adopt the same measure, lest it be destroyed by whirlwind, earthquake, flood, or flame. "Now consider this, ye that forget God, lest I tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver," is as worthy of being regarded now, as it was when first proclaimed in the days of the Psalmist; for the author of that solemn warning is unchangeable. Again, when King David's child was stricken with mortal sickness, he betook himself to fasting, lay all night upon the ground, refusing to receive any nourishment, or to be raised up by his servants, or comforted by his friends, till informed the child was dead. Then he arose from the earth, washed himself, changed his raiment, worshipped in the temple, ate bread, and appeared again among his friends. "And he said, While the child was yet alive, I fasted and wept: for I said, Who can tell whether God will be gracious to me, that the child may live? But now he is dead, wherefore should I fast? Can I bring him back again? I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me," (2 Sam. xii, 22, 23.) Though the king lost his son, no doubt he felt better satisfied under his loss than he would have done had he neglected his duty. With this illustrious example before us, it would be safe and proper, while labouring under a sore visitation of family affliction, to betake ourselves to prayer and fasting, that God might avert or mitigate the evil, and sustain us through it.

Every man has a personal reason for fasting, in his own natural depravity and practical sinfulness, calling for deep, continuous humiliation before God. Have we sinned grievously? Does the guilt thereof rest heavily upon us? And, after much penitence and prayer, does our conscience still trouble and make us afraid? Then we should add fasting, that we may be more deeply humbled in the sight of Heaven, still pleading the atonement of our dying, risen, ascended, and interceding Saviour, till we obtain the evidence of pardoning and renewing grace. Again, if inbred sin remain and trouble us, after we have prayed long and much for purity of heart, there is reason

to fear that it is of a kind that "cometh not forth but by prayer and fasting,"—which remedy should be applied in earnest. For though there is no merit in fasting, more than in any other means of grace, God's method of salvation is to bless in the use, and not in the neglect, of the means; and in extreme cases no one of them should be omitted,—all should be diligently used; and having used all the means, we should then trust in Christ only for the end; for when we have done all we can, we are still unprofitable servants, having only done our duty. Whoever pursues this course, will soon rejoice in possession of a present, free, and full salvation;—it has been tried in thousands of cases, and always with success.

Another very important point involved in this subject is the manner of fasting. It should be done in moderation, not carried to excess,—not so as to injure health, much less to endanger life. There are some individuals, in a debilitated state from recent affliction, whose health would not admit of their fasting for the time being; and others, who have general poor health and feeble constitutions, who, at best, can scarcely receive nourishment sufficient to sustain them in active life: these should not impose upon themselves frequent nor rigorous fasts. Indeed, it is very questionable whether such individuals should fast at all, as it might prove injurious, if not fatal. Let it be remembered, God does not require murder for sacrifice. Still there is danger of extremes, both ways; and no doubt there are many more who fast too little, than there are who fast too much. The inconvenience suffered by invalids from fasting, is no excuse for us who are healthy to neglect it.

Again, we should not aim at miracles in the performance of this duty; the days of miracles have passed away. Moses and Elijah as types, and our Saviour as the antitype, each fasted forty days; but those fasts were all miraculous, and therefore do not form any rule of practice for us. No mere human being could live half of that time without some nourishment, unless there should be an immediate and continuous exercise of the power of God in his case, which is not to be presumed on. Some fanatics have exercised that presumption, and have lost their lives in consequence,—thereby leaving a solemn warning to all others against yielding to such madness. Of this description of superstitious devotees, were some members of a modern sect called Halcyons, which flourished in the western country about the close of the 18th century. They never became numerous, and are now extinct, as might have been expected.

Fasting should not be attended with any outward show of sadness, such as neglect of person, voluntary humility, or self-inflicted abuse of any kind. If a man should be seen during his fast sitting on the

covered with rent garments, long beard, and dishevelled hair, sprinkling ashes upon himself, and setting up a doleful howl or hideous wail toward heaven, he might excite pity, but not admiration; he would be regarded as a deranged man, or a hopeless victim of fanaticism in its worst form. How signally the Saviour of man rebuked such conduct:—"When ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily, I say unto you, they have their reward. But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face; that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father, which is in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly," (Matt. vi, 16, 17, 18.) From this authority it appears plainly that a Christian, on his fast-day, avoiding all false show of piety and all unworthy motives, should shave and wash himself, adjust his hair, put on clean apparel, and, acting as in the sight of God, maintain the dignity of a rational, accountable being. Such are the instructions of Him from whose authority there is no appeal.

Much light is shed upon this point of our subject, the manner of fasting, by the 58th chapter of the Prophet Isaiah. The Jews murmured because their fast was not accepted of the Almighty:—"Wherefore have we fasted, say they, and thou seest not? Wherefore have we afflicted our soul, and thou takest no knowledge?" These were presumptuous interrogatories, and God answered by reproving those who put them: "Behold, in the day of your fast ye find pleasure, and exact all your labours." What folly, to set apart a day for fasting, and then spend it as a mere holiday in worldly amusements, or in worldly business! Can a man pray and fast, and at the same time sport and feast? Can he afflict his soul, and mourn over his sins, and at the same time mingle jovially with the ungodly in a ball-room, or theatre? Can he employ his fast-day in lucrative business? Can he scheme and calculate, clamour and drive his hands to make money, and yet expect God to accept his devotions? Certainly not. But those complainers did even worse: "Behold, ye fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness,"—turning the solemn occasion into a scene of wrangling and violence, or perhaps praying for the death of enemies in war. No marvel that the interdict should follow, "Ye shall not fast as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high." Having administered this wholesome reproof, the Lord further exposes their hypocritical pretensions, by asking, "Is it such a fast that I have chosen?—a day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? Wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord?" No, verily. After exposing

all these abuses, the Lord explains in detail the kind of fast which he would accept, saying, "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?" From this more forcible presentation of the subject, it appears clearly that the fast which God approves, and has promised to bless, is attended with works of penitence, justice, and benevolence, as well as piety. We must loose the bands of wickedness, or repent of all our sins; we must undo the heavy burdens, whether inflicted by heartless creditors, or unjust task-masters, and let the oppressed go free from under the galling yoke of bondage. Oppression of our fellow-creatures is unjust and criminal in the sight of God, whether inflicted by cruel husbands, cruel parents, or cruel masters; whether inflicted by the assumed tyranny of political despots, or by that inhuman traffic, the slave-trade; and it is worse than useless for any one guilty of such oppression and cruelty to fast or pray, until he is fully determined to forsake the evil of his ways. The fast which God has chosen for us requires also works of charity, dealing bread to the hungry, (at least as much as is saved by fasting,) sheltering the homeless and friendless, and covering the naked with garments, so that the blessing of him who is ready to perish may come upon us. In a word, Christians should keep their fast-days as strictly as they are required to keep their Sabbaths, refraining from all sinful pleasures, and from all temporal business, except works of necessity and works of charity, and devote themselves to God in prayer and supplication, as well as in watchings and fasting.

The last general point to be considered is the beneficial effects of fasting. They who practise the duty of fasting properly, as above explained, derive personal benefits thereby. It aids in subduing the natural enmity of the heart, mortifying the deeds of the flesh, of the carnal mind, that our souls may live; it cultivates humility, by showing us our depravity, unworthiness, and helplessness; it inspires us with gratitude for the mercies of God, so bountifully and constantly bestowed upon us. As we can scarcely appreciate general good health till we have lost it, so we cannot properly estimate the value of our daily bread, and return suitable gratitude to God for it, until deprived of it long enough to feel the gnawing pains of hunger.

There are likewise relative benefits to be derived from a proper performance of the duty of fasting, or benefits accruing to others besides those engaged in it, on the same principle whereby one indi-

ual is benefited by the prayers of another. While Cornelius fasted and prayed, the gospel was sent to the Gentiles, who knew nothing of the deep agony of his heart for them, the result of which was glorious. When King Darius had been ensnared by Daniel's persecutors to sign an unchangeable decree, consigning him to the lions' den, and found that he could not prevail with his officers to have it reversed, so as to save Daniel, though he laboured with them till the going down of the sun, he "was sore displeased with himself." It was with deep, heartfelt reluctance that he had the fearful sentence executed, but not without some hope that Daniel's God would deliver him. "Then the king went to his palace, and passed the night fasting: neither were instruments of music brought before him: and his sleep went from him." Early next morning the king was at the lions' den, and cried, "O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God, whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from the lions?" Who can imagine the joy which thrilled the heart of that monarch, when Daniel responded: "O king, live forever. My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me." Thus, while wicked courtiers revelled over the death of the good man, as they presumed, their afflicted sovereign fasted and prayed for his deliverance; and God, who was for him, proved greater than all that were against him. Great encouragement is here afforded to the children of God, to fast and pray for the deliverance of their pious friends in the day of persecution and peril; and even for such as are in danger of falling into the hands of the tormentors, worse than hungry, ferocious lions, that they may be spared, awakened, and saved.

The beneficial results of fasting, in many cases, have been general, extending to whole communities. While Esther, and Mordecai, and their servants and maidens fasted, enlargement arose to the Jews, and large multitudes of men, women, and children were rescued from cruel massacre. The Prophet Jonah was sent by divine appointment to make proclamation, "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown." But the people, moved by Jonah's preaching, betook themselves to a rigorous fast. "And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not." They changed their manner of life, and he changed his manner of dealing with them. Had they persisted in their wickedness forty days, he would have destroyed them; but they repented, and God relented.

In concluding this article, we take occasion to remark, that we, as a people in these United States, have much reason to be interested in the subject under consideration. As a nation, though perhaps no

worse than others, our sins are numerous and great. Profanity, disregard of the holy Sabbath, drunkenness, lewdness, fraud, and oppression, exist to an alarming extent. Party political measures are often corrupt, and sometimes marked with violence,—threatening even the disruption of our Union. The political press is prostituted to demagoguism and slander, as a general thing, catering to the worst passions of men, and to party intrigue, instead of supporting the country and its noble institutions. Men in high places, who should be examples of virtue and piety, are too commonly degraded libertines. Even our churches are too much conformed to the world, and too much involved in bitter controversy among themselves, when they have need to concentrate their united energy against the powers of infidelity and sin. Some who are set as watchmen upon the walls of Zion, to sound a timely alarm, are fast asleep; and many who once knew the way of righteousness have turned aside from the holy commandments delivered unto them, so that their last state is worse than the first. All these things, and many others, cry to Heaven against us for vengeance. The judgments of God are abroad in the earth,—famine, war, and pestilence move in quick succession, sweeping away multitudes of the guilty inhabitants of this sin-polluted world into a fearful state of retribution. Surely, then, such as have access to the mercy-seat, and power with God in prayer, should fast and plead with him, that we perish not in our sins as a people, but live and prosper, proving to all the world that "righteousness exalteth a nation." We have much encouragement to return unto the Lord by penitence, prayer, and fasting, for there is forgiveness with Him, that he may be feared. And here again we humbly but earnestly renew the suggestion, that a national fast would be both opportune and salutary, as anciently. "Therefore also now, saith the Lord, turn ye even to me with all your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning: and rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God: for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth him of the evil." Joel ii, 12, 13.

Art. IV.—THOMAS CARLYLE.

1. *Past and Present, Chartism and Sartor Resartus.* By Thomas Carlyle. New edition, complete in one volume,—2 vols. in 1, pp. 386, 233. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1848.
2. *The French Revolution; a History.* By Thomas Carlyle. 2 vols., pp. 470, 477. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1848.
3. *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches; including the Supplement to the First Edition, with Elucidations.* By Thomas Carlyle. 2 vols., pp. 560, 613. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1848.
4. *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History. Six Lectures, reported with Emendations and Additions.* By Thomas Carlyle. Pp. 299. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1842.

Before resuming our observations on the remaining works of Mr. Carlyle, we desire to say a word concerning the new edition of his historical works, recently issued from the prolific press of the Harpers. The main advantages of this edition are—the latest personal revision of the author, and an Appendix to the Letters and Speeches of Cromwell, containing some additional letters alleged to have been discovered since the publication of the first compilation. We shall not enter into the controversy that has arisen concerning the genuineness of these letters, as it is aside from our present purpose, and, however it may be decided, will not affect the judgment we have rendered, either on the stern old Protector or his admiring editor. This new edition is enriched with fine portraits of Cromwell and Carlyle, each presenting a face that is worthy of some study. The edition merits, as it must receive, an extensive circulation.

We now turn to the *Pons Asinorum* of our author's works, "Sartor Resartus; or, the Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh." To the great majority of readers this book will present itself, at first, as a farrago of the wildest nonsense; without connexion, coherence, or purpose,—a very chaos of incomprehensible ravings. Others will be reminded of The Doctor, Tristram Shandy, Gulliver, Pantagruel, and similar eccentricities in literature, that in a strange and fantastic garb envelope some meaning, the discovery of which is worth the labour of unfolding. But to the reader of the delicate and sugared monthly, the devourer of "the last" new novel; to the hard, shrewd man of business, whose faith is in his ledger, and whose philosophy is in his commercial list; and to the religionist, who has passively received the traditionary teachings of the past without challenge or query, and never dreamed of misgiving or doubt regarding them,—to all such, the book can have little meaning or

value. It describes a process through which they have never passed, and with whose throes of anguish they can have no sympathy. A man must have trodden the same dark path with the author,—must have encountered the same shapes of mockery and terror, and hung above the same yawning abysses of despair,—before he can understand this book. But if he has ever felt the foundations of his early belief begin to crumble beneath his feet; if he has ever been environed by a legion of grinning and mocking fiends, each plucking from him a portion of the faith he has prized as his life, and yet jeering him with its loss; if he has ever seen the blank abyss of skepticism yawn horribly before him, without a ray to illumine its depths; if the whole energy of his nature has been concentrated into one passionate cry for light! and he has been ready to sit down and weep in utter desolation, because the heavens above were as brass, and the earth beneath him as iron, with no breath of Heaven to cool his fevered spirit; then, indeed, will he find a terrible significance in this book, such as is found in few works in our language, except some parts of Bunyan, and perhaps portions of that strange but powerful poem, Festus. Sartor Resartus is a spiritual auto-biography. Its quaint designation, "the Tailor Retailored," is drawn from the general scope of the volume, which is, to show the difference between form and substance,—the clothing of truth and truth itself; to illustrate the effect that outward forms have upon the mass of mankind, and the struggle of the spirit that attempts to pierce their surface; and, in the great topics of thought, to discriminate the absolute and changeless from the relative and contingent, and recognize the eternal truth and infinite agency that underlie all phenomena. All knowledge being confined to phenomena, the philosophy and religion of each age are simply the garments in which the absolute and eternal truth presents itself to the mind of that age; while those who construct and promulgate opinions on these subjects, are the *Sartores*,—the manufacturers of these phenomenal conceptions. The forms of thought and action in each generation are the clothes of that generation; while each individual of it is weaving for himself a garment of mingled hue in this life, and a robe of eternal glory or a shroud of eternal gloom in the life to come.

The book is evidently designed to give a sketch of the author's history, with some of his peculiar views on the great problems of philosophy and religion. The form and style of the auto-biography were perhaps suggested by some of the wild and wonderful creations of Richter—of whom there seems to be, all through the work, a conscious or unconscious imitation. The writer appears first as the editor of extracts from a volume on the Origin and Influence of Clothes, by *Herr*

Imagines Von Teufelsdröckh, Professor of Allerlei-Wissenschaft (all sorts of things) *in the University of Weissnichtwo*, (nobody knows where;) published by *Stillschweigen and Co.*, (Silence and Co.) and sent to him by his German friends, to be rendered into English. After sundry personal reminiscences of this pseudo Professor, the editor receives six paper bags of biographical and other documents illustrative of the life and opinions of the mysterious Teufelsdröckh; each bag marked with one of the six southern signs of the Zodiac, and despatched to the editor by the Boswellian friend of the illustrious Professor, the *Hofrath Heuschrecke*, (the Counsellor Grasshopper.) From these materials he undertakes to present his life and opinions, in three books. This mystic Professor personates our author; and in the school and university life, the wanderings, the communings with "the great dumb mountains;" in the doubts, misgivings, and final repose of his mind on certain great truths; and in the quaint, angular glances that he gives at human life, we have a sketch of the spiritual history of Thomas Carlyle. When it is recollected that this is not a mere fantastic fiction,—the work of a sneering Swift, or a filthy Rabelais,—but the actual history of a soul grappling earnestly with the great problems of its being, and seeking to wring from them a solution, in the agony of despairing doubt, the book becomes a record of most touching and melancholy interest,—a Pilgrim's Progress, in a century of doubt, denial, and indifference.

The essence of the first book may be gathered from a paragraph in the chapter, "Prospective:"—

"All visible things are emblems: what thou seest is not there on its own account,—strictly taken, is not there at all. Matter exists only spiritually, and to represent some idea and *body* it forth. Hence Clothes, as despicable as we think them, are so unspeakably significant. Clothes, from the King's mantle downward, are emblematic, not of want only, but of a manifold cunning Victory over Want. On the other hand, all emblematic things are properly Clothes, thought-woven and hand-woven. Men are properly said to be clothed with Authority, clothed with Beauty, with Curses, and the like. Nay, if you consider it, what is Man himself, and his whole terrestrial Life, but an emblem; a Clothing or visible Garment for that divine ME of his, cast hither like a light particle down from Heaven? Thus he is said also to be clothed with a Body. Why multiply instances? It is written, The Heavens and the Earth shall fade away like a Vesture; which indeed they are,—the Time-vesture of the Eternal. Whatsoever sensibly exists, whatsoever represents Spirit to Spirit, is properly a Clothing, a suit of Raiment, put on for a season, and to be laid off. Thus,—the essence of all Science lies in the PHILOSOPHY OF CLOTHES."

These quotations will be perfectly intelligible to all who are acquainted with the questions discussed by the various schools of philosophy in the present day.

In the first two chapters of the second book, ("Genesis" and "Idyllic,") we have a sketch of the author's childhood and youth, in which we see, as in the dissolving views of a magic lantern, some of the thoughts and fancies that mark that interesting period of human life. In the chapter, "Pedagogy," we have a most savage assault on the mode of education in use thirty years ago in the high schools and universities of Scotland;—which, however, may rather prove its want of adaptation to such a peculiar mind, than any radical defect in the system itself. In the chapter, "Getting under Way," we have allusions to the struggles which he had with poverty after the death of his father; the abandonment, for very obvious reasons, of the profession to which he had been destined; his efforts to obtain bread and books by translations, &c.; and some obscure allusions to equivocal friends and aristocratic patrons, which are tinctured with a spice of bitterness. It would seem from the Latin epitaph, which we dare not translate, that his blunt honesty was in the way of his rapid advancement. The chapter, "Romance," describes that Petrarchan season of life, more interesting usually to a man's self than to others, but which is not unfrequently decisive in its influence on his future destiny. The chapter termed "The Sorrows of Teufelsdröckh," indicate a change in his spiritual history. Poverty, disappointment in friendship and love, toil and injustice, produced their natural effect on such a nature, in awaking a morbid and gloomy spirit of speculation on the moral government of the world. This, combined perhaps with a growing familiarity with the daring and intoxicating skepticism of France and Germany, developed symptoms of a spiritual *delirium tremens*. The crisis of this diseased state of the soul is described in the chapter called "The Everlasting No." This state of mind may be gathered from a single paragraph:—

"To me the Universe was all void of Life, of Purpose, of Volition, even of Hostility: it was one huge, dead, immeasurable Steam-engine, rolling on, in its dead indifference, to grind me limb from limb. O the vast, gloomy, solitary Golgotha, and Mill of Death! Why was the Living banished thither companionless, conscious? Why, if there is no Devil;—nay, unless the Devil is your God?"

The first transition from this state is thus described:—

"All at once there rose a Thought within me, and I asked myself, 'What *art* thou afraid of? Wherefore, like a coward, dost thou forever pip and whimper, and go cowering and trembling? Despicable biped! what is the sum-total of the worst that lies before thee? Death? Well, Death; and say the pangs of Tophet, too, and all that the Devil and Man may, will, or can do against thee? Hast thou not a heart; canst thou not suffer whatso it be? and, as a Child of Freedom, though outcast, trample Tophet itself under thy feet, while it consumes thee? Let it come, then; I will meet it and defy it.' And, as I so thought, there rushed like a stream of fire over my whole soul;

and I shook base Fear away from me forever. The Everlasting No had said, 'Behold thou art fatherless, outcast, and the Universe is mine, (the Devil's;') to which my whole Me now made answer: '*I* am not thine, but Free, and forever hate thee.' It is from this hour that I date my Spiritual New-birth, or Baphometic,* Fire-baptism: perhaps I directly thereupon began to be a man."

Having thus left the negative pole of dark, despairing unbelief, he passes through the intervening stage between that and the positive pole of clear and quiet belief in something certain and true. This is described in the chapter called "Centre of Indifference,"—which betokens a state of mind compounded of sullen defiance and submissive resignation; the angry and weeping spirit sobbing itself into repose. It proved to be the transition state to a higher and clearer position described in "The Everlasting Yea."

"Man's unhappiness, as I construe, comes of his greatness; it is because there is an infinite in him, which, with all his cunning, he cannot quite bury under the finite. Always there is a black spot in our sunshine: it is even *the shadow of ourselves*. But the whim of happiness we have is somewhat thus. By certain valuations of our own striking, we come upon some sort of average terrestrial lot; this, we fancy, belongs to us by nature—any *overplus* we account happiness, any *deficit*, misery. Now consider that we have the valuation of our deserts ourselves; do you wonder that the balance should so often dip the wrong way? I tell thee, blockhead, it all comes of thy vanity: of what thou *fanciest* those same deserts of thine to be. Fancy that thou deservest to be hanged, (as is most likely,) thou wilt feel it happiness to be only shot. So true is it what I then said, that *the fraction of life can be increased in value not so much by increasing your numerator, as by lessening your denominator.* Nay, unless my algebra deceive me, *unity* itself, divided by *zero*, will give *infinity*. Make thy claim of wages a zero, then; thou hast the world under thy feet."

"I see a glimpse of it! there is in man a HIGHER than love of happiness; he can do without happiness, and instead thereof find blessedness. Love not pleasure; love God. This is the EVERLASTING YEA, wherein all contradiction is solved. Small is it that thou canst trample the earth under thy feet, as old Greek Zeno trained thee: thou canst love the earth while it injures thee, and even because it injures thee: for this a greater than Zeno was needed, and he too was sent. Knowest thou that '*Worship of Sorrow?*'"

The attentive reader will gather the nature of this process from these condensed extracts, which the author terms his "Conversion:"—

"The old world knew nothing of conversion: instead of an *Ecce Homo*, they had only some *Choice of Hercules*. What to Plato was but a hallucination, and to Socrates a chimera, is now clear and certain to your Zinzendorfs, your Wesleys, and the poorest of the Pietists and Methodists."

That there was a conversion here is very certain; but whether it was the precise change which the Zinzendorfs and Wesleys have

* Alluding to the initiatory mysteries of the Knight Templars, termed Baphomet, baptism of *metis*, or baptism of fire.

called by that name, is somewhat doubtful. It is very certain that, had they described the unfolding of the Everlasting Yea to their souls, we should have seen the scroll of its record all blazing with a name which was to them the Alpha and the Omega, the all and in all; and the absence of which, in this delineation, we sorrowfully note. But our object is not so much to discuss as to describe the work.

The third book contains, under the guise of Professor Teufeldröckh's opinions, some of the same views of politics, philosophy, and religion, which we find more largely developed in the author's subsequent works. We can but rapidly glance at the successive chapters.

"The incident in modern history," which is regarded as so important, is that of George Fox making for himself a full suit of leather, the meaning of which is somewhat doubtful, unless it refers to the sturdy independence with which Fox broke through all received opinions and practices, and followed the dictates of his own eccentric nature. The chapters on "Church Clothes" and "Symbols" express his conviction, that the vitality of both speculative and practical religion has died out of existing forms, organizations, and creeds, leaving them but "hollow shapes, or masks, under which no living figure or spirit any longer dwells." The chapter on "Helotage" touches the same questions on Economics, and expresses the same general views which we find in "Past and Present" and "Chartism." "The Phœnix," "Old Clothes," and "Organic Filaments," convey the sentiment that English society, both political and religious, is slowly undergoing a Phœnix fate—burning its old body to obtain a new; dropping its "old clothes" piece by piece; but, as the outward envelop is cast off, showing the growth of "organic filaments" underneath, which are preparing the new vesture in which it is to appear when the old shall have sloughed off entirely. The chapter on "Natural Supernaturalism" contains his opinion on the subject of miracles. What these are may be gathered from a sentence or two:—

"But is not a real miracle simply a violation of the laws of nature? I answer, what are the laws of nature? To me, perhaps, the rising of one from the dead were no violation of these laws, but a confirmation; were some far deeper law, now first penetrated into, and by spiritual force, even as all the rest have been, brought to bear on us with its material force." "Admit space and time to their due rank as forms of thought, and consider how they hide from us the brightest God-effulgences! Thus, were it not miraculous, could I stretch forth my hand and clutch the sun? Yet thou seest me daily stretch forth my hand, and therewith clutch many a thing. Art thou a grown baby, then, to fancy that the miracle lies in miles of distance, or in pounds avoirdupois of weight; and not to see that the true, inexplicable, God-revealing

miracle lies in this, that I can stretch forth my hand at all? On what ground shall one who can make iron swim, come and declare that therefore he can teach religion?"

The doctrine of this chapter is not materially different from that of the celebrated Charles Bonnet, in his Palingenesis, except so far as it is modified by the idealistic philosophy. Bonnet's theory was, that miracles were not violations of the laws of nature, but a peculiar exercise of those laws, in consequence of a physical predetermination, a sort of pre-established harmony, introduced into those laws, when they were originally imposed by God on the material world. Carlyle differs from the Genevan philosopher, however, in carrying the theory to its legitimate result; that miracles cannot attest a revelation. We presume the modification will meet with as little favour among scholars as the original theory itself.

The chapter on the "Dandiacal Body," or that portion of society that lives to dress and eat, contains much bitter and sarcastic truth, and shows that there are more dandies in the world than our philosophy has dreamed of; whilst the chapter on "Tailors" shows a similar extension of this ancient and much-belied guild.

"The French Revolution, a history," is certainly misnamed. It may be an epic, it may be a tragedy, but a history, in the ordinary sense of the word, it is not. The man who sits down to the perusal of this work, without any previous acquaintance with the French revolution, will rise from it feeling that the history acted, and the history written, are alike incomprehensible. This results from the plan of the work, which is not designed so much to furnish the annals of that wonderful event, as to give a series of historical word-paintings—a sort of panoramic exhibition of the wild phantasmagoria so fearfully exhibited on the soil of France. But to the man who has even an ordinary acquaintance with the facts and characters of the revolution, it will be a gallery of etchings in fire, that he will never forget. The form of the work is essentially dramatic, and we had almost said pyrotechnic; characteristics which enable it fitly to represent this great drama of hell upon earth, that we trust is never to be repeated on the stage of human history.

It is divided into ten books, each covering a certain portion of the history, and each receiving its own peculiar title. The titles of the chapters form one of the first peculiarities that strikes the reader. As in most of Carlyle's works, each chapter has some quaint and unusual name, drawn not so much from the subject discussed in it, as from some stray epithet that has struck the writer's mind, or some favourite personage of whom he makes mention. It would, perhaps, be

difficult to find a more puzzling set of cross-readings, to one who had never read the book, than the headings of the chapters, just as they stand. What signification would he be likely to attach to Astræa Redux; Astræa Redux without Cash; Sound and Smoke; To Fly or not to Fly; No Sugar; Let us March; Do thy Duty; Mumbo Jumbo; Go down to; Grilled Herrings, &c. &c.?

The style is in keeping with the subject. It is a sort of French revolution in historical writing. To describe it accurately, we must resort to the Carlylese vocabulary, and coin new epithets and combinations corresponding with the new entity to be delineated. It is fire-flaming, fuliginous, leviathanic, as if a Titan were to write the war of the giants, with a pen plucked from the huge dragon-pinions of some winged megalosaurian. One of the great charms of the work, however, will be found in the style, when it has ceased to distract and repel. Its power, like Homer's, lies in its epithets. A single epithet will sometimes flash a whole volume of meaning on a life, or call up a character before the eye with all the vividness of an actual presence. In this our author stands unequalled in English literature, and the French revolution unequalled among his works. Any one, with the slightest knowledge of the history of this period, will recognize the cameo-finish of such epithets and sentences as the following: Louis, the well-beloved; Witch Dubarry; Loquacious Abbé Raynal; Abbé Maury, tough, dogmatic, long of wind; solid, Dutch-built Pétion; bristly, fox-haired Tallien; Lafayette, "heavy-laden hero of two worlds," &c. Mirabeau is "a fiery rough figure, with black boar's-head, Samson locks, shaggy beetle brows, rough-hewn, seamed, carbuncled face, like a tiger that has had the small-pox." Danton is "a huge brawny figure, through whose black brows, and rude flattened face, there looks a waste energy as of Hercules not yet furibund; a wild, amorphous Titan, with lion voice, and lungs of brass." Camille Desmoulins is "slight-built, with long curling locks, a face of dingy blackguardism, wondrously irradiated with genius, as if a Naphtha lamp burnt within it." Marat is "one squalidest, bleared mortal, redolent of soot and horse-drugs, whose bleared soul looks forth through a bleared, dull-acrid, wo-stricken face." Robespierre is "that anxious, slight, ineffectual-looking man, under thirty, in spectacles; his eye (were the glasses off) troubled, careful; with upturned face, snuffing dimly the uncertain future time; complexion of a multiplex atrabiliar colour, the final shade of which may be the pale sea-green." Charlotte Corday is "a stately Norman figure, of beautiful still countenance, emerging from her secluded stillness suddenly like a star; cruel-lovely, with half-angelic, half-demoniac splendour; to gleam for a moment, and in a moment

to be extinguished." Thus does he bring up these living, breathing, and speaking figures from the buried past, and daguerreotype them on his page.

This enumeration of epithets and descriptive sentences will show that the author has cast to the winds all the laws, written and unwritten, that have hitherto ruled the republic of letters. But it is often these very *splendida vitia* that give the book its strange power of fascination; enabling it to rivet the attention, like some gorgeous and absorbing pageant, until the pomp of its march has ended. There are passages that kindle and glow with the purest fire of poetry. Take, for example, the following description of the attempted escape of the royal family, in a manner that will call to mind the more successful effort recently made by His Holiness the Pope:—

"O Louis! and this all around thee is the great slumbering earth, (and overhead the great watchful heaven,) the slumbering wood of Bondy, where long-haired Childeric Donothing was struck through with iron; not unreasonably. These peaked stone-towers are Raincy; towers of wicked d'Orléans. All slumbers save the multiplex rustle of our new berline. Loose-skirted scarecrow of an herb-merchant, with his ass and early greens, toilsomely plodding, seems the only creature we meet. But right ahead the great north-east sends up evermore his gray brindled dawn; from dewy branch, birds here and there, with short deep warble, salute the coming sun. Stars fade out, and galaxies; street-lamps of the city of God. The universe, O my brothers, is flinging wide its portals for the levée of the GREAT HIGH KING. Thou, poor king Louis, farest, nevertheless, as mortals do, towards orient lands of Hope; and the Tuileries, with its levées, and France, and the earth itself, is but a larger kind of dog-hutch,—occasionally going rabid."

The procession of the States-General to the cathedral of Notre-Dame, and the death-scene of Mirabeau, are also specimens of this vivid pictorial delineation, but they are too long for quotation entire, and we will not break off a twig to describe a tree.

The objections to this work on literary grounds have already been indicated. It is not a history of the French revolution, but a series of illustrations, elucidating that history. And even when the author assumes the office of the plain annalist, like Gibbon, he rather suggests and implies what he has to say, than openly asserts it; and seems to be almost ashamed to be detected employing the language of simple, direct, and straight-forward narrative.

But we have an objection to urge against the book, of a higher and graver kind. There is in our author a disposition, which we are not unwilling to honour, that leads him to deal gently with those who have been most severely condemned at the bar of historic justice; and sometimes, with a most chivalrous magnanimity, to undertake the defence of the most desperate cases. Whether this be a feeling

of lofty benevolence, such as would stoop to the publican and sinner, to raise him up to a divine sonship; or a deep emotion of human brotherhood, that recognizes, in the most degraded outcast, the same lineage and paternity with ourselves; or only a certain pugnacious eccentricity and national wrong-headedness, that loves to defend what all have attacked; still, we cannot see this gifted spirit, in the exercise of it, exploring the lanes and alleys of human history; wiping the execration and contempt of accumulated years from some lowering visage, to show the lingering lines of something human and something divine, that lie beneath the bestial and the diabolic; and stooping down to imprint on the softening brow the kiss of fraternal forgiveness; without feeling, that if it be a weakness, it is often a noble and generous one; and if an extreme, yet one greatly to be preferred to its opposite. Thus, in noticing the death of "hapless, squalid Marat," and his brother's request that his musket might be given him, he exclaims: "for Marat too had a brother, and natural affections; and was wrapped once in swaddling-clothes, and slept safe in a cradle like the rest of us, ye children of men!" And of Robespierre he says: "O unhappiest advocate of Arras! wert thou worse than other advocates? Stricter man, according to his formula, to his credo and his cant, of probities, benevolences, pleasures-of-virtue, and such like, lived not in that age. A man fitted, in some luckier, settled age, to have become one of those incorruptible barren pattern-figures, and have had marble-tablets and funeral-sermons. His poor landlord, the cabinet-maker in the Rue Saint-Honore, loved him; his brother died for him. May God be merciful to him and to us!" With such feeling as this it is not difficult to sympathize.

But when we see this disposition lead Carlyle not only to pity the criminal, but apologize for the crime; when we see him not only admire what is noble and grand in the colossal spirits of that period, but fail to condemn what is wicked; we are forced to believe that the delicate perceptions of his moral nature have been deadened; that the quick and instinctive rejection of the unholy that marks a holy spirit has been weakened; and that he has fallen into the error, which no one has more bitterly condemned, of allowing the glare of great deeds to conceal the blackness of a depraved nature. When a man has reached that state of mind in which the work of ruin seems dearer than that of rescue; in which the crash of falling institutions, provided they are smitten down with the truncheon of a giant, or toppled over by the throes of an earthquake, is regarded with a grim and savage delight, rather than a stern sadness; and when there is such a sympathy with the mighty Iconoclasts of his-

tory, as to make their works of ruin atone for their deeds of crime; we are forced to suspect the purity of his love for the race, if not to infer a hidden vein of dark and misanthropic feeling, that thus rises to embitter the flow of his philanthropic emotions. Now, it is precisely this charge that we have to make against our author in this history. We quote in illustration his remarks on Mirabeau:—

"Moralities not a few must shrink condemnatory over this Mirabeau; the morality by which he could be judged has not yet got uttered in the speech of men. We will say this of him, again; that he is a reality, and no simulacrum; a living son of Nature, our general mother: not a hollow artifice, and mechanism of conventionalities, son of Nothing, *brother* to Nothing. Honour to the strong man, in these ages, who has shaken himself loose of shams, and is something. For in the way of being *worthy*, the first condition, surely, is that one *be*. Let cant cease, at all risks, and at all costs; till cant cease, nothing else can begin. Of human criminals, in these centuries, writes the moralist, I find but one unforgivable—the quack."

Is this the verdict that a Christian historian should pronounce on such a man?—a man gigantic, it is true, in his powers, but thereby only gigantic in his crimes; a slave to the most lawless sensuality in himself; a pander to it in others; a writer capable of correcting the vile tastes of a depraved people, yet searching the most sacred records with the prurient gusto of a carrion bird, to fish out the delicious bits of rottenness and garbage; a violator of almost every tie that binds man to man in human society; if not an atheist, at least a mocking blasphemer of everything holy; a friend of the people, who lived on a pension from the king; an actor on the stage of the revolution, whose whole life was histrionic, and whose ruling passion was vanity, the twin-sister of Cant; and a man, who, although the fate of France hung on the continuance of his life, was so much less a patriot than a debauchee, that he chose the fate of Alexander, and died the inglorious death of a bacchanal? And yet this is the man, who, because he is "Titanic," must have some "unuttered morality" by which to be judged. Such a morality we hope to be not only unuttered, but unutterable; we are content with the morality that was uttered amid the solemn voices of Sinai, and confirmed by the more solemn tones of Calvary, and of which not a jot or a tittle shall ever pass away.

Another, and more flagrant instance of this fault, is found in his reflections on the September massacres:—

"To shriek, we say, when certain things are acted, is proper and unavoidable. Nevertheless, articulate speech, and not shrieking, is the faculty of man: when speech is not yet possible, let there be, with the shortest delay, at least silence. Silence, accordingly, in this forty-fourth year of the business, and eighteen hundred and thirty-sixth of an 'Era called Christian, as *lucus à non*,' is a thing we recommend and practise. Nay, instead of shrieking more,

it were, perhaps, edifying to remark, on the other side, what a singular thing Customs (in Latin, *Mores*) are; and how fitly the Virtue, *Vir-tus*, Manhood, or Worth, that is in a man, is called his *Morality*, or *Customariness*. Fell Slaughter, one of the most authentic products of the Pit, you would say, once give it Customs, becomes War, with Laws of War; and is customary and moral enough; and red individuals carry the tools of it girt round their haunches, not without an air of pride,—which do thou in nowise blame. While, see! so long as it is but dressed in hodden, or russet; and Revolution, less frequent than War, has not yet got its Laws of Revolution, but the hodden or russet individuals are Uncustomary. O, shrieking, beloved brother blockheads of Mankind, let us close these wide mouths of ours; let us cease shrieking, and begin considering."

Is this the judgment of impartial history on these horrible scenes? When it is remembered that hundreds of men, women, and children, were deliberately, barbarously, needlessly murdered in cold blood, without a decent pretext for the cowardly assassination, our whole moral nature rises up instinctively in loathing and condemnation. A battle-field is a mournful and fearful sight; but yet the noblest feelings of human nature may there be displayed. The soldier that rushes into the dreadful *mêlée*, to strike home for his cause, risks his own life as the test of his sincerity, and may be nerved by a lofty love of the right and the true, as well as by that gentle and merciful feeling that scorns to inflict an injury on an unarmed and helpless foe; and, above all, on a woman or a child. But the cold assassin, who, not only without the semblance of law, but without either the stimulus or apology of danger, or even of hate, deliberately murders the unarmed, the inoffensive, and the helpless, who are clinging to his knees, and begging for mercy; who insults and mutilates the mangled remains of his victims; such a miscreant is a wretch, whose unutterable baseness no terms of execration can express. Yet precisely such were the actors in those scenes of September, which the author, with such unseemly levity, and even insinuated apology, attempts to gloze over. The man that can record such atrocious cruelty, and for a moment forget its cowardly malignity, must have his moral instincts, in this particular case, strangely in abeyance.

We would not, however, be understood as bringing this charge against all the representations of crime with which this history, of all others, must abound. It is only when the author's peculiar philosophy is allowed to warp the dictates of his better nature, that these errors are committed. His record of human madness and crime is often made with a pen that seems moistened with tears. And even when he relates these horrible and fantastic fooleries, with a sardonic mirth, we see a shuddering of sorrow mingled with his peals of laughter. We feel that he sometimes laughs at the follies of the

ruling nation, that he may not weep; and at other times we are reminded of a kind of remote sympathy, which is well-nigh presumption in an erring creature, with that most awful of all revelations of the Divine Justice, when it is declared, that "He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh; the Most High shall have them in derision." It is the scorn of vindicatory justice, not the mirth of heartless folly.

As a picture we deem this work unrivalled, in the fiery energy of its etchings, the deep tone of its colourings, and clear outline of its figures, as they seem to start out from the canvass in living distinctness. Even in the very hurly-burly of its style, rushing, dashing, and foaming along, it depicts the hot and maddening scene with wonderful fidelity.

The "Lectures on Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History," constitute the only remaining work of our author that claims attention. They were delivered in the month of May, 1840, before a very select audience, in London, and develop one of Carlyle's favourite doctrines,—the influence of great men in history. They present, we believe, a very fair specimen of his ordinary style in conversation, which, it is but fair to say, is very extraordinary. He first describes the great man, or hero, as Divinity. Defining worship (incorrectly, we think) as admiration without limit, he sees in Paganism but the early wonder of the young world, opening its eyes on the vast and beautiful around it; while "Canopus, shining down over the desert, with its blue, diamond brightness, pierced into the heart of the wild Ishmaelitish man, whom it was guiding through the solitary waste." He gazes back so lovingly on Odin, and the fantastic myths of the Scandinavian religion, that one would think he almost regretted that his lot had not been cast in these shadowy centuries, and on that "waste, chaotic battle-field of Frost and Fire," where these old Norse legends hang like the Aurora Borealis of the Past. He next marks the hero as Prophet, taking Mahomet as his instance; and as he does battle so earnestly for this "deep-hearted Son of the Wilderness, with his beaming black eyes, and open, silent, great soul; a rough, self-helping son of the wilderness; not pretending to be what he is not; in cloak and shoes of his own clouting; teaching, in his own way, Annihilation of Self;" we are ready to hear him conclude with the shout, "*Allah Akbar*—there is one God, and Mahomet is his Prophet." We certainly never expect to see a better apology for Islamism, from a head that wears a turban. He then contemplates the hero as Poet, in Dante, "deep, fierce as the central fire of the world;—embodying, musically, the Religion of the Middle Ages, the Religion of Modern Europe, its Inner life:" and Shakspeare, "wide, placid, far-seeing, as the sun,

the upper light of the world;—embodying for us the Outer Life of our Europe, as developed then, its chivalries, courtesies, humours, ambitions, what practical way of thinking, acting, looking at the world, men then had." His hero as Priest, (by an extension of the term, for which neither of his heroes would be specially grateful,) are, Luther, "a true Great Man; great, not as a hewn obelisk, but as an Alpine Mountain;—unsubduable granite, piercing far and wide into the Heavens;—yet in the clefts of it fountains, green, beautiful valleys with flowers;" and John Knox, whose stern and lofty career he traces with a deep and loving sympathy. His heroes as men of letters are, the rugged, amorphous Johnson; the inspired madman, Rousseau; and the peasant, Burns. His hero as King, he finds in Cromwell, of whom he has given so characteristic a memorial; and in Napoleon, of whom we have a similar mausoleum, as the fitting sequel to the "French Revolution."

It was objected to Cudworth's Intellectual System, that it stated the arguments in favour of Atheism so much more strongly than the refutations of them, that the book caused more skepticism than it cured. The same objection might be made to much of the discussion in this volume. The author so completely identifies himself with his hero, as to lose his own identity, and earnestly defends that which, in his next hero, perhaps, he as earnestly condemns.

Another objection to the work is, that, like some of his other writings, it confounds moral distinctions. No matter what a man's character may be, in other respects; what may be his motives, or the object to which his efforts are directed; if he be a man of force, earnestness, and sincerity, he is a hero, and, as such, kindles our author's admiration. Saul, exceedingly mad against the Church, deeming that he does God service, is, by this standard, as much to be admired and reverenced as Paul, the great Apostle of the Gentiles. Objective truth is to Carlyle less worthy than subjective truth, or sincerity; and rectitude of purpose a less noble thing than energy of will. He seems to be totally oblivious of the fact, that a man may be mighty only in wickedness; and have earnestness and energy only in advancing an error; and that there is a revealed and unerring standard of character and conduct, which does not teach that cant and insincerity are the deepest crimes, and earnestness, energy, and sincerity, the highest virtues; but which declares that the first and great commandment of the Law is, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart;" and that the second is like unto it, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" and that instead of hero-worship, its command is, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve."

Having thus briefly glanced at Mr. Carlyle's works, we are prepared to form a judgment concerning his opinions, claims, and influence as an author.

His philosophical opinions constitute the staple of his works. Whether they exist in a connected system in his own mind, we know not; at least, they are not found developed in that form in his writings. They appear as isolated sentiments, drawn mainly from the idealistic school of Germany; but, continually showing themselves in various forms and applications in his books, they may all be reduced to two distinct elements, viz.: the idea of man's individual self, and the idea of the Eternal and Divine,—the true idea of God. Or, to adopt the technical language of the Schools, the elements of his philosophy are, *the Me* and *the Absolute*. These two conceptions, he thinks, have been lost sight of, in their true relations, by the operation of the sensationalism of Locke, the expediency of Paley, and the utilitarianism of Bentham; and his object is to restore them, in their true relations, to the consciousness of the age. Regarding the external world as simply a world of *phenomena*, not having any absolute, independent reality, but simply a revelation of the Infinite to man, which man conceives under the forms of Time and Space; he regards these *phenomena* as simply the vesture assumed by the Unseen and Spiritual, that it may become visible to the finite; and hence his philosophy of clothes. Human history, human institutions, and human opinions, are the outward forms that have been assumed by the development of the Infinite in man, and are of no significance or value, unless they are informed by both these elements, the human and the Divine. Believing that the subjective element, the sense of a man's individual responsibility, agency, and power, was dying out of society; and that, instead of these springs of action, there was a growing reliance on outward arrangements, associations, and symbols; that the man was becoming swallowed up in the mass; the individual conscience in the voice of public opinion; he strives to awaken this element, not on grounds of expediency, but because of each man's relation to the Unseen and Eternal. Hence his doctrines of the sacredness of work; the importance of sincerity and earnestness; the awful solemnity of each man's position between two Eternities; and the unspeakable significance of Life.

The second element,—the idea of God, as the Absolute, Infinite, and Eternal,—he thinks but imperfectly apprehended. He applies it to religion, in his philosophy concerning miracles, inspiration, &c., precisely as he does to the external world, and to all human institutions. He annihilates nature, in the ordinary sense of the

term, as something separate from both God and man, and standing between them; and plants religion, morals, and politics, directly on the Unseen and Eternal. Hence his scornful denunciation of "the gospel according to Jeremy Bentham," and the whole theory of expediency; and hence, also, his invectives against the ordinary principles that govern politics and legislation.

Our limits will not permit us to trace the application of these two elements in detail, as we believe they exist in our author's mind, and are variously developed in his works. But they are the two elements that constitute the primary formations of his mind; and, like those of the earth, they have been born and consolidated in fire; and, like the enduring granite, are found lying below the deepest depths, and jutting out at the summit of the loftiest heights of his intellectual and moral nature.

For the same reason, we cannot discuss the scientific truth of these opinions, as they are held and taught by him, or express the grounds on which we dissent. But, whilst we differ from him, we believe that there was a great evil in the philosophy, politics, literature, and religion of the age, against which such a protest was needed. The objective, "the things that are seen," or, in the Scripture sense, "the world," had obtained an undue predominance, producing a shallow philosophy, a truckling morality, and a godless literature; and there was needed a strong and manly voice to assert the rights of man's eternal nature, and God's eternal law; and to show the full significance of those pregnant words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. vii, 31, last clause: "Παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. We do not believe that Mr. Carlyle has told us either the whole truth, or nothing but the truth, on this subject; but we do believe that he fully comprehends the error in view; and his powerful, and even extravagant, utterance of some neglected truths will have a most salutary effect.

There are, however, some theories in his works, from which we feel bound to enter our most emphatic dissent. The first of these is, his doctrine of hero-worship. In the various forms in which he repeats this doctrine, he seems to hold, that every earnest and heroic man is the highest possible revelation of God, and, as such, is to be regarded with the feelings of reverence which we are bound to entertain toward God; or, in the language of the Schools, "*the Absolute*" comes to its highest conscious development in "*the Me*," and challenges our worship. We cannot draw any other meaning from such language as the following: "The one use of all religion is to keep our Inner Light Shining." "All religion is to remind us of the quite *infinite* difference between a Good man and a Bad; to bid us

love infinitely the one, and avoid infinitely the other." "All religion issues in due Practical Hero-worship." "He that has a soul unasphyxied, will never want a religion." "Who knows how to reverence the Body of a man? It is the most reverend phenomenon under this sun. For the Highest God dwells visible in that mystic, unfathomable Visibility which calls itself 'I' on the earth. 'Bending before men,' says Novalis, 'is a reverence done to this Revelation in the Flesh. We touch Heaven when we lay our hand on a human Body.'" "I find Grand Lamaism itself to have a kind of truth in it. They have their belief, these poor Thibet people, that Providence sends down always an Incarnation of Himself into every generation. At bottom, belief that there is a Greatest Man; that he is discoverable; that, once discovered, we ought to treat him with an obedience that knows no bounds! This is the truth of Grand Lamaism, the error lies in 'the discoverability.'" "Worship of a Hero is transcendent admiration of a Great Man. I say great men are still admirable; I say there is, at bottom, nothing else admirable. No nobler feeling than this. Religion, I find to stand upon it. Hero-worship, is not that the germ of Christianity itself?" "We love, venerate, and bow down submissive before great men; nay, can we honestly bow down to anything else?" "No fact that ever dwelt honestly as true in the heart of man, but was an honest insight into God's truth on man's part." "Hero-worship, we represent as the basis of all possible good, religious or social, for mankind."

What does all this mean? Is it simply that we must admire and revere a great and good man when we see him? If so, it is a very circuitous and puzzling way of saying what no one will dispute. It were an insult to the author's understanding to suppose that this is his whole meaning. He evidently holds that the religious faculties of our nature find their legitimate and *only* employment in contemplating a great and heroic fellow-man; and that the feeling of a good Mussulman toward Mahomet, and of Boswell toward Johnson, is legitimate worship, the religious reverence of the soul for the Most High. The great man is, to smaller men, the symbol, the vicar of God, the incarnation of the Divine, to which they are bound to render homage and implicit obedience. And also, that this is the only and sufficient agency by which the world is to be regenerated.

Against this doctrine, in the name of our fallen nature, and in the name of the only living and true God, we enter our solemn protest, and denounce it as at once untrue and unholy; degrading to God, and dangerous to man. It is at variance with the cardinal fact of human history and human consciousness, that man is a fallen and

depraved being. It is at variance with all the teachings of the Bible concerning worship, and the different regard we must pay, not only in degree, but in kind, to God and man. It is at variance with all the divinely appointed means for the regeneration of the human heart, and the human race, and a dishonour to the work of the Eternal Spirit. If we must worship something besides the Triune God, better, with Thomas Taylor, return to the sublime dreamings of Paganism, than find our Deity among the Mahomets, the Rousseaus, and the Napoleons of our condemned and sinful race. Whilst, then, we believe that, in the mind of our author, this doctrine is associated with a deep reverence for God and his Word, owing to his peculiar philosophy, yet we believe, in itself, it is utterly subversive of all real homage or reverence toward either.

We have the same objection to his language on the general subject of religion. Take, for example, the following: "Work is worship. He that understands this well, understands the Prophecy of the whole Future; the last Evangel, which has included all others. Its Cathedral, the Dome of Immensity; its Altar, the Star-throne of the Eternal; its Litany and Psalmody, the noble acts of the valiant of the Sons of Men." "A sacred religion does live in the heart of that strange froth-ocean, not wholly froth, which we call Literature." "Rituals, Liturgies, Credos, Sinai Thunder; I know more or less the history of these,—the rise, progress, decline and fall of these. Can Thunder from all the thirty-two azimuths, repeated daily, for centuries of years, make God's laws more godlike to me? Brother, no. Perhaps I am grown to be a man now, and do not need the thunder and terror any longer. Perhaps I am above being frightened; perhaps it is not Fear, but Reverence alone, that shall now lead me."

This is either saying too little, or a great deal too much. If this language, and similar expressions elsewhere, are to be taken metaphorically, they are criminally strong, and calculated to mislead. If they are not, but meant in their literal sense, they are at once false and foolish; destructive of all difference between truth and falsehood; sweeping away, at one blow, not only the Church, but Christianity itself, in all its distinctive peculiarities; obliterating the authority of Scripture; and throwing a mist of vague uncertainty over the whole subject of religion, from whose curling wreaths every man's fancy may create its own particular object of reverence. Did this language come from an avowed skeptic, it would be hooted as ridiculous, or condemned as dangerous. But coming from one who has so much genuine religious emotion as Carlyle, it is doubly perilous; for many will ape the contortions of the Sybil, who lack

the inspiration; and, in rendering this worship of work, will perform the works of darkness, carnality, and ruin. Our salvation is not by work, but by the grace of God; "and if by grace, then it is no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace." The gospel that Paul preached, and the gospel that Carlyle preaches, are certainly different: and it is Paul himself who has said, that if even an angel from heaven preach another gospel, he should be accursed. Mr. Carlyle might, we apprehend, adopt the language of Festus:—

> "I am an Omnist, and believe in all
> Religions,—fragments of our golden world
> Yet to be relit in its place in Heaven—
> For all are relatively true or false,
> As evidence and earnest of the heart,
> To those who practise, or have faith in them.
> The absolutely true religion is
> In Heaven only, yea, in Deity."

This presents the precise point at which we are at issue with Mr. Carlyle, and a large class of modern thinkers; that the truth of Christianity is relative, rather than absolute; subjective, rather than objective; and that it differs from other forms of religious belief only in the possession of purer and better agencies for the accomplishment of this work. This opens a question on which we cannot touch at present, but which we hope to be able to discuss at length on some future occasion. We must, therefore, content ourselves with recording our dissent from this entire mode of thinking, as dangerous, because of the fragments of truth it contains, and pernicious, because of the serious error it involves; and our belief that its combination of half-truths and whole falsehoods, in weak and wicked minds, will constitute the most formidable development of unbelief with which the Church must contend.

His doctrine concerning miracles we apprehend to be, that there is either nothing like miracles, or nothing but miracles, according to the definition you adopt. Believing all exhibitions of power in the world of phenomena to be the manifestation of the Infinite Force, he regards all its exhibitions as precisely of the same nature and significance. If, then, you regard a miracle as a new sequence in the world of appearances, he denies the possibility of its occurrence; if you regard it as a sequence of the same nature, as to its antecedent, with every other manifestation of power, it possesses no more value. In any case, he sees no necessary connexion between the occurrence of such an exhibition, and the truth of any doctrine announced.

We will not charge our author with Pantheism, although we doubt

whether he holds the personality of Jehovah in the same terms with ourselves. But a very little reflection will show, that this view of miracles is only true on the Pantheistic hypothesis. We might concede his explanation of the nature of all power, and yet it would not follow, that an unusual manifestation of that power could not attest a divine commission to teach; unless all its manifestations were the developments of an impersonal unconscious Spirit, which reached its consciousness and personality only in that of man. It is undeniable that, to the popular mind the conviction is clear, that the man who attests his claim to teach, by exerting an authority plainly superhuman, is worthy of credence; for the Power that controls these exercises, if it be a conscious person, would not endorse the credentials of an impostor. It is also undeniable, that our Lord Jesus Christ did rest his Divine legation to teach precisely on this ground. We have not room to do more than refer to a few passages: Matt. ix, 5, 6; x, 7, 8; xi, 4, 5, 20; xii, 28; Acts ii, 22; &c. The weakening of this proof in any mind, we regard as very much to be deprecated.

We have the same objection to his doctrine concerning the Inspiration of the Scriptures. To us it amounts to a mere sliding-scale of authority, that varies with every man's views of truth and falsehood. When we ask, in what sense the writings of Paul possess an authority to control our faith or practice, which is not possessed by those of Goethe, we have no satisfactory reply. Indeed, he speaks in far higher terms of the latter than he ever does of the former. In this theory we find no clear, firm ground on which the mass of mankind may repose; no rule of belief and action, which can be grasped by those who need it most. We are at sea, with a thousand islands of cloud and mist floating around us, and we know not whither to steer. The human soul craves a Thus saith THE LORD, and not a Thus saith the gospel of Goethe. In such minds and hearts as those of Carlyle, Coleridge, and others of similar stamp, the error may be neutralized; but in the mass of mankind, the practical result of this theory will be infidelity, impiety, and confusion.

We have another objection to these writings. It is their vehement and savage invective against every existing institution, political and religious. This seems to be a sort of monomania with the gifted author. Men have become to him mere valets; formulas; grinning masks; sham heroes; stuffed clothes-suits; Dead Sea apes; Dilettantes; Flunkeys; Inanities; walking and talking after their brains are all out, and their souls have become mere *succedanea* for salt. All religion has died out, leaving mere empty mummeries; calabash prayings; gospel of Mammonism; windmill wor-

ship and cant. All nobleness, in word and act, has become extinct; and in its place there is nothing but *laissez-faire;* greatest amount of happiness; catch as catch can; and *sauve qui peut.* This strain of arrogant, contemptuous denunciation, runs through all our author's works, in some cases breaking out into a perfect frenzy.

We do not regard our age as at all perfect, but we do deem this strain of wholesale invective as nothing more or less than committing false witness against our neighbour. It is preposterous, and, we had almost said, slanderous, for any poor, fallible mortal to sit in judgment on the sincerity and rectitude of several hundred millions of his fellow-men, whom he has never seen, and condemn them *en masse.* Whatever defects may exist in the Church and the world, we challenge any man to exhibit an age in the world's history, when there were fewer defects to blame, and more facts for which to be grateful to God, than the age in which we live. The *laudator temporis acti* is an ancient character; but one whose querulous question, Wherefore "the former days were better than these?" receives only the cutting reply, "Thou inquirest not wisely concerning this."

With all our profound respect for Mr. Carlyle, we cannot, in reading the cynical flings he makes at his contemporaries, avoid being irresistibly reminded of the lugubrious exclamation of honest Jack Falstaff: "There live not three good men unhanged in England, and one of them is fat and grows old. A bad world, I say."

To those who are ignorant of the course of thought in many portions of the Christian world, within the last twenty-five years, it may excite some surprise, that, after the developments we have made, we are prepared to render the judgment which we are about to record. But those who know the history of religious opinion and philosophical speculation during that time, will not wonder when we say, that, although we condemn some of Carlyle's opinions, as false and dangerous, yet we hope that he still holds the essential truths of Christianity in his head, and rests upon them in his heart; and that, although his faith is mingled with vague and dreamy speculations, drawn from Pantheism, Heathenism, Mohammedanism, and German Rationalism, yet at heart he reposes on a Divine Saviour, a Sanctifying Spirit, and a revealed Word. He is the connecting link between the old-fashioned faith and the new-fashioned skepticism; or, to alter the figure, whilst the foundation of his belief rests on the Rock of Ages, the summit of it is lost in the cloudy region of German metaphysics.

When we come to consider his claims in a literary point of view, our decision is somewhat forestalled by the verdict of public opinion. It is too late to attempt to assign him a position among the

lights of the age; for he has already taken his position, and holds it by a right of tenure which will not be successfully disputed. He is universally recognized as one of the fixed stars in the galaxy of English literature. His position has been assumed under the combined action of a strong English mind, and the powerful impulse of German thinking. The resultant of these forces has been an orbit somewhat eccentric and cometary, but brilliant and vast. He never can become a popular writer; but, within a small circle, he must always be a powerful one. This power does not arise from any force of logic in his writings, for he rarely reasons, but from the sudden, self-luminous flashings of truth that he emits. He ejects the truth in some oracular utterance, which if you understand and receive, it is well; but if not, he is utterly indifferent; the loss lies with yourself, and not with him. Like the Sybil to Tarquin, there is but one offer of the oracles; their refusal is their total loss,—he flings them into the fire. Genius he has not so much as talent. He loves a great man more than he loves a great truth, and hence the biographical cast of his writings. He is not properly an original thinker, in the sense in which we apply that term to Foster, or Coleridge; although he is an original writer. There are few important thoughts in his works that may not be found elsewhere; whilst there are many expressions of thought that are entirely peculiar to himself. But we do not regard his merit as, on this account, the less conspicuous. The cunning workman, who fashions the massive ingots into forms of beauty and of use, is surely not less to be valued than the miner, who delves out the ore from the bowels of the earth. The work of Mr. Carlyle may be expressed in a single word; he is the interpreter of the idealistic philosophy of Germany to the English mind; moulded and petrified, as it has been, in the intellectual forms of Bacon, Locke, Paley, and Bentham.

When we come to the question of style, we feel not unlike the judges of Ho-Ti, in Elia's "Dissertation on Roast Pig," who had tasted "the crackling;" though we hope to avoid the malfeasance of these erudite men of the robe. We feel the fascination and power of this style, and hang over its fitful coruscations with delight, but still must pronounce upon it a sentence of the severest condemnation. We are not purists, nor disposed to condemn a man who has not the stately dulness of Addison, or the polished inanity of Blair; and we believe the attempt to fix a Procrustean bed of style, that some seem disposed to make, is as foolish as it will be vain. But it is for this very reason, in part, that we object to Mr. Carlyle's attempt to sew this German patch-work on his English style. That it is natural to him, in a certain sense, we believe, just as it is natural to

some men to stutter; but that any man, were it even Charles Lamb, whose wit it so often heightened, has a right to establish stuttering as an authorized style of speech, we utterly deny. That this style is not unavoidable, is proved by the pure, idiomatic English in which some of his earlier essays are written, portions of which are among the finest specimens of strong, clear Saxon, that the language affords. The style is evidently cultivated for its own sake, and is more strongly marked in every successive work.

We object to it, because no man has a right thus to adulterate his country's language, any more than his country's coin. The same reasons that require the observance of uniform principles in the one case exist in the other. Were this license granted to every writer, the language, in a few years, would become a chaos of unintelligible barbarisms, and the writings of one generation be in a dead language to the next. Such are the laws of the republic of letters; and we know of no decree, "*ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat*," that has been, or ought to be, enacted in this particular case.

We object to it again, because of the narrow sphere of influence to which it reduces his power. There are thousands of minds, whom his earnest spirit ought to reach and move, but cannot, owing to the quaint, obscure, and unintelligible form in which his burning thoughts are placed. The man who has the clear and glowing light that he possesses, has no right to put it into a lantern of stained and darkened glass; where one half of those who ought to enjoy its guiding rays, are misled by the fantastic figures of the medium of transmission; and the other half do not perceive them at all. There is no pure and truthful man of our age, whose writings have been more perverted to evil by skepticism and worldliness, than his: for the very reason that there are no writings more capable of misconception and misconstruction, owing to their abrupt and oracular style. We say, then, not only as a question of literature, but also of morals, "To him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin."

We object, also, because the German mode of thought and expression is totally foreign to all our habits of mind, and neither can nor ought to be fastened upon them. There is a style of thinking, speaking, and acting, that is peculiar to each nation—the outgrowth of its history and institutions, and inalienably its own. The pigtail, shaven crown, solemn genuflexions, and tactual salutations of noses, foreheads, and hands, practised by the Celestials, may be very interesting and imposing to the sons of the Flowery Land; but they would have a very farcical effect, if transferred to the streets of New-York, or the *salons* of Paris. So there are many things, that are

charming simplicity and exquisite wit to a German mind, that to an English taste are the sheerest drivelling and twattle. A single instance of this, among many others, must suffice to illustrate the objection. A witness in Lord Thurtell's trial, being asked what he meant by a man's being respectable, answered, that he kept a gig. This might do very well as an after-dinner joke; but Mr. Carlyle seizes it, and, in the form of gigmanity, gigness, gig-respectability, etc., drives this unfortunate gig through all his writings. There is not a work he has written, but in which, at some unexpected corner, you are met by this ubiquitous gig. This wearing of an epithet, or an illustration, to the very bones, is a puerility unworthy a mind so fertile as our author's, and yet it is one of the most marked characteristics of his style.

Our final judgment on his influence may be gathered from what we have already said. That he is one of the most earnest, reverent, and pure-hearted men of our times; one of the most finished scholars, especially in modern literature; one of the most powerful and effective writers in the circle where he acts, is beyond all question. That he has done philosophy a service, by translating its formulas into the acts of common life; and religion a service, by his manly avowal of religious emotion, and his scathing rebukes of irreligion and worldliness, is also gratefully acknowledged. But that he has serious error mingled with precious truth; and that he often states the truth, so that to many minds it has all the effect of error; is equally unquestionable. And that the fantastical and *outre* garb in which he often chooses to array his thoughts, has led many to mistake a hero for a harlequin, and the profoundest wisdom for the wildest nonsense, must also be mournfully admitted. But, balancing all these conflicting claims, and looking not only at his present, but his future influence, there are few prominent characters of our day, on whom as men, as writers, or as thinkers, we dwell with a fonder delight; and few, for whose life and writings, with all their cross-lights of half truth and error, we feel more grateful to God, than for those of Thomas Carlyle.

Art. V.—SPIRITUAL HEROES.

Spiritual Heroes; or, Sketches of the Puritans, their Character and Times. By John Stoughton. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1848.

Mr. Dodd has done the Church, more especially the younger disciples, a good service by his very neat republication of this volume. It is a series of sketches of character and incident in the annals of the Puritans, painted by a faithful hand, and with life-like interest. The materials have been taken, in part, from standard historical authorities, and partly from rare and curious tracts, from unpublished documents, and local tradition; and the whole relates to a period in the history of the Church, to which justice has not been done by the pen of the historian. The Puritans! traduced, vilified, persecuted, many of them martyred; and, after death, their names stigmatized by writers who credited the vilest calumny, and apparently gloried in spreading it upon the historic page. The Puritans! slowly even yet emerging from the clouds in which their characters were enveloped; we are thankful for this instalment, and hail it as another assurance that the debt of justice will yet be fully paid. For though, as Cowper indignantly has it,—

> "Their ashes flew,
> No marble tells us whither; with their names
> No bard embalms and sanctifies his song;
> And history, so warm on other themes,
> Is cold on this;"

yet,

> "Their dust and ruins that remain
> Are precious in our eyes;
> Those ruins shall be built again,
> And all that dust shall rise."

The first place among his "Spiritual Heroes" is given by our author to what he calls "the Islington Congregation." This was composed of some two hundred persons, mostly in humble circumstances; apprentices, small tradesmen, mechanics with their wives and daughters—despised among men, but God's true nobility. They were wont to worship in secret places; and Foxe relates some remarkable instances of their hair-breadth escapes from the hands of their persecutors. In the midst of their worship, on May-day, A. D. 1558, in an open field near Islington, they were broken in upon by a body of armed men, by whom they were taken before a justice, and twenty-two of them—the leaders of the little band—were sent to Newgate. Two of them died there; and of the remaining twenty, thirteen were

burned at the stake, and seven escaped with cruel scourging. The charges against them were, that they had neglected the Mass; that they denounced religious services in the Latin language; and had gone into the fields, in time of divine service, to read the word of God in their native tongue. They pleaded guilty to these charges, and, refusing to recant, were delivered over to the civil magistracy for execution. The hero of this little band was Roger Holland, a merchant tailor; who, on his examination, proved himself more than a match for the crafty Bonner. He admitted that, out of the Church, there is no salvation; but, to the confusion of his judges, he gave his own definition of the word Church. "Its antiquity," said he, "is not from Pope Nicholas or Pope Joan; but is from the beginning, even from the time that God said to Adam that the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head, and so to faithful Noah, and all the holy fathers that were from the beginning." He boldly denounced the Mass, as not being four hundred years old; and as to the worshipping of God in a foreign language, he referred his hearers to Paul's declaration that, in the Church, he had rather speak five words intelligibly to his hearers, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue. On the question of the real presence in the sacrament, Holland answered: "Your lordship saith, 'The same body which was born of the Virgin Mary, which was crucified upon the cross, which rose again the third day;' but you leave out, 'which ascended into heaven;' and the Scripture saith, 'He shall there remain until he come to judge the quick and the dead.' Then he is not contained under the forms of bread and wine." Turning then to his kinsmen and friends, who were present, he avouched his faith in the atoning blood of Christ, and called them to bear witness to his declaration that, as to the Mass, Transubstantiation, and the worshipping of the Sacrament, they were mere impiety and horrible idolatry. Then says our author:—

"When he had witnessed this good confession, the doom of the faithful martyr was sealed, and he, together with his six companions, was adjudged to death. The 27th of June was fixed for their execution. That morning crowds might be seen gathering in Smithfield, to gaze on a spectacle with which many of them had become familiar. In an open space, in the midst of that old enclosure, stood the murderous pile, with a due supply of fagots, surrounded by barriers and officers to keep off the concourse of the people. . . . Some officers of the Queen pass through the crowds, and, close to the stake, repeat a proclamation, forbidding any of the people, under pain of imprisonment, to speak a word to the forthcoming martyrs. A band of serious persons yonder, standing close together, listen to those words with deep emotion, as men who have come to sympathize with the sufferers, and are resolved that the expression of their sympathy shall not be enchained by this merciless edict. Prominently among them stands Master Bentham, their loved and honoured pastor—for they are no other than members of 'the congregation,' met to see their brethren die—to cheer them by their prayers, and to be themselves strengthened by examples of constancy."

The preparations of the bloody scene being made, the proclamation forbidding all sympathy with the sufferers is again read. A deep and awful silence prevails; but only for a few moments. Now the deep-toned voice of the mild but heroic Bentham is heard to the remotest bounds of the vast assembly: "God strengthen them! Almighty God, for Christ's sake, strengthen them!"

"The Queen's proclamation avails not: a murmur, deep, solemn, sublime, like the sound of many waters, rolls along the multitude, echoing, Amen, Amen, Amen! to the pastor's prayer. The officers were astounded and abashed, and the martyrs gathered strength. They lifted up their eyes to heaven as Roger Holland prayed, 'Lord, I most humbly thank thy majesty that thou hast called me from this state of death unto the light of thy heavenly word, and now into the fellowship of thy saints, that I may sing and say, Holy, holy, holy Lord God of Hosts. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Lord, bless these thy people, and save them from idolatry.'"

These were the last who suffered at Smithfield. The days of Popish ascendency were drawing to a close; and in a few months, namely, on the 17th of November, 1558, the Bloody Mary was succeeded by Elizabeth. With great enthusiasm did the Protestants hail her accession to the throne; but her first acts left it doubtful which side of the great controversy she would espouse. At the first Parliament after her accession, however, the power of the Pope was abrogated in England, the Queen was constituted supreme governor in all ecclesiastical matters, with power to suppress heresy; and an act of uniformity in religious worship was passed. This act prescribed the celebration of the Romish festivals, a pompous ritual, and other relics of the Papal superstition. Her Majesty looked with complacency on images, crucifixes, and lighted tapers; and they who were conscientiously opposed to such mummery—the Puritans, as they were contemptuously called—soon found that they had, in reality, gained little by the death of Mary. Nor were these men, as is even now sometimes asserted, a few ignorant fanatics. They were the bone and sinew of Protestantism. Several of the Bishops, Jewell among the rest, "lamented the continuance of the scenic apparatus of worship, as if the Christian religion could not exist without something tawdry;" but the royal Charioteer of the Church, as she has been called, held them in with a strong curb, and was as zealous for "things tawdry" as her predecessor had been for the Mass and the doctrine of the real presence. "Then began in England," says Sir James Mackintosh, "the persecution of Protestants by their fellow-dissenters from the Church of Rome," and on the gibbets of Elizabeth were executed many, of whom the world was not worthy, who dared to die for conscience' sake. Eloquently on this point does our author write:—

"Such were the men who had to drink so deeply of the cup of suffering, and whose unrighteous fate has left such a dark cloud over the so-called 'golden days of good Queen Bess.' The imagination of our youth has often been dazzled with the story of her fame abroad and her power at home. We have followed, with a kind of boyish glee, her brilliant progresses from town to town, and from hall to hall; we have witnessed, with merry hearts, the gorgeous processions, the quaint pageants, the profuse entertainments, and the picturesque scenes at Kenilworth and elsewhere; but a larger acquaintance with her history has since thrown far different associations around the name of the Virgin Queen, and revealed to us many a noble-minded man, and ornament of her realm, arraigned before the High Court of Commission, and dragged to prison, because his conscience was not so supple as to bend under every touch of her ecclesiastical supremacy. We can never forget that Elizabeth was a persecutor. The recollection haunts every brilliant scene in the annals of her reign, and throws its shadow over her most golden days. But the moral glory that encircles the sufferers for conscience' sake is as bright, as the disgrace which covers the oppressor is dark. The stern moral grandeur of the Puritans illuminates the sixteenth century with a solemn light which excites awe, while it inspires admiration."

One Sunday morning, fifty-six of these Nonconformists, who had met for religious worship where it might be conducted with simplicity, and without the external trappings of Popery, were arrested, and sent in couples to the jails in London, where others had already preceded them, and multitudes followed after. Some were confined thus for years, laden with heavy irons, beaten with cudgels, dying of the pestilence; and among them aged men, widows, and young maidens. Two, Barrame and Greenwood, were brought forth, and doomed to die as examples; and with the refinement of barbarity, having been twice reprieved under the gallows, were hung at Tyburn. After their execution, the Queen asked Dr. Reynolds what he thought of those two men. He hesitated to answer; but she charged him, on his allegiance, to speak. He replied that he was persuaded, if they had lived, they would have been two as worthy instruments for the Church of God as have been raised up in this age. Whereupon, it is said, Elizabeth sighed; and a keener pang must have been hers, when, in answer to an inquiry as to what end they made, she was told, "A very godly end, and prayed for your Majesty and the State."

Another heroic victim, a man of great learning, and of popular talents, JOHN PENRY, was charged with sedition, apprehended, and cast into prison, whence he issued a most affecting epistle "to the distressed faithful congregation of Christ in London, and all the members thereof, whether in bonds or at liberty." He declares therein his readiness to die, and that even if he might live on earth to the days of Methuselah, twice told, and that in no less comfort than Peter, James, and John were in the mount, and, after this life, might be sure of the kingdom of heaven, that yet, to gain all this, he durst not swerve from his former testimony. He then commends

to their care his "poor and desolate widow" and his "friendless orphans;" and bids them an affectionate farewell. He was informed, at dinner, that he must die before night, and, ere sunset, was hung like a felon. And why should not, asks our author,—

"Why should not Penry and his martyred compeers be put into the same list with our Latimers and our Cyprians? What matters it whether the sufferer died on the gallows, or at the stake, or under the headsman's sword? And is it enough to divorce their names, that one died for the truth of his religion, in opposition to the falsehoods of Paganism; another for the reasonableness of his religion, in opposition to the absurd mysteries of Popery; and a third for the spirituality of his religion, in opposition to the formalism and secularity of the age? I believe all these sufferers have long since clasped hands before the throne of God. With kindred feelings I first stand and gaze on the field near Carthage, where, amid a vast concourse of people, the African Bishop bows his head and dies. I then visit the spot in Oxford, where the Protestant prelates suffered amid the taunts of their enemies and the sympathy of their friends—poor Cranmer, from his prison window, watching them to the stake. And, finally, I walk through St. George's-in-the-fields, to gaze on the Nonconformist martyrs, as they reach Tyburn; and in these and such like men, I recognize true Spiritual Heroes, supported in their conflict by the Saviour's presence, and exhibiting the noblest development of the moral sublime that earth can offer, or Heaven look down upon."

Our author's next portraiture of Spiritual Heroes is taken from the "Pilgrim Fathers;" and he traces the fulfilment of King James' threat:—"I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land"—from its utterance, to the landing of these brave men and women on the barren rocks of New-England. The story is familiar, belonging, as it does, to the heroic age of America; and, in the pages before us, we find little that is new to readers on this side of the ocean.

Successively we are presented with a brief sketch of that Puritan worthy, HENRY JACOB, author of a work "on Toleration," published in the year 1609, and the founder of an Independent Church in London, seven years afterward; the brave LORD BROOKE, from whose memory the aspersions of his enemies are wiped away by the hand of truth; the WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY, relative to which our author has gleaned some facts and incidents overlooked by historians, and of great interest. To these succeed chapters entitled, "*Oxford under Owen*," and "*East Anglican Churches;*" the motto for which latter is in the words of Burke: "To attend to the neglected, and to remember the forgotten." How well our author has done this, the reader will see from a perusal of his pages. We pass to a brief analysis of his chapter entitled "*Black Bartholomew.*"

The accession of the Second Charles to the throne of England was hailed by the Royalist party with delirious joy. By bells, bonfires, and cannon was the event celebrated throughout the realm; but the worst fears of the Nonconformists were more than realized, although

the gay monarch had promised to take the word of God for the government of his conduct, and had given his royal pledge to respect the rights of conscience. At the assembling of the two houses of convocation, the majority decided that Episcopal ordination was essential, and that all who would not consent thereto should be ejected from their livings. They added, also, to the Prayer-Book several alterations, apparently for no other purpose than to exasperate the Puritans. They increased the number of Saints' days, and added the story of Bel and the Dragon to the lessons appointed to be read in the Churches. The parliament soon after confirmed all their doings, and passed the act of uniformity, which the merry monarch readily signed. This act required from all clergymen full assent to everything contained in the Book of Prayer, and a repudiation of the solemn league and covenant. The penalty of noncompliance was summary ejection from their livings; and the feast of St. Bartholomew, August 24, 1662, was fixed upon as the day for carrying the act into effect.

"The parsonages, in many parts of England, as the corn was ripening, in the summer of 1662, must have been the scenes of many memorable struggles between conscience and care, faith and feeling. Good men were reduced to a sad dilemma. . . . They were husbands, they were fathers: they had their quiet studies, and they saw their families in comfort—their wives sitting in the snug parlour of the rectory, their children sporting in the garden or over the glebe. To leave these tranquil homes, to exchange them for abject poverty—here was a trial of faith, more easily talked of than thoroughly realized. . . . Perhaps the reader sees one of them in his study, revolving the whole subject, examining the Prayer-Book, pondering its objectionable sentences, and writing down his reasons for dissent. Perchance a wife and a mother, who is honouring this volume by her perusal, may, with all the vividness of a woman's imagination, picture to herself the country rector, and the beloved companion of his cares, sitting at eventide by the window, round which the honeysuckle and the rose are entwining their buds and shedding their fragrance, first looking at the garden, which *she* has cultivated with her own hands, and the Church, peeping above the trees, where *he* has laboured for many a year, and then gazing on each other with tears as they discuss the point, 'We must conform, or leave all this next August.'" Pp. 220, 221.

And why should they not conform? Ease, honour, and the privilege of being useful by preaching the Gospel, were in the one scale; in the other, contempt, poverty, silence. For many, indeed, the temptation was too strong; and they did conform, retained their livings, and died in obscurity: Conservatives they would have been called in our day—men of pliant consciences; Prelatists under Charles: Presbyterians in the days of the Parliament; Independents during the Protectorate; and now, why not zealous Episcopalians, and devotees of the Book of Common Prayer? But there were men of another stamp also—obstinate fanatics they were deemed, radicals—who, with

their eyes open, chose rather poverty, reproach, yea, imprisonment, and in some instances death itself. Precious men! fanatics and fools then; heroes now, upon whose conduct the world looks back with admiration, and every friend of the rights of conscience embalms their memories in his heart.

The learned Dr. BATES was one of the men thus ejected on "Black Bartholomew." In his farewell sermon to his little flock—the whole of which is remarkable for its simple dignity—he says: "You expect I shall say something as to my nonconformity; I shall only say thus much: it is neither fancy, faction, or humour that makes me not to comply; but merely for fear of offending God. And if, after the best means used for my illumination, as prayer to God, discourse, or study, I am not able to be satisfied concerning the lawfulness of what is required, if it be my unhappiness to be in error, surely men will have no reason to be angry with me in this world, and I hope God will pardon me in the next." "Brethren," said Mr. LYE, on a similar occasion, "I know they will tell you this is pride or peevishness in us; that we are tender of our reputation, and would fain all be Bishops; but the Lord be witness between them and us in this. I am very sensible of what it is to be reduced to a morsel of bread. Let the God of heaven and earth do what he will with me, if I could have subscribed with a good conscience I would: I would do anything to keep myself in the work of God; but to sin against God, I dare not." Mr. ATKIN—to quote one more specimen from the sermons of these ejected ministers—says: "Let him never be accounted a sound Christian that does not fear God and honour the King. I beg that you will not interpret our nonconformity to be an act of disloyalty. We will do anything for His Majesty but sin. We will hazard anything for him but our souls. We hope we could die for him, only we dare not be damned for him. We make no question, however we may be accounted of here, we shall be found loyal and obedient subjects at our appearance before God's tribunal."

In many respects these Nonconformists were treated with greater cruelty than had been exercised toward the Popish priests in the reign of Elizabeth, or toward the Episcopal clergy under Cromwell. Some provision was made for the necessities of the former; and for the latter, when dismissed from their livings, a fifth of their former incomes was reserved; while those who were ejected by this act of uniformity were totally uncared for, and many of them (the whole number amounted to about two thousand) were reduced to absolute poverty. Nor was this all. Their personal liberty and their lives were in jeopardy. It was made criminal for them to preach the gospel anywhere; and even to be found praying with a few of their

old parishioners was a crime for which they might be rudely dragged before a bigoted magistracy and imprisoned. It was enacted,—nor was the act a dead letter,—that if more than five persons were found assembled for the worship of God anywhere save in the established churches, they should be punished by fine or imprisonment; and on a repetition of the offence, they were liable to transportation for seven years. But they met, and prayed, even as Daniel when he knew that the writing was signed; they preached to their little flocks in cellars, in caves, in the forests, and even from the grated windows of their dungeons they proclaimed the unsearchable riches of Christ. Ministers and people continually risked imprisonment and banishment, and took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, knowing that they had in heaven a better and an enduring substance. Their moral heroism astounded their bitterest enemies, and Pepys, a bigoted high churchman, writes in his journal, under date of 1664: "I saw several poor creatures carried by constables for being at a conventicle. They go like lambs, without any resistance; and would to God they would either conform, or be more wise, and not be catched."

But the next year, 1665, vacant pulpits were plenty throughout the realm; and the persecuted Nonconformists had ample opportunities to preach, unmolested, the word of God. It was the terrible *Plague Year;* a year of visitation from the Almighty scarcely exceeded, if equalled in severity, since the days of the Pharaohs. In the month of September the weekly average of deaths in the city of London exceeded ten thousand; on one night it is said four thousand died. Suddenly,—in many cases with scarcely any warning at all,—the victims were smitten down. Many fell dead in the streets; others had time merely to go home and die. The mass of the population regarded the calamity in the light of a judgment from heaven, and multitudes readily welcomed religious instruction by whomsoever communicated. The pulpits were vacated by many of the established clergy, who sought safety by flight; and opportunities of usefulness were afforded to the ejected Puritans, of which they readily availed themselves.

Thomas Vincent, author of a work called, "God's Terrible Voice in the City," was one of the most laborious of this band of worthies. Every day he visited the sick and the dying from house to house; and on every Sabbath he preached to crowded congregations in some parish church. It is said that many persons were awakened by every sermon. In the volume above referred to he states, with admirable simplicity, the reasons by which he and his co-labourers were influenced in thus violating the laws of the land:—"Perceiving

the churches to be open, and pulpits to be open, we judged that the law of God and nature did now dispense with, yea, command us to preach, though the law of man did forbid." He continues:— "Surely if there had been a law that none should practise physic but such as were licensed by the College of Physicians, and most of those, when there was the greatest need of them, should in time of the plague have retired into the country, and other physicians, who had as good skill, and no license, should have stayed among the sick, none would have judged it to have been breach of law, to endeavour by their practice to save the lives of those who, by good care and physic, were capable of a cure." He then argues from the less to the greater, and concludes that the duty of ministers, with reference to the souls of the people, was infinitely greater and more imperative than that of physicians toward the body, in the case supposed.

We have the testimony of RICHARD BAXTER as to the extent and the success of these labours of love. He says: "Abundance were converted from their carelessness, impenitency, and youthful lusts and vanities; and religion took such a hold on many hearts as could never afterward be loosed." Many instances are recorded of the wonderful preservation of those who thus fearlessly ministered the word of life in those terrible days, when the pestilence walked in darkness, and destruction wasted at noonday. Literally, at the side of Vincent, and Clarkson, and Cradock, and Terry, a thousand fell, and ten thousand at their right hand; but it came not nigh them. They were faithful, and God took care of them.

But the destroying angel was stayed in his career. The plague ceased, and men returned to their wonted employments. The beneficed clergy reascended their pulpits, and for a little season the Puritans were unmolested. The king even issued licenses for houses in which they might worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. But the calm was of short duration. Charles, urged on by the bishops, recalled the licenses, and appeared determined to follow the hint thrown out by a high churchman in his sermon before the House of Commons. The Nonconformists, said he, can be cured only by vengeance; and the best way is to set fire to the fagot, and teach these obstinate people by scourges or scorpions, and open their eyes with gall. Immense tribes of spies and informers were employed by the court to ferret them out. The estates of the rich were seized, the persons of the ministers were incarcerated, confiscation, scourging, imprisonment, and death on the gibbet, and at the stake, were again the order of the day. Jeremy White's list of Dissenting Sufferers contained the names of sixty thousand persons, five thousand

of whom died in prison.* Memorable instances of zeal and heroic endurance, male and female, are recorded in the volume before us, to which we refer our readers, in the confidence that a perusal of its pages cannot fail to increase their admiration for the character of these SPIRITUAL HEROES, and to strengthen their faith in the GOD OF THE PURITANS.

ART. VI.—THE PHILOSOPHICAL STUDY OF LANGUAGE.†

Les langues sont le miroir de l'entendement; et les nations qui cherchent à cultiver leur entendement, s'appliquent en même temps à la perfection de leur langue.

LEIBNITZ.

THE theme proposed in our title bears, especially in English literature, the reputation of being anything but inviting to popular attention. Does the cause pertain to the nature of the study itself, or to the ordinary and English manner of treating it?

There is an inveterate assumption, more or less common, indeed, to all countries, that to treat any subject whatever *philosophically,* is to place it beyond the interest or comprehension of the many. This we think to be a prejudice, shallow and supercilious, inherited from those pedantic times when memory passed for intellect, and erudition for philosophy, and the people, without the means of exercising the one or acquiring the other, were deemed incapable of all rational, or at least of systematical, thought. But they too are at length arrived at an age when, if a new mythology were possible, Reason, rather than Memory, would be made the mother of the Muses. The truth is, that System has (and from very adequate causes) a particular attraction for the undisciplined understanding. Where arrangement is defective or entirely wanting, the trained intellect may supply, from its own resources, the bond of unity which is indispensable to every act of comprehension. Whereas the mind which is itself unfurnished with general principles, can receive but passively whatever is offered

* Neale, iv, 554.

[† It will be remembered that the scope of our journal, as stated in the number for October, 1848, embraces the subject of Philology. We now present the first of three papers on that topic, and assure our readers that they will find it treated with great ability and originality in these articles. We differ entirely from the writer in many of his views, and do not deem his style the best possible for popular reading: but his speculations deserve attention, notwithstanding, from all who are interested not merely in questions of philology, but of the human mind in general. With respect to his style, too, we may add, that his deviations from common usage are introduced deliberately, and as part of his system.—ED.]

to it in a crude, unorganized condition—rejecting it, if the matter be solid, with a consequent loathing for all food of the like nutritious description; or, if of the sort called "light reading," passing it off undigested, with a voracity at once insatiable and emaciating.

Arrangement then, or Theory, has always been the real want, and even the latent wish, of the popular intellect.—It requires co-ordination; it desires simplicity among its body of facts, whether large or small. But this is what we conceive to be the very nature and end of philosophy. And, paradoxical though it seem, perhaps philosophers fail of this end less frequently, by being (according to the vulgar censure) too theoretical, too general, than by not being general enough; that is to say, by not bringing their principles into sufficiently explicit relation with the common sentiments and notions of the people,—sentiments and notions which in reality form the most general, and therefore the fundamental, elements of all human knowledge and science, however elevated or abstract. For whatever philosophy can teach us, that is sound and useful, rests at bottom upon facts no less familiar to the multitude than to the sage. Their principles are, and must be, substantially the same: their spheres of knowledge are necessarily concentric; all the radii possible are consequently common to both; the difference lies merely in the relative amplitude of the area.

Were the elucidation of this great central and light-giving truth the sole fruit of the following pages—instead of merely resulting, among several others, incidentally, from the course of remark—our humble labours would be deemed amply recompensed. We mention it here, however, to evince that language, in this its *philosophic* quality of living record or representation of whatsoever our species have felt and thought in common, ought to be, of all subjects, the best fitted to interest the popular reader—*if only treated with a sound and suitable method.* That it has not been so treated is, therefore, a very warrantable inference from the prevalence of the prejudice we combat. To establish this inference positively, to expose the error or insufficiency of the prevailing modes of philological research, and then to supply the conditions of a method truly scientific—such are the leading objects of the proposed dissertation.

It will be divided into three numbers, of nearly equal compass; of which the *first* will treat of the misapprehension, both general and local, respecting the nature and importance of the subject. After characterizing the science in its principles, it will be expedient to note some of the philosophical applications of which it is capable in almost every department of human interest or inquiry: omitting, however, those arts, such as Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, in respect

of which the value of philology has been always recognized, although very inadequately conceived. In view of the merely English reader, —(a denomination under which we beg to be understood throughout as including the American,) in whom the prejudice in question seems to have taken deepest and widest root, as indeed it has been chiefly propagated by English writers—it may be well to add something also of its authors and occasion; the history of an error being often its most effectual corrective.

The *second* paper will expose what may be termed the *speculative* prejudice: we mean the aversion avowed (ostentatiously, even) by most English philologists, to all speculation of a scientific nature concerning the origin and theory of language. This appears to proceed no longer from the old but respectable reverence for supposed Scriptural tradition; it is owing rather to a deference, no less blind, and much more unworthy, to German authority. It will therefore be best examined in the German example, which will accordingly be considered in this paper, in its general character and results.

Our *third* and final essay will prosecute the examination more directly, and point out the defects, philological and logical, which seem to us to beset, fatally, even the most forward inquirers of the age, the Germans especially; concluding with some indications of a different theory both of doctrine and of method.

First Paper.

Man, it has been somewhere said, is the creature of words; and the expression seems to be literally exact, if duly understood of whatever distinguishes him from the mere animal. By language alone are we enabled not merely to communicate, but also to remember, or even conceive, that portion at least of our ideas termed Abstract *and* General. But without general ideas, the simplest act of reasoning would be strictly impossible. Thus much appears to be true universally, be the subject of thought what it may, physical or metaphysical. But in the sciences assigned to the latter category, pure or mixed; in Logic, Ethics, Jurisprudence, &c., which are creations of the mind, and composed (for the greater part, certainly, some say, wholly) of general and abstract notions—in all such inquiries, language, it is evident, is not only the "grand instrument of thought,"* and "an analytic method,"† but is moreover the object whereupon the Thought and the Method are employed.

Yet it is matter less of surprise perhaps than regret, that men should so imperfectly appreciate and improve this best security (as

* Dugald Stewart. † Condillac.

it has been the beneficent source) of society, civilization, and science, successively. We commonly remain blind to our greatest blessings. Habit blunts the attention, especially to things, like language, of spontaneous or early acquisition and universal enjoyment. What is learned ordinarily without effort, is supposed to involve no mysteries. What has been in use immemorially, and with all mankind, can have no new properties to reveal, no defects to reform.

Besides, there is a species of prejudice against philological dissertation with respect to at least the grammatical aspect of the subject—however it may be with the logical and rhetorical. It is supposed to be employed upon small things, and therefore incapable of literary interest. But in truth it is neither, as we hope to show, and has come to be so regarded only from being habitually treated in a small way. As Quinctilian said, (alleging, in reply to a like objection, the examples, among others, of Cæsar and Messala, who wrote treatises, the one upon Words, and the other upon the Alphabet)—Non obstant hæ disciplinæ per illas euntibus, sed *circa illas hærentibus.*

We are, therefore, disposed to fear more from another prepossession, already alluded to, which now remains almost peculiar, we believe, to the English reader; namely, the notion that all investigation of the nature of words or language, is essentially frivolous, if not positively mischievous. This lingering prejudice, the result of an extreme reaction against the scholastic spirit, has now disappeared entirely from the continent of Europe; where, indeed, though chiefly there originated under the auspices of Des Cartes, it ever struck but feeble root. The schoolmen, no doubt, abused the arts of dialectics and definition; or rather misused them; for the fair truth is, that these acutest of intellects brought those arts themselves to an instrumental refinement, which the modern progress of philosophy and science is not a little indebted to, and only erred in too often employing them upon subjects without reality, or for purposes without result. In consequence, however, of this misapplication, all formality in reasoning came to be decried as insidious sophistry; all nicety of verbal distinction to be stigmatized as trifling or pedantic subtlety. The just authority of the two philosophers* who have given currency to the crusade in Great Britain,† has been abused, in turn, to implant in the public mind, and, to a degree, in the language itself, a pernicious and unnatural antagonism between Logic and Truth, between Things and Words.

*Bacon and Locke.

† Where, besides hostility to the philosophy of Aristotle, it was, perhaps, animated by hatred of the theology of Rome.

Not, however, that we are without publications on the subject of language from the British press; and the number yearly increases. But while often of much irregular ability, their scope is partial and their object merely practical or preparatory. And even to this subordinate degree of interest, it required the successful talent* of Horne Tooke to stimulate the public mind. But beyond etymology, all scientific cultivation of philology seems to remain, to this day, under the anti-scholastic ban. Could we suppose this absurd confusion of the use with the abuse not merely of the same thing, but of things essentially different, to be an error of merely the literary vulgar, it might be left with their intellectual betters, who in fact communicated, also to correct it. But when English philosophers are still heard descanting upon the glory of Bacon in having superseded the Syllogistic philosophy by the inductive method—(the former of which they conceive to be the promotion of delusion by the exclusive study of *words*, and the latter the discovery of truth by the direct inspection of *things*)—it seems to us that a prejudice so obstinately perverse, cannot be denuded too repeatedly or too roughly of the great names which have been assumed, we think unfairly, as its main support.

It is due then as well to Bacon as to truth, to protest that he regarded neither of those methods in this absurd or exclusive light. He well knew that, on the contrary, they were mutually complementary in every complete process of investigation. And, moreover, he neither superseded the Syllogistic logic, for it flourishes still;† nor is he the inventor of its pretended rival, the Inductive. He was unable to deny that Aristotle had promulgated the theory of induction also; less systematically, indeed, but no less distinctly, than that of the syllogism: nay, more, that he had reduced it to practice, however imperfectly, in his Natural History. Further, Bacon recognizes that an earlier still than Aristotle—even his preceptor, Plato—affords specimens of almost perfect induction in his immortal Dialogues; discourses, it is to our purpose to note, which are mostly inquiries into the *meaning of words*. It appears therefore that this contempt (which might be characterized as *Anglo-Saxon*) for the verbal philosophy, can derive at best but equivocal countenance from Bacon. His followers, in fact, have wrought the mischief, by

* Or perhaps we should rather say, his *tact;* for, as is worth observing, this shrewd appreciator of his countrymen, instead of relying upon the merits, at once solid and startling, of his book, proclaims pathetically, that it was written only to rescue his life from the peril of "two prepositions and a conjunction." The life of a "freeborn Englishman," involved in the meaning of a particle! What more cogent argument for the importance of etymology?

† The Treatise of Archbishop Whately has passed through many editions.

seizing—it is all that followers generally do or can seize—upon a few extravagances of his reformatory zeal, wherewith to garnish their own spare speculations, and foist them upon the public, (who commonly take such things at second hand,) under the purloined patronage of his thus calumniated name.

It is humbling to intellectual pride to be unable to except from this anti-Aristotle illusion, the profoundest of Bacon's followers and the sincerest of philosophers. So extreme was Locke's aversion to the Syllogistic logic, that he began his book (as he tells us) under the belief that no consideration whatever of language or words would be requisite to his analysis of the operations of the understanding. Soon, however, this sagacious and honest thinker became convinced that he was omitting the part of Hamlet; and he characteristically recanted by admission as well as by act. It is well known that a fourth part (and it is justly esteemed the best) of his memorable Essay is devoted expressly to Language; which he came to consider as not merely an instrument of thought, but as also constituting the essence of far the largest and most important description of "things." The reader will remember, or should refer to, Locke's account of "nominal essences" and "mixed modes."* Still, not satisfied, it would seem, with the extent of importance thus compulsorily assigned it, he intimates at the close, that the study of words has more to do with the progress of general science than had been yet imagined. And were it permitted this great man, so far in advance of his age, to revisit us now, and review his own book, we have no doubt he would be foremost to subscribe to the paradox of Horne Tooke—that the inestimable services of that book to philosophy are chiefly due to its being in reality a treatise on words;—even at the risk of thus acknowledging himself to have been very much in the *naïve* predicament of Molière's personage—merely analyzing *language*, while he supposed himself operating upon *mind*.

The reader will not understand us as implying entire approval of even the maturest views of Locke respecting the nature, and still less the origin of language; we shall, in fact, confute them in the sequel. Our purpose has been only to remark how erroneously his authority, as well as that of his still more illustrious predecessor, has been used to prejudice the English mind, concerning the real importance of philology towards the advancement of human knowledge, whether as a means of investigation, or an organ of method. This special obstacle being thus deprived of its chief support, we now proceed, more positively, to point out (in accordance with the profound surmise of Locke) a few of the general applications which

* See, particularly, Book ii, ch. xxxii, sec. 12.

our subject is capable of, in reference to the former of those purposes, that is, in its etymological aspect. Its scientific efficacy will be the object of the subsequent divisions.

We begin with the region of speculative research comprised under, or rather marked off by, the title of *Metaphysics*, as that wherein the co-operation of language seems to be the most intimate. That the genealogy of words is, in fact, an effective, and, indeed, indispensable instrument in investigations of this order, probably no one at the present day will dispute. The only doubt relates to the true nature and exact extent of the agency. This may be conceived, in a general way, by aid of a single reflection, not beyond the competency of most minds, namely: that it can be only through the history of words we come to know the origin and nature of our ideas, to trace their several kinds, their mutual relations, and various modes of composition and connexion. And this, not merely because language is manifestly the sole record of the early condition and gradual evolution of all our mental history; but principally, perhaps, because it affords the only possible means of submitting the actual operations of the mind to its own observation. For without a material medium whereby they are thus objectively transfixed, so to speak, in the structure of speech, the very idea of all philosophy of mind,—that is, of the mental faculties *directly investigating themselves*,—is a chimera hardly so fit to obtain in mechanics as in metaphysics. In short, think what we may, or can, of the celebrated distinction of Leibnitz, that the understanding itself does not enter by the senses, it will be no less certain that all our real *knowledge of it* is, and ever will be, accessible by no other merely natural way. But, further: this mental or logical science being necessarily both instrument and criterion of all our other acquisitions, the importance towards its direct cultivation, of the historical analysis of language, seems to acquire indirectly a universal extension.*

This is not the occasion to enter that maziest of metaphysical labyrinths, of which etymology may lend us the inward clew; unfolding the most curious perhaps of the wonders of nature in the

* The full efficacy of language, in this respect, cannot be placed, perhaps, in a stronger light, than if we reflect upon the intellectual development, and even the distinction, literary and scientific, to which the blind are well known to have frequently attained, of course by its means alone, nothing of the kind having ever occurred in the deaf or mute, from birth. Nor has this proficiency been confined to matters of purely abstract reasoning, but has also extended to the physical sciences; nay, to those natural objects and ideas appropriate alone to the lost sense. To mention but the single instance of Saunderson, who lost the very eye-balls, when but one year old, and is found at thirty occupying the chair of Newton, in lecturing on the properties of light and colours.

primitive and progressive formation of language; exhibiting the procession, often whimsical in appearance, but never really arbitrary, whereby mankind have attained to the abstract vocabulary, and the *Analytic* syntax of our modern dialects,—pointing out how these abstract terms came at once to be extended in their power and abbreviated in their form, the one by taking the principal object of a class or attribute of an object to stand for a multitude of individual ideas, the other by dropping or sinking (now that they are supplanted by separate auxiliary terms) those accessory names which, under the various shapes of termination, augment, composition, went on to group themselves around the radical sound spontaneously, until the accumulation had swollen, wherever not arrested by the art of writing, to that unwieldy structure which has been lately designated *Polysynthetic*, and of which we witness the best specimen in our American-Indian idioms—next retracing this process of "agglutination," as Humboldt terms it, back to the still earlier stage of language, when the syllabic elements were all employed, as well separately as significantly, and with scarce any other means of connexion than the natural relations of situation or of conception, and the vocal modifications of accent; a condition of which also we have preserved to us, by some fortunate accident, an extant example in the *Monosyllabic* form of the Chinese,—then showing us how these primitive vocables themselves must have had their origin; that, being uttered at first to indicate certain objects of sense individually, and afterwards extended to denote them by classes, the consequent incapacity of the common name to designate them particularly would necessitate the observation of another property specifically characteristic, and of course the invention of a secondary class of sounds to correspond; which signs, in turn, being speedily generalized, the necessity of specialization would again recur, producing a third order of ideas and of sounds, and then a fourth, and so on, according as the little circle of the primitive intellect expanded laboriously, over the ocean of countless ages, into the ample circumference of modern civilization;—finally, leading us back to the innermost recess, etymology further reveals how the vocal sounds themselves, to supply the poverty of the language of action, passed spontaneously into articulation, to signify the perceptions of sense.*

But this derivative study of words is hardly more subsidiary to metaphysics, than to the more positive inquiries of *Physical* science. Here also, by a two-fold efficacy, it may determine the true character of the *things*, or expose the delusion, but too common, of *words* having no correspondent realities. In the former case, it serves to show the origin of the physical sciences in the objects and

* With this *genesis* of language we cannot possibly agree.—Ed.

usages of common life. In fact, even one of the most abstract of these sciences, geometry, has taken its terminology from implements of the mechanical arts and juvenile games. In the Greek,—which itself derived them from the Sanscrit,—*sphere, cube, cylinder,* meant originally merely a hand-ball, a die, a garden-roller; *angle* was a corner, *point* a sign-post, *trapezium* a table, &c. *Cone* was a spinning-top; a name itself derived from the fruit of the fir-tree, so employed by the children in ancient Greece, and elsewhere to this day. So in astronomy, day, month, year, horizon, tropic, as also the terms of mechanics and the rest, were all derived from popular phraseology.

Thus far, the indications of etymology may be more curious indeed than useful; unless as strikingly illustrative of the great truth above suggested, that the highest triumphs of the cultivated intellect do really nothing more than give precision and extension to the practical notions of the common mind. In the more concrete branches of physics, as botany, or zoology, the term may sometimes disclose the property most characteristic of the thing; as, for example, *Urtica,* (the nettle,) from *uro,* at once intimates the caustic juice so distinctive of that plant. It was on this principle that Lynnæus drew his admirable botanical terminology, with slight modification of import and analogy, from the popular vocabulary of the Latin language: a fact eloquently creditable to this noble idiom, as well as conclusive of the value of philology.*

But this value is still greater, perhaps, in detecting the easy error of supposing that *words* always imply the reality and existence of the *things* in nature: a fallacy of the most disastrous consequences to mankind; having composed almost bodily, the sophistical systems, especially metaphysical, of all times, Greek, Scholastic, and even modern. We might cite illustrations from almost all branches of knowledge. Multitudes of the current maxims of morals, and even of the so-called axioms of science, are in the same predicament. Some good examples may be seen in the article on Fallacies, in Mr. Mills' excellent *System of Logic.* Now all this would disappear before an historical analysis of the terms; but it has kept its ground for ages, because of their very want of meaning. For, if Language be a

* As evidence of intellectual development in a language, this easy adaptability may, however, be questioned. The great Leibnitz relates naively how he used to puzzle the French and Italians, by assuring them that the German idiom afforded a peculiar and peremptory test of truth, or at least of reality; *because,* while copious (he said) in names for the objects of *sense,* it possessed scarce any for *metaphysical* and *moral* notions. He did not comprehend that this was a poverty and a defect, characteristic, in fact, of a barbarous people; so far from being an excellence in language, or an evidence of understanding.

precious depository of truth, it is no less faithfully retentive of error. A false opinion once woven into the derivation of a term, or the texture of a phrase, may be transmitted to the latest posterity. It becomes (says a learned writer on the influence of opinion upon language)* a prejudice of the multitude; sometimes a prejudice of the learned, which is worse; and occasionally of the pious, which is worst of all.

Another form of this fallacy (and to be exploded by the same means) proceeds upon extending the acceptation of terms beyond their legitimate import. For example, the celibacy and mortifications of ascetics, Christian or other, have resulted from an abuse of the terms chastity and self-denial; which, meaning merely the restraint of the natural appetites, under the sanction of morality, were inferred, by forcing the terms, to import, *à fortiori*, the entire extinction of the passions. Take another instance. The end of society is the happiness of its members; but many, perhaps most, are unhappy; and hence, we are told, society should be rejected, or at least reorganized. We might extend these illustrations through nearly the entire vocabularies of our vulgar ethics, and politics especially; which nothing else could often so effectually disarm of their sophistry and mischief, as the exposition of the original application, together with the derivative transition, of the terms.

It is, however, in that vast group of researches, characteristic of the present era, and denominated, generally, the *Social*,—having humanity, both in its individual and national phases, for subject as well as object,—that philology may lend the most indispensable and interesting light. Here, moreover, it offers happily the advantage of an easier application. Not, as in the preceding cases, by the historical exploration of the meaning of words,—a process demanding a degree of erudition accessible to few,—but by the objective contemplation, or what may be termed the *statical* analysis, of the language. The principal features, in short, of a people's history, physical and civil, may generally be traced in its idiom; wherein the choice and disposition of accents and letters, the collocation of the words in a sentence, the idiomatic forms, or, what is called the *genius* of the language, all afford indications, progressively significant, of the moral development, predominant pursuits, and, in a word, the national character of the particular community. No two peoples use exactly the same alphabet, nor can even pronounce it. Diversities of temperament, modes of thinking and of taste, &c., still more widely and variously divergent, may be gathered from the peculiarities of mannerism, of turn, and of style. In fine, the two

*Michaëlis.

grand orders of human influences, vaguely comprised under the designations of Climate and Civilization, leave, perhaps, nowhere else their characteristic traces so legibly, if at all indeed, impressed: but of their progressive operation, imperceptible though all-pervading, language, in its intimate structure, offers both directly and indirectly, as it were, the outward and sensible sign. Thus embracing, as does this double aggregate, the sum of the conditions, external and internal, which have shaped into the infinite variety of the past, the fundamental type of our species, it should be expected that anything so eminently calculated to lead to a more intimate knowledge of the scientific laws of society cannot remain indifferent; especially to those amongst us who assume not only to improve its actual state, but even to guide its ultimate destination.

For example, with respect to the elementary sounds: those nice physiological varieties of the organ of speech, which are the immediate cause of the phonetic diversities of the tongues and dialects of the earth, and which defy anatomical analysis, are all easily seized by observing the comparative predilection for, and position of, particular letters in the words of the language. This preference results from the predominant activity of particular parts of the vocal instrument; which itself is dependent upon climate fundamentally, but is also modified according to the organic exercise and social refinement of the race. In the Hindoo and the South Sea Islander the throat appears most active; in the Teuton and Saxon, the lips. It is also observed, in the migration of words from language to language, that proportionably as they advance northward they are charged with a labial and nasal hissing, while their progress towards the south is marked by the accession of guttural aspirates. This general fact reveals a law of climate, which may react with a flood of illustration upon some of the dimmest districts of ethnographical history. It may be worth remarking, that it finds an interesting illustration in Byron's notable diatribe against the English tongue, as

> "The harsh northern, *whistling*, GRUNTING *guttural*;"

where, it will be seen, the principle stated is admirably observed, in its *organic* opposition but *chronological* affinity. Whereas, so little are the English prone to guttural sounds, of the aspirate species, that the omission of even the weakest of them, the letter *h*, characterizes the vicious pronunciation of the populace, who always afford the proper criterion in questions of this nature.

Again, the degree of civilization more strictly perhaps than of latitude is indicated, on the one hand, in the habitual use of the

harsher consonants, which marks a savage or unpolished people; and, on the other, the frequent employment of the liquids; which is observed to accompany delicacy both of organization and taste. These traits are exemplified respectively in the Gothic and Scandinavian dialects, in the ancient Greek, and the modern Italian. And herein it is, accordingly, that the latter language has, with the larger spiritual development of the nation, been bastardized, under the same climate, from the martial energy of the ancient Roman. So of the Chinese, too, a gentle and highly-refined people, who have not the letter *r* in their alphabet; while it is of constant occurrence in the barbarian dialects just alluded to, some of them in latitudes partly the same. That this interesting contrast is at least more immediately an effect of civilization,—which, for the rest, is itself largely modified by the laws of climate,—seems most decisively shown in the French, where the *r* consonant, in certain places, while judiciously retained by the orthography, is, in pronunciation, softened, slurred, or entirely silenced. Even the Roman tongue, with all its characteristic energy, betrayed a like tendency towards the time of Quinctilian; who stigmatizes the *r* as the *canina litera*, or dog-letter, from the resemblance of the sound to the snarl of that animal. Is it not remarkable that the Anglo-Americans, at least of our Northern States, should indulge a predilection for this roughest articulation of the alphabet; not merely to the disregard of euphony, but even in contempt of orthography? For example,—window-*r*, idea-*r*, &c., &c. So we retain *g* hard, (e. g. in Gertrude,) when the tendency of civilization is to soften it. This might afford an inference unfavourable to our state of manners and culture. But there is another theory of the matter much more flattering, though not perhaps essentially different, which a patriotic partiality may at least be pardoned for preferring, viz., that the letter *r* was designed naturally to express, not rudeness merely, but also noisy activity and bustling agitation, of what sort soever. And for this we have an authority as early at least and high as Plato, who, in his Cratylus, makes Socrates say:—P *φαίνεται ὥσπερ ὄργανον εἶναι πάσης τῆς κινήσεως.** It must be owned, we think, that the ungraceful peculiarity in question is in this way more obviously explained, by that national characteristic for which we have had to invent the suitably unclassic appellation of "go-aheadativeness;" thus presenting a curious confirmation of the Socratic doctrine, whether meant in earnest or in irony.

The *vowels*, likewise, perhaps still better than consonants, may furnish indications of the national character. In the purity and

* "The letter *r* appears to be, as it were, the organ of all sorts of motion."

peremptoriness of the Latin sounds of this class, we see the firm and majestic character of the Roman. The more intellectual and graceful Greek is stamped in the frequent diphthongs, and even triphthongs, which give a lengthened, sonorous, and warbling flow to that most harmonious and poetic of tongues. The airy and polished Frenchman succeeds, we think, the Greek; a fact well evincing the influence of social refinement in thus surmounting the Latin affinity of filiation. Nor is this opinion of the French language at all in conflict with the well-known declaration of one of its most eloquent writers, Rousseau,—that it is the most unmusical of tongues. What it wants is, not sweetness, but modulation; not melody, but harmony;—both of which are seen in the Italian in emasculating perfection. Add to which, in verse, the spondaic uniformity and the monotony of rhyme in its hexameter, and in all its measures, the inflexibly direct construction of its context; permitting little or no latitude of collocation, and, so far, no variety of cadence. Here the English, though likewise limited in the capability of inversion, so congenial to poetry, has yet a decided superiority over the French. But it is still more highly favoured for other purposes of poetry, than not merely the French, but even any of the dialects of modern Europe, in the fund of copiousness and variety, answering the purposes of inversion, which is furnished by its duplicity of origin, and abundance of synonymes. At the same time, it must be owned that these poetic qualities of our language are both severely compensated, by the obscurity of style and ambiguity of terms which they expose us to in prose; while the French prose, by a similar logical compensation, is without a modern rival in the superlative properties of precision and perspicuity. The frequency of vowel-sounds observed to distinguish the French idiom is not, then, at variance with the fact of its deficiency of prosody: which may hereafter be shown to indicate only a people more reasoning, as well as more refined.

The *words* also may yield similar indications. Thus the preference of the abstract to the concrete term denotes the higher philosophical cultivation of the French mind. The dialectic Greek is seen in the multitude, and the reasoning Roman in the regularity, of the conjunctive particles which are found in their respective tongues, to link the sentences in unbroken concatenation. While the use of long, or complex words, and compound epithets, as in the Greek, the German, and the English, in descending degrees, has been observed to denote superior vigour and promptitude of intellect, compass of apprehension, and force of conception; but which rather results, in our opinion, from that predominance of imagination over reason which belongs to a ruder and earlier condition of

the national mind. The pompous gravity of the sage and ceremonious Spaniard is visible in his sonorous, emphatic, and majestic vocabulary. And it is, perhaps, this contrast—constitutional to the language,—with all that is silly and undignified, which renders it a pleasure almost proverbial to read Don Quixote in the original. We behold the enervate Italian in the numerous diminutives of that dialect, and trace his degeneration in the tendency to nasalize the open sounds, and to mollify the firmer inflections of the mother tongue by a vicious pronunciation. Thus, the Latin *eruptio*, so finely expressive, is effeminated into *eruzione*; which should seem a sort of verbal parody, in the presence of Ætna, even to those who can only conceive, from Virgil's energetic description, the terrific phenomenon which it designates. The English add the nasal *n*, (eruption,) in obedience, however, to the climatory law above explained.

Thus far for syllables and words, as symptomatic of national character. Now a few like specifications respecting the instrument still more efficient, and, above all, more indispensable, which language offers the critical and social observer, in its *idiomatic expressions*, and its *grammatical arrangement*.

The former, we have seen, are an effect rather of the organization and the intellect; the latter, chiefly of the temperament, the moral complexion, the mental habits,—things ordinarily too subtle, or too pervasive, for apprehension, elsewhere than in those spiritual and spontaneous manifestations. With respect to the idioms which may consist in a term, as well as a proposition, we may assume our readers already familiar with English instances. The words *humour* and *spleen* mark well-known idiosyncrasies of the English temperament. But more curiously characteristic is the American acceptation of certain colloquial phrases, such as *smart* (man,) *ugly* (woman;) which present a transition of the meaning from the physical to the moral attributes. What is the explanation? Apparently, that in the martial and aristocratic society of England, muscular force in the man, and personal beauty in the woman, were of more prominent consequence; whereas, in an industrial and colonial community, the mental quickness of traffic, and the domestic quality of temper, would be principally prized. These peculiarities of connotation, especially if the words relate to very ordinary objects, best reveal, not only the manners, pursuits, &c., but also the moral condition, and even history of a nation, as likewise of a particular class or locality. For example, who does not discern the whole ethical code of Wall-street, in its established meaning of the term "*good* man,"—where it bears not the least reference to any virtue

of the Decalogue, but imports merely the punctuality or the power of paying one's notes?

The French abound in idiomatic expressions equally characteristic. The phrase, *un homme d'esprit*, which is without an equivalent in, perhaps, any other tongue, attests the intellectual refinement already assigned to that people. "Ils aiment," observes one of their writers, "les jolies femmes, plus que les belles: et ce mot *joli* n'est pas ailleurs que chez eux:"—a peculiarity of taste which might further be shown to be curiously conformable to the symmetrical structure of the national *mind*. The concietti afford an indication of the effeminacy, and, at the same time, subtlety of the Italian. The indolent wisdom of the Spaniard appears in the multitude of their proverbs. The French, instead of proverbs, are distinguished for "bons mots,"—another of their untranslatable terms. And this is strictly in character with the national genius, transfigured in that expression all their own,—*esprit*. Of this, too, we may observe, it is commonly rendered in English by the term wit. Yet how essentially different is the English *thing!* and how different from both, notwithstanding the adopted name, is the Irish wit, as this most complex quality is represented, for example, in La Bruyère, Addison, and Swift, the most idiomatic writers of their respective countries. To characterize these few varieties of signification philosophically, would give, we dare affirm, a more definite idea of these nations distinctively than the most elaborate history that has ever been written of either. Here, however, we must content ourselves with remarking, that the distinctive feature would appear to relate, in the French rather to the *intellect;* in the English to the *temperament;* in the Irish to the *imagination;* of which, however, Swift offers by no means the exactest type. The French wit has more brilliancy than nature. The English has less art than individuality. The Irish wit has the point, without the polish of the one, and the spontaneousness, without the delicacy, or rather the discretion, of the other: but in sarcasm and satire generally, it transcends either immeasurably. We fear our cis-atlantic wit would not be allowed to have yet risen from the grub state of punning,—Irving's, which, beside, is properly humour, being essentially English. Whence, perhaps, we might learn, meanwhile, that we have overpassed the *genuineness* of character of our English ancestors, without having yet attained the mental refinement of either of the three nations compared. But we transgress our limits in even these few cursory remarks, meant merely to intimate the treasures of elevated interest and instruction which might be thus opened in the physical analysis of Orthography and Idiom.

More pregnant still, perhaps, though at the same time less palpable, is the grammatical construction in general; which seems to shadow forth the relative proportion of passion or of principle in the framers of the language. Of this characteristic we have the opposite extremes in the Latin, which is the most inverted, and the French, which is the most direct, as already noted, of polished tongues. In the direct, or French order, the sentence commences with the agent, (nominative;) then the action, (verb;) then the manner of the action, (adverb;) after the object, (accusative;) then the quality of this object, (adjective,) &c.: whereas, in the Latin construction, all this is *syntactically* optional. The French generally contend that theirs is the order of logic and of nature. One of their lexicographers (whose name we forget) observes on this head, in his preface, that the Latin is the language of an impassionate people, impatient to express what they feel the most; the French the language of cool philosophers, aiming to exhibit things as they exist in reality, and in an order purely natural. That the direct arrangement is, in fact, the more logical, is attested by the pre-eminent perspicuity of the French prose, as above incidentally recognized; and that it indicates a correspondent peculiarity of intellectual conformation in that people may be illustrated when we come to note, as the proper or the principal object of philological studies, the improvement of language as a logical instrument.

The naturalness of the direct order, however, is disputed by other able critics, even of the same country: who insist that the order of Sensation, not that of Conception, is really the natural. The mere immensity of this question would preclude it here, however interesting and relevant, from further consideration.

In fine, as the disposition of words in the sentence, so the disposition of sentences in a discourse,—or what is commonly called *Method*,—may likewise seem to indicate the calibre and the culture of a nation, in quality and degree; of which we shall presently have a characteristic example, and an ample illustration.

We might in this way traverse the entire circle of the sciences,—exhausted in fact implicitly by the three general divisions of metaphysical or logical, physical, and social, which have been specified,—and exemplify in all, that man, "the interpreter of nature," is himself and his works to be best interpreted by language, considered simply as a *series of natural phenomena*, and, independently of its functional character, as the science or art of expression. But, leaving some future occasion more fully to enforce the importance of the subject in the latter aspect of development, it was deemed principally requisite, within the limits here allowable, to insist upon what have

been called the statical conditions, as being much less explored than the etymological, or rather scarce adverted to at all; while at the same time more generally available and popularly instructive. With a view to the same aggregate of considerations, we are particularly anxious to commend these suggestions to two descriptions of public writers, who might thus make themselves the most usefully influential, being amongst the most universally read in our day. We mean critics and travel-writers. There are no hands in which a general acquaintance, acquired so easily, of the principles of philology, would bring so much literary dignity, while benefiting the public in an equal proportion.

Nor is it to be dissembled that improvement in this quarter is needed deplorably, at least in our English literature. Indeed, it might be questioned, that a single new principle has been introduced into our periodical criticism, since the earlier series of one or two of the British Reviews. Even the variations of application and form seem long since exhausted. And as to the books of travels,—which bid fair, with the march of intellect, or at least of steam, to be soon abandoned entirely to voyaging apprentices, retired sempstresses, and police-reporters,—they are in general sunk into mere chronicles of personalities, commonly below the columns of a gazette. The corruption and degradation of public taste is of course proportional.

Nor can the case well be otherwise, under the circumstances. Of such books, in an especial manner, the only rational object is information. But to common minds the ordinary current of things rarely offers anything to remark, except the variations of personality; especially where the novelties of place have been forestalled,—which is to say, in the present day, the civilized world over. Yet, throughout all the analogies of nature, the most common things are the most important to know, whether for the purpose of judgment or action. But it is the privilege of only vigorous and principled intellects actively to vary the ordinary aspect of things, and find interesting novelty in the most familiar appearances. The intellectual vision would seem to be the reverse of the physical. By the latter, the common eye sees but, as it were, inferentially, while the artist has the faculty of seeing no more than is actually visible. Of the moral scene, the ordinary mind perceives, on the contrary, but the mere outlines; whereas the philosopher attends but to the reality they suggest. But philosophy, like poetry, being the gift of too niggard nature, we are only entitled to exact from those who set up for teachers of their fellow-men, that they avail themselves at least of what should serve as a decent semblance of it, if not a tolerable substitute,

especially in the departments particularized. That the science of language supplies such a substitute is evident, we trust, already to the intelligent reader of the preceding remarks: in which, however, we have merely sought to characterize the four material aspects of the statical application,—the quality of sounds, the texture of words, the structure of sentences, and method of composition,—without at all alluding to the numberless indications derivable from their mutual combination and comparison. All this, however, and still other modes of subserving general inquiry in this instrumental way, will receive ample, though incidental elucidation, from the ensuing consideration of the subject in its more direct and proper province. There it will be made palpable, that words afford, directly or indirectly, the clew to every convolution of the whole system of human opinion; with whose growth in fact they have grown, and of which they continue perpetually to support the actual structure, as the osseous frame does the animal system, as the trellis does the vine. And if they hold thus to the sentiments and institutions of mankind by so many and intimate points of contact, it is not easy to overrate the control over human motives and principles to be derived through philological science; particularly in the diffusive hands of the two classes of writers upon whom we have taken the liberty specially to urge it. It is not because this discipline would redeem the *critics* from being in general a satire upon the censorial office, and open to the *travellers* new sources of fresh and fruitful observation, in even those countries now the most nauseously trivialized by their thousands of itinerary volumes; but that it would render both, additionally, the most efficient of agents in propagating and accelerating the grand tendency of modern society towards a noble community of sympathy and thought, as well as the lucrative commerce of merchandise and manufacture. Why may we not expect the *science* of language to do for the heart, what mere etymology has done already for the history, of our race?*

We have purposely omitted mention of this latter application, too, of philology, its importance being already recognized to the full. In truth, it has succeeded in reforming the whole aspect of history, with regard to the origin of nations, the migration of colonies, the derivation of dialects. It bids fair to end with explaining the variety of races, and may reduce the Babel of tongues to a few ultimate types, if it cannot reach of itself the still fewer principles which have been in all time at the bottom of this apparent chaos.

As a consequence, natural enough, of these astonishing results,

* It has been recently remarked (*Michelet, Le Peuple*) that "history is a *resurrection*." In that case etymology were the magic wand of the exorcism.

the genealogical investigation of language is coming to pass for its *science*, and the science (so conceived) to be regarded but as a mere handmaid to history, ethnographical or theological. At least this is the case among the Germans, who cultivate the subject with especial diligence and distinction; and the English, whose proneness to the immediately available is content to take the German authority for both the doctrine and method. But has not language a proper and a paramount object of its own? And is it not susceptible of a distinct science, and a system in reference to this end? Most persons, of intelligence in the matter, would probably answer both these questions in the affirmative. But as most persons are yet more influenced by a productive example than a principle, however paramount; and as, moreover, all deference is due to the great intellects by whom the example in this case is supposed to be authorized, we feel bound to point out directly some of the more essential defects of the prevailing system of philological inquiry, before proceeding to an outline of the positive considerations which have led us to adopt a nearly opposite course.

ART. VII.—OTTO VON GERLACH'S COMMENTARY ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Das Neue Testament, mit Einleitungen und Erklärenden Anmerkungen. Herausgegeben durch Otto Von Gerlach. Dritte Auflage. (The New Testament, with Introductions and Explanatory Remarks. By Otto Von Gerlach. Third Edition. Berlin, 1844. Two vols. 8vo.)

"CAN anything good come out of Nazareth?"—is a question of more than one application. No country has been, in these latter days, so placed under the ban of the Christian world as Germany. We have been accustomed to think of the Germans as men who run riot in all wild and monstrous speculations; and in this opinion there is much of truth; for, like the schoolmen, they are debarred the privilege of a healthy range of thought. Shut out, until within a year, by an unrighteous absolutism, from all participation in politics, the fervid warmth of their nature has been spent upon questions of theology, philology, and philosophy.* The German author was not so far wrong, who said, jocosely, that, while the French had the dominion of the land, and the English that of the sea, to his coun-

* The unobstructed discussion of questions pertaining to national well-being gives a people a practical mode of thinking, which will be felt in all departments of life and knowledge.

trymen belonged "cloud-land, gorgeous land." It is all their own; no wonder that they people it, at times, with strange creations,—

> "Confused, commingled, mutually inflamed,
> Molten together, and composing thus
> Fantastic pomp of structure without name."

"The Germans," said Coleridge, who was partial enough to them, "are not altogether wrong, and never altogether right." The world is now beginning to decide upon them with judicial impartiality. We have learned that the fountain *does* send forth, at the same place, sweet water and bitter. The region abounds in gold, but the metal must first be assayed. In matters of erudition we must be content to go to school to these men of long sittings at books; in questions of theory, we have some sober logic of our own. In many respects it is happy for us, that the prejudice against them and their writings is passing away.

But the Germans are progressive; and, most fortunately, have of late gone forward in the right path. They have attempted some bold experiments with the Gospel, and, after all, are content to take it as it is. The rationalist has tried to destroy its soul, and the mythologist to steal away its body, but it has risen again with new life and glory. It is some comfort to know that "the wise and prudent" have, after their doubts and questionings, returned to that simple religion which is given alike to all mankind; for there is no learned way to the kingdom of God. Bacon knew this so well, that he took it as an axiom, and laid down a like path to philosophy. "The access," he teaches us, "to the kingdom of man, which is founded on the sciences, must resemble that to the kingdom of heaven, where no admission is conceded, except to children." In religion, men must evermore be disciples; the theory that harmonizes reason and revelation, will *not* be reached by expelling from religion its divine life, and reducing it to a nonentity. Reason must wait, learn, and grow. One of the uses of metaphysics is, that by the good we can expel the bad; and so the great learning of Germany has helped to set her aright. As an indication of the returning evangelical spirit—an early sheaf from the abundant harvest which we may expect—is the Commentary on the Old and New Testaments by Otto Von Gerlach. It is in six volumes, small 8vo., of which we have seen but the two on the New Testament, and to these our present notice will be confined.

Among the wretched features of the neological writings, none is worse than the contemptuous tone in which they speak of popular instruction. Even the judicious Ernesti himself, though not a neo-

logist, in condemning the absurd, allegorizing interpretation, adds, that it may be made useful in edifying the people. As if the fancies of any day-dreamer were good enough for them! Such writers seem to forget that there is, besides the learned, a large class of men, whose faculties have been sharpened by observation, general reading, and the enterprises of life. In the present work, both the intelligence and the wants of the people appear to be properly estimated.

Of the author we have gathered but a few facts. He was born in 1801. In the year 1829–30, he was lecturer on Biblical Antiquities, in the University of Berlin; and in the title-page of the work before us he is styled Pastor of the Elizabeth Church in that city. He has also translated the practical writings of Richard Baxter into German; his version of the Saints' Rest is issued here from the press of the American Tract Society. Among the evangelical divines of his country, he stands, we believe, in the foremost rank in point of orthodoxy.

But have we not enough commentaries? By no means. Many have been made on false principles; and not a few, of the critical sort, have been written by men imperfectly qualified for such labours. The advance of mankind in knowledge will continually throw new light upon the Scriptures. The spiritual world is like the physical,—an infinite system. We stand on our globe, and have some outlook upon a boundless universe, sky, and unnumbered stars, yet, though this visible scene has been scanned and questioned for centuries, we daily draw forth some new, undiscovered truth. The Bible is, in like manner, a world, and they who live and move therein, see daily the workings of laws which do not stop where our grosser vision fails, but run on to eternity. "And as it is owned, the whole scheme of Scripture is not yet understood, so, if it ever comes to be understood, *before the final restitution of all things*, and without miraculous interpositions, it must be in the same way as natural knowledge is come at, by the continuance and progress of learning and liberty, and by particular persons attending to, comparing, and pursuing intimations scattered up and down it, which are overlooked and disregarded by the generality of the world. Nor is it at all incredible, that a book, which has been so long in possession of mankind, should contain many truths yet undiscovered. For, all the same phenomena, and the same faculties of investigation, from which such great discoveries in natural knowledge have been made in the present and last age, were equally in the possession of mankind a thousand years before."* Shut up in the antique forms of venera-

* Butler's Analogy, Part ii, ch. iii.

ble languages, are the living principles which must chasten the human heart, and guide the human race to unseen destinies. Happy would it be, if the wisdom of the wise, and the learning of the learned, were more generally employed in the application of the truths of the Bible to the personal and social wants of mankind.

The question of the true mode of interpreting the Bible has been needlessly mystified. The inspiration of Scripture has been supposed to involve certain consequences, which do not really follow. Because holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, it has been imagined that their words must be construed in some peculiar way; but what this may be, no one has been able to tell. This notion of the necessary effect of inspiration has been the stumbling-block of interpreters. Hence that affected reverence for the sacred text of both the Old and New Testaments, which has at different periods prevailed;* hence the allegorizing interpretation which the Fathers inherited from the Jews, and which warped the great genius and clear conceptions of Origen; hence the holy emphasis given to every word, the *pregnantes sensus* of the Mystics, in whose error the learned Bengel participated. Worse than all these, and not traceable to precisely the same cause, was the perversity of those dogmatic interpreters, who, assuming beforehand that all of the Bible was in their creeds, hewed and chipped every text, till they made it fit the place to which they would have it go. The learned are now agreed, that the Bible is to be interpreted as any other book; that the signification of the words is the only guide to the sense; that this signification must be gathered from the usage of writers in the same language, both earlier and later, as well as contemporaneous; and that it is not enough to obtain *a* sense, but that the true meaning will prove itself to be necessarily the only one. Such a familiarity as is here required, includes a knowledge of words, both separately and in their idiomatic combinations and phrases. Above all, an interpreter of this higher sort must not be dependent upon his lexicon in the translation of every casual sentence, but, by constant perusal of the authors, he must be able to feel at home among them. No foreigner could write a commentary on an English classic, (say Milton,) whose only knowledge of our tongue was derived from a lexicon and grammar. Should he undertake it, he would make sorry work of our poet's wondrous phrases. "Those fanatics," says Ernesti, very strongly, "are not to be listened to, who, rejecting the study of languages, refer everything to the

* It was once supposed that there could not be any various readings in inspired books; and that the language of the New Testament could not be any other than pure, classical Greek.

immediate assistance of the Holy Spirit. On the other hand, however, it cannot be denied, that pious men, sincerely desirous of discovering the true sense of Scripture, are assisted by the Holy Spirit, in matters relating to belief and practice."*

It is useless to undertake in this country, to any extent, the criticism of the sacred text. We have not, in the New World, the means for such a work. Here are no huge libraries, rich in the writings of many ages, from the first dawn of civilization to the present day. Here no man is likely to be sent on a foreign mission, for the sake of enabling him to pursue his studies. Here no monkish cell, or gloomy alcove, hides, under its venerable dust, a valuable manuscript. We are but of yesterday. After so many recensions, and the multiplication of so many various readings, we may safely take the text as it is. But, on the hither side of that primary critical labour, how much remains to be done! To gather the sense for public teaching, and to guard it against corrupt perversions, will occupy the mind and heart of any man. Let it, however, be remembered, that no one is qualified to interpret Scripture who has not become a new creature in Christ. Though they speak with the tongues of men and angels, and have not love, they are become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.

The history of hermeneutics teaches us, most emphatically, that to be correct and skilful, the interpreter must not be a slave to doctrinal restraints. The free, joyous course, upon which the human mind entered at the era of the Reformation, was rapidly checked by the dogmatic strictness which soon everywhere prevailed. Even in Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and Beza, there are traces of this spirit; but in their successors it domineered over everything else. If one is always on the look-out to find proof-texts for his creed, he will not be likely to form honest views of the meaning of holy writ. A man may, *must* have a theory of religion; but he should hold it with the conviction, that he, as other men, may err.

There is, however, one truth in Scripture—the characteristic of Christianity—which he that runs may read. It is the truth which makes God's word glad tidings to the human race, and which all sincere men, who have known the wants of the heart, have, in every age, found therein. It is the truth, which, with those leading to it, and flowing from it, is the vital part of our religion, which is veiled in every type, is the theme of the Prophet's highest inspiration, is

* Such knowledge as we have described above, is within the reach of every studious public teacher of the Gospel. It is our ignorance of the right path, and the helps of which we may avail ourselves, that makes linguistic attainments appear so formidable.

the light and beauty of every book, and almost every page. We mean the Redemption that is in Christ Jesus. We have a right to demand, that this chief feature of both dispensations shall be brought out into due relief by every one, who undertakes to obtain for us the meaning of the sacred text. He who has failed in this, has failed in all. He may be a great scholar, but, if the testimony of the Christian world is worth anything, he does not know the Bible.

Perhaps, if no other condition than this were imposed upon the commentator, the cause of truth would, in the end, be subserved. Nothing so tempts men to wrest the Scripture, as the desire to establish a sectarian opinion. These forced interpretations are the buttresses which support the party walls in the Church. Nor do harsh restraints upon interpretation effect any good; for they are sure to be followed by an era of unbounded licentiousness. The rationalism of Germany was but a reaction against the former dogmatism. The more men can be induced to examine the Bible with humility and candour, the more speedily will the Christian world harmonize; a consummation most devoutly to be wished.

Commentaries have been long divided into critical and popular. The critical interpreter attends mainly to words; the other, to things. The practical cast of the English character has enriched our language with popular comments. The pious reflections of Doddridge still charm the world, though the criticism may now be surpassed. The rich fancy and wondrous goodness of Leighton, make him the most delightful of companions in reading St. Peter. Truly, his lips drop honey. And our own Benson is the inmate of many a household, and the charm of many a pious fireside. Such books as these are always fresh. Critical works are constantly pushing each other aside; those, however, which aid the minds and inspire the devotions of the people, seem never to wear away.

The work before us is a popular commentary, founded, however, upon thoroughly scientific criticism. In order to give our readers a fair idea of the work, we translate a number of special comments. The several chapters are divided into paragraphs according to their topics; and each division is furnished with a suitable introduction. We begin with one of these: viz., "*The choosing of the Twelve Apostles.* Matt. chap. x."

"Jesus had already chosen, from among his followers, many *single* disciples; he had, before the sermon on the Mount, separated the twelve from the others; (Luke vi, 13. Compare Mark iii, 13; John vi, 70;) but their solemn induction into the office of apostles (that is, messengers) took place at this time. Their number was that of the twelve tribes of Israel. (ch. xix, 28; Rev. xxi, 12, 14.) True, there was no longer a clear separation between the tribes: but he wished to show, by the selection of this number, that his mission was to all Israelites, and that he gave them, in his apostles, twelve new princes of tribes (patriarchs)

for the new kingdom of God. The old kingdom contained the germ of the entire new community of the faithful, the heads of which (by their word spread through the world, and by the founding of the Church) are the apostles. The selection, the appointment, and the training of the twelve, are a proof that Christ did not merely design to proclaim a doctrine, but, besides, to found a kingdom, a church. We see here how he appointed them to an office unlike any in the Jewish constitution, and yet with special reference thereto, and during his whole stay upon the earth, we find him as solicitous to prepare them for their work, as to preach to the people; and what he teaches them is never *exclusively* directed to inward piety, but relates likewise to their office in God's kingdom. In this first mission they were commanded to preach repentance, after the manner of the discourses of John, and the first discourses of Christ; the kingdom of God was already near in the person of its king, but it appeared as a church, at the outpouring of the Holy Spirit; (compare verse 7, ch. iii, 2; Luke x, 1;) *from that time*, it was first proclaimed, that all could receive the forgiveness of sins, in the name of Jesus, (Acts ii, 38; ch. iii, 19, 20; ch. x, 43, &c.) This preparatory mission of the twelve, and that of the seventy disciples afterward, differed from John's only in this, that he wrought no miracle, (John x, 41;) but they did as mighty works as Christ himself, (see especially Luke x, 17,) as a sign that John, standing without, pointed to the appearing kingdom, (ch. xi, 11,) but that the disciples prepared both themselves and others for an entrance therein, and in so far as they were called of Christ, and appointed to be baptized, at a future day, by the Holy Ghost, had already entered. In the following discourse Christ gave them directions partly for that time, (verses 5–7, 9, 10,) partly for their office in general, hence also for the great sufferings and persecutions which afterwards befell them.

Verse 1. *And when he had called—his twelve disciples.*] The twelve were then called disciples, (that is, scholars,) partly from their outward relation to Jesus, who, like the Jewish rabbis, had always a number of pupils around him; partly because, during the earthly sojourn of Christ, they were to LEARN: chiefly from him. After the outpouring of the Spirit, they were called Apostles only, and the other Christians disciples; because these, from that time, saw in the twelve Jesus himself, and heard in them the infallible teachers of the Church. In later times, the name 'disciples' seems to have fallen into disuse; even in the Epistles it appears no longer, but we have instead brethren, believers, saints, Christians.

Verse 2. *The first, Simon, who is called Peter.*] Already (so called) at the time of his first acquaintance with Christ, (John i, 42;) afterwards, this name was solemnly confirmed. (Matt. xvi, 18.) He is called the first, from a certain pre-eminence over the others.

Verse 2. *James, the son of Zebedee.*] Who was put to death by Herod Agrippa. Acts xii, 2.

Verse 3. *Philip and Bartholomew.*] Bar-Tholmai, that is, son of Ptolemæus, a surname; his proper name is probably Nathaniel, as he stands here, and in the history of his calling in John, next to Philip. (See John, ch. i, 45.)

Verse 3. *James, the son of Alpheus.*] Called also the less, the younger, (Mark xv, 40,) and the brother of the Lord, (Gal. i, 19,) because, through Mary, the sister of Christ's mother, wife of Cleophas, or Alpheus, (both are the same name in Hebrew,) he was the cousin of Jesus, (John xix, 25.) He was the author of the epistle in the New Testament.

Verse 6. *But go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.*] The first mission was due to the Israelites, according to the divine promise, (Acts xiii, 46,) and in order to take from them the excuse, that they had not been able to recognize their king in Jesus. The disciples, too, were to be prepared for their future, general mission. John iv, ch. x, 16; ch. xii, 20, ff. Matt. xxiv, 14; Acts viii, 5, ff.

Verse 8. *Freely ye have received, freely give.*] Take no pay, as if you wished to make a traffic of your miraculous gifts. Compare Acts viii, 18–20. Disinterestedness is a chief trait of the servant of God. 1 Tim. iii, 3; 1 Thess. ii, 5, ff. The mercy of God is free and undeserved, even when it is imparted through man.

Verse 9. *Neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your girdles.*] The rich Eastern people carry (on the breast and right side) pockets in their garments; the poor have no place to fasten (or hold) anything but the girdle. The apostles were, in that time of grace, to commit themselves entirely to the care of their rich Father, without doing as much as, under other circumstances, is permitted and commanded Christians. See, on the other hand, Luke xxii, 35, ff. We see from the life of Paul, (who sent for his cloak, 2 Tim. iv, 13,) that this injunction is by no means to be always literally understood; but it is God's will for all times, that his disciples, especially the ministers of salvation, should carefully guard against useless superabundance, and should always be conscious that they are thereby drawn from their calling and entangled in the world."

Our next selection is the introduction to "*The Parables of Christ.* Matt., ch. xiii."

"A parable is a representation of a doctrine or fact of the higher life, under the form of an event of our outward existence. There is, therefore, in no one of Christ's parables, when taken literally, an impossible feature, except that here and there, towards the close, (after the example of the Old Testament, Isa. v, 6,) he passes from the image to the thing imaged, (for example, chap. xxiv, 51;) in this manner, especially, the parabolic discourses reported by John are framed, (compare John x, and xv.) The parables are not designed to show that the outer world is an image and copy of the inner; for Christ compares himself and the Father to a thief, to an unjust judge, the faithful to wicked householders. But he skilfully selects the appearances of our daily life, that spiritual truths may thus be made plain to us, and our thoughts be raised to heaven, not simply ALTHOUGH, but BECAUSE we are surrounded by worldly objects, which are in this way sanctified. In every parable, we must first carefully bring to view the outward history, adding nothing foreign to its aim and purport; we should then seek the chief point of comparison, to which all the parts relate. We should not, however, in a forced or trifling way, give the separate parts a meaning which they might have alone, and yet do not have in the connexion of the history; whereas, *in this connexion*, the smallest feature has its significance. All the following parables treat of the kingdom of God, as first inwardly, and then outwardly revealed. His hearers having, through their own fault, misunderstood his plainer discourses, Jesus, to punish them, now spake in parables; perhaps, too, that they might not understand: for, simple as they appear to us, they effected then the double purpose of concealing the truth from the carnally-minded multitude, (verse 13, but especially Mark iv, 11, 12; Luke viii, 10,) and of affording to the weak, but susceptible disciples, living images, which afterwards led them further into the truth. A parable is like the pillar of cloud and fire, which turned its dark side towards the Egyptians, but the light one to the people of the covenant; it is like a shell, which preserves the precious kernel as much FOR the industrious as FROM the lazy."

As a specimen of commentary on the miracles, we present the "*Feeding of the Five Thousand,*" and "*Christ walking on the Sea.*" Matt. xiv, 14–33.

"The people, upon their feast-journey to Jerusalem, had followed Jesus into the wilderness, in great crowds, and there he showed himself a mightier

worker of miracles than Moses; for, through his prayer, he fed five thousand with five loaves of bread. But, while the manna nourished the children of Israel many years, the feeding was designed to help but once,—a momentary want, in order, then, to point to Christ himself, as the true bread of heaven. He who could do what Jesus here did, could also have sent manna from above; but he did it not, because he only fed the body, that the carnal people might be led to seek in him the food of the soul.

Verse 15. *That they may go—and buy themselves victuals.*] Thus, without a miracle, they would not have died of hunger; yet they could have procured bread only with great trouble and cost. But he was not willing that, because they had been eager to hear his word, they should suffer want.

Verse 19. *He blessed, and brake.*] 'According to Jewish custom, the head of the family, at the beginning of every meal, offered a thanksgiving, which was called 'blessing.' This prayer of Jesus here wrought a miraculous 'blessing.' Christ teaches us, by his example, that we cannot enjoy our food, in a pure and holy way, unless we testify our thankfulness to God, from whose hand it comes. Hence, says Paul, (1 Tim. iv, 5,) the food 'is sanctified by the word of God, and prayer;' so that those brutish men, who neither think of God's blessing, nor acknowledge him with gratitude, both defile what by nature was pure, and are defiled and destroyed by their food. Christ hath, however, taught his own how they should eat; that they may not, by a wicked profanation, dishonour themselves and the kindness of God.—Calv.

Verse 20. *And were filled, and took up of the fragments*, &c.] 'This miracle assures us that, if we seek first the kingdom of God, all other things will be added unto us. For if Christ thus cared for those, who, from a momentary impulse, had crowded to him, how shall he ever forsake us, who seek him with a steadfast devotion of the soul? Sometimes, indeed, he suffers his own to hunger, but he never withdraws from them his help. He has, however, the best reasons why he first helps us, when we have come to the last extremity. Christ also plainly teaches us here, that he not only gives the world spiritual life, but that the feeding of the body also is committed by the Father to him. Finally, we see that they who would witness this miracle, had to be satisfied with barley bread and dry fishes.'—Calv.

The carnally minded people, astonished by this miracle, (which had, besides, sufficed their bodily need,) wished to make Jesus king; (John vi, 15;) it was necessary to remove the disciples from this dangerous companionship; he therefore sent them over the sea. They embarked (John vi, 16) in the first of the four watches (between six and nine, see verse 25) into which the Jews divided the night; but a storm delayed them so much in their short voyage of about five miles, that in the fourth watch, (between three and six in the morning,) hardly four miles had been accomplished. John vi, 19. From the mountain, Jesus sees them struggling with the waves, and hastens upon the sea to their aid. This event, as afterwards the transfiguration on the Mount, (ch. xvii,) taught the disciples the unity of this life and that to come; nay, more, of this earthly and that heavenly body, and assured them that Jesus was always near with succour, even where no human expectation could have thought it possible.

Verse 23. *He was there alone.*] Some conjecture what, in such solitary hours, Jesus spake with the Father, may be gathered from Psalm xvi, 2; John xvii.

Verse 28. *Bid me come unto thee.*] In faith in Christ, and in the ardour of his love, he can no longer endure the uncertainty; as at other times, he here goes before the others, but, not knowing his weakness, he soon loses courage.

Verse 29. *And he said, Come.*] There is more demanded of him, who offers himself in sincere, courageous faith; he is more severely tried, and yet divinely rescued.

Verse 31. *Wherefore didst thou doubt?*] Jesus did not blame him for leaving the ship, but for not persisting in faith. In this whole history, the outward form is a transparent veil, through which we can see the relation of the faithful to Christ. Jesus works a great miracle, rather than leave his own in trial. They see nothing but a wild, stormy sea; but against all expectation, he is there, rich in help. From an appearance so strange, sounds forth to the affrighted ones the word of comfort, IT IS I! And he who then ventures to him receives the same divine power, through which he comes to us."

The exposition of "*Christ's Discourse with Nicodemus,* (John iii, 1–21,)" affords a good example of our author's mode of exhibiting spiritual religion:—

"A capital error in the doctrine of the Pharisees consisted in this, that they apprehended the law outwardly, and hence entirely misconceived the relation of man to God; the deep corruption of human nature, and the necessity of a new birth, were altogether unknown to them. In Nicodemus, we see one of the most candid of the sect, whom Christ's miracles had convinced that he came from God, and could therefore tell whether, when, and where the expected kingdom of God should appear. Jesus meets him with the strong declaration, that a divine renewal of our nature was requisite for an admission therein. The hesitation of Nicodemus gives him occasion to show *why* the new birth is necessary—because we have become utterly carnal. Its possibility he represents as a miracle, which must be experienced in belief upon the testimonies of God's messengers, especially of his Son. Jesus now first reveals to him the mystery of that kingdom of God for which he inquired, the sending and gift of the Son of God for the redemption of the world—and yet a gift, which only benefits such as open their hearts to his mercy.

Verse 3. *Jesus answered and said unto him.*] Jesus answered not so much his words as his thoughts. Nicodemus, and others, had been led by Christ's miracles to conjecture whether he was the Messiah, announced by John as near. Nicodemus hoped to receive from him new disclosures, solutions of doubts, views of the outward glory of the people: at least, to learn whether this kingdom would appear soon; that in such an event, he was sure that he would have a share therein. Jesus, knowing what was in man, (chap. ii, 24,) led him away from outward hopes and inquiries, and showed him that the kingdom, which he expected as future and eternal, was already revealed within, but not as yet for him, since it required an entire change and renewal of the spirit.

Verse 3. *Except a man be born again.*] The Greek can also be rendered, 'be born from above,' and this is the precise meaning of the word *ἀνωθεν*, as John uses it elsewhere, (see verse 31; ch. xix, 11; also ch. viii, 23; ch. xviii, 35–37;) in which is naturally included that this is the *new, second* birth of man, (verse 4.) So Tit. iii, 5; 1 Pet. i, 2, 3; and (of the whole world) Matt. xix, 28: corresponding to which is the word 'renew,' Eph. iv, 23; Heb. vi, 6; Col. iii, 9, 10. The natural man must obtain a new, heavenly birth, if he would enter God's kingdom; the entire direction of his heart must be changed, and, by a miracle of divine Omnipotence, the love of God and of divine things must be enkindled within him, in place of self-seeking and love of the world. Man, *created* good by God, (but now corrupt,) must be *born* anew of him as his child, and is thereby raised not only to his original purity, but to the higher sphere of life for which God has fitted him.

He cannot see.] To 'see,' in its full sense, includes every mode of enjoying, (Psa. xxxvi, 9; Psa. xc, 16,) and is therefore not essentially different from 'enter,' (verse 5,) and 'inherit,' (Gal. v, 21.)

Verse 4. *How can a man be born when he is old?*] That God's kingdom is spiritual, beginning in the inmost root of the heart, and that therefore inward

qualities make a fitness for it, was a truth unknown to the scribes; hence, he thinks that Jesus requires of every one a second physical birth, by means of an outward miracle. The question of Nicodemus shows to what degree the conception of a divinely produced change of the heart is strange to the natural man; for he admits the greatest absurdity, sooner than the simple, true sense of this doctrine.

Verse 5. *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit.*] A nearer explanation of the spiritual nature of the new birth. Nicodemus knew, from the prophets, the promised purification, (Ezek. xi, 19, 20; ch. xxxvi, 27, 28; Mal. iii, 3;) he knew, as a ruler of the Jews, the solemn declaration of John respecting his water-baptism, and the Spirit-baptism of Christ, (ch. i, 26, 27.) But most of the Pharisees, probably also Nicodemus, despised the baptism of John, (Luke vii, 30,) because he showed no sign, (comp. verse 2 with ch. x, 41,) and, after their outward mode of thinking, believed themselves to have already what John required. The baptism of water was an image of repentance, of the sorrow for sin: the baptism of the Spirit denotes the operation of the renewing, inwardly changing power of the mercy and truth of God in Christ. He thus declares that the Spirit-baptism of the Messiah must come to the water-baptism of John,—to which, as a divine ordinance, every one must submit. The Christian baptism, (the sacrament of the new covenant,) which Christ instituted after the completion of the work of redemption, contains, therefore, in every true conversion, the outward and the inward, the sign and the thing signified, united like John and Christ, the law and the gospel.* As in the first creation, (Gen. i, 2,) the Spirit moved upon the waters, so Christ here shows that the birth from above is a new creation, (2 Cor. v, 17.) As the Holy Ghost was, from the beginning, the unity of God and his creation, and therefore the creation's forming, unfolding, and preserving life, so, in the recovery and renewal of men, it is the bond of union, the dwelling of God among them.

Verse 6. *That which is born of the flesh is flesh.*] Every power produces its like, not its unlike. If man were, by an outward miracle, physically born again, he would be still the same. *Flesh* means more than body; that is, the carnal nature, given over by reason of sin to sensuality, and therefore weak, dying (unless renewed) a temporal and eternal death. The word often includes *the sin* which man derives from Adam, since this has its seat (not its origin) in the flesh, and makes man fleshly, (thus, especially, Rom. vii, 14; ch. viii, 5–9; Gal. v, 16, ff.; 1 John ii, 16, &c.;) often only the *effects* of sin, weakness, mortality, (thus, chiefly in the Old Testament, Gen. vi, 3; Psa. lxxviii, 39; Isa. xxxi, 3; Jer. xvii, 5; and Matt. xxvi, 41; John i, 14; 1 Tim. iii, 16, &c.) In the above general statement it has the most comprehensive sense.

Spirit is the eternal, all-creating, and all-renewing divine life, which is in God, and is God himself, through whose impartation to man, over and against nature, he is renewed to salvation and the victory over death. Christ was begotten of the Holy Ghost, and they who believe in him are, through the same Spirit, children of God, (ch. i, 12, 13,) spiritual men, (Gal. vi, 1,) and will, therefore, in the coming life, be clothed with spiritual bodies. Rom. viii, 11; 1 Cor. xv, 44–49.

Verse 8. *So is every one that is born of the Spirit.*] No man can tell whence the wind comes, and how far its power reaches, though he hears and feels it, and knows its existence beyond doubt. So, man can yield to this operation of the spirit, can experience it, but cannot, of himself, tell its origin or limit. In Greek and Hebrew wind and spirit are the same word; hence wind is a natural image of spirit.

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* We do not wish to be considered as approving all the author's views, either here or elsewhere. He speaks for himself.

Verse 11. *We—testify that we have seen.*] 'John the Baptist and I.' They both spake, not from faith, or a mediate knowledge, but (though with the greatest difference, verse 31) from an immediate revelation of divine things, (thus, ch. i, 34;) hence the word 'testify.' Jesus connects his testimony with that of the Baptist, because he wished to lay upon Nicodemus the sin of unbelief in not receiving John. Here Christ says of the Baptist, that he testifies what he has seen; while, later, John declares expressly of Jesus, that *he* testifies what he has seen and heard. They both accord with each other: (comp. verse 32.)

Verse 13. *The Son of man who is in heaven.*] The Son of man has not merely been once in heaven, but is always there. His divine nature has united itself with the human in one person, so that he can say, 'I have come from heaven;' that is, he has, as the eternal Son of God, renounced his divine attributes, and—'I am still in heaven'—he stands, notwithstanding this, in the same inseparable union with the Father, as before the creation of the world.

Verse 14. *So must the Son of man be lifted up.*] On the cross: comp. ch. xii, 32, 33. The 'lifting up' has a double sense, because Christ has ascended from the cross to the crown. In that particular healing of bodily wounds, the general healing of the wounds of sin is imaged. As the fiery serpents recalled to mind the serpent in Paradise, (that is, sin as the cause of evil,) so the image of the serpent pointed to him who appeared 'in the likeness of sinful flesh,' (Rom. viii, 3,) to bear the punishment of sin, and to reveal, in the flesh itself, the glory of God. As the looking upon the serpent healed the bitten, so does the spiritual gazing of faith upon the Son of man, offered on the cross, heal all the effects of sin.

Verse 17. *But that the world through him might be saved.*] Christ, by this expression, separates his first appearance on the earth from the second; and this last is clearly distinguished in John, from the judgment within. 1 John ii, 28; John v, 22, 27; Acts xvii, 31. Had he come to judge the world, he could only have condemned it. But, by means of this, the greatest miracle of divine love, the new birth is possible. Yet Christ has come for judgment into this world, (ch. ix, 39;) for *he* who does not believe on him, is condemned already, (verse 19.) As *he* has not come specially to judge, but rather to bless, the unbelief in the redemption offered to all, judges and condemns men.

Verse 18. *Is condemned already.*] All that the future world will reveal is begun already here; as the sonship in God, the eternal life, so also the judgment, the great separation for eternity, the condemnation of all who persist in unbelief to the end. Hence, every one can know here his state in grace."

Our last extract is "*The Washing of the Disciples' Feet.* John, ch. xiii."

John, having ended the account of the public ministry of Jesus, now relates, with greater fulness, what then occurred until the time of his suffering, in the quiet circle of his friends, from whom he now took his departure. He speaks of the last meal of which Jesus partook with his disciples; but, as always, so here, it is more his aim to set forth in its inward character and spiritual significance, what was already sufficiently known to his readers from the other evangelists and from oral tradition. As, therefore, he says nothing of the institution of baptism, but much of the new birth, of which baptism is the sacrament, (ch. iii,) so, also, he omits the institution of the holy supper,—the sacrament of the continuing communion with the Saviour,—and speaks of the invisible union of Jesus with the disciples, and of the disciples with each other in him. The farewell discourses, and the prayer as High Priest, here following, contain chiefly these topics. The entire section (ch. xiii–xvii) begins with the history of his washing the disciples' feet, which stands in close connexion with the

history of his sufferings. As the submissive love of Jesus was obedient to the death of the cross, for the life of the world, so it did not disdain to cleanse the already purified disciples from the stains still cleaving to them; and as the cross, the lifting up from the earth, united the scattered children of God, so his example here was designed to keep his own bound together, in an humble and mutually forgiving love. But the betrayer, too, had his feet washed, and remained to the last insensible to the Saviour's love; so that what was to the other disciples a gracious means of purification, was to him the occasion of greater obduracy. With the secession of Judas from the circle of disciples, the death of Jesus was *outwardly*, as before, by the entire submission of his will to the will of his Father, it was *inwardly*, (ch. xii, 27,) decided; the world wills his death, and he and the Father will it too. He is already dead to the world, and will no more reveal himself to it, (ch. xiv, 17,) and for it will not pray, (ch. xvii, 9.) He lives now altogether in his own; to strengthen and console them by the promise of the Holy Ghost, and its mighty illumination, to encourage them to the closest union with him and each other, to the true keeping of his commandments, to confession under ignominy and trial; and, finally, 'to offer for them an earnest, importunate prayer, in which he opens the abyss of his heart.' With this prayer, his life upon the earth is completed; he enters upon the path of suffering, which in a few hours finishes his work, and lifts him to the glory with the Father, which he had before the world was.

Verse 1. *Now before the feast of the Passover.*] John speaks here of the point of time *immediately* before the Passover. It seems as if then the fervent love of Jesus for his own, gathered itself together for its last, richest outpouring. Thence John proceeds to narrate what occurred during the last meal, by which he undoubtedly means the proper paschal feast, the same in which the holy supper was instituted.

He loved them unto the end.] That is, as he had continually given them proofs of his love, so he gave such proofs now, in a pre-eminent degree, to the very end. These words form probably the superscription not only of the following account of the washing of their feet, but also of all that stands in connexion therewith, to the end of ch. xvii. John views all this as a rich outpouring of the divine love of the Saviour.

Verse 2. *And supper being ended.*] Gr. 'When the supper was ready.' As is the custom in warm countries, every one bathed himself at the close of the day; especially before the holy paschal meal. But it is moreover the custom, before the chief repast, to have the feet washed: this was the office either of slaves, or of the lowest of the company. Luke relates, (ch. xxii, 24, ff.,) that during this supper there was a contention among the disciples who should be greatest; and that Jesus showed them that such a one must be their servant. Accordingly, the occurrence may be thus conceived:—the feet were cleansed while they reclined; Jesus had first reclined at the table, and with him those disciples who considered themselves the greatest; during the washing the contention arose, and Jesus composed it by rising again, and beginning himself to wash their feet. The words of Luke show plainly that there the same meal is meant as here.

The devil having now put into the heart of Judas—to betray him.] John mentions this, in order to call attention partly to the time of the occurrence, partly to the immense opposition between the love and patience of Jesus and the obstinate perversity of Judas, and to show us how the calm, loving, feeling Jesus remained nevertheless undisturbed.

Verse 3. *And that he was come from God and went to God.*] What Jesus now did, he did with the clearest consciousness of the glory which he had with the Father before the world was, (ch. xvii, 5,) and of that which now awaited him. The Godhead of Jesus is indicated in these words, in distinction from his humanity, by means of the two expressions: he was of divine origin, and

he went again to the Father; that is, he entered now as a man into the possession of his own eternal, divine glory.

Verse 6. *Then cometh he to Simon Peter.*] 'It may be asked why no one of the others refused; why Peter alone showed such love and reverence? Perhaps Jesus first washed the feet of the betrayer, and then came to Peter, through whom the others received the needed information. Though Peter was chief, yet it was not to be wondered at that the presumptuous betrayer should recline before the first of the apostles; since he afterward showed his audacity, in taking the morsel from his Master without trembling.'—*Chrysostom.*

Verse 6. *Lord, dost thou wash my feet?*] 'The word "*Thou*" has great emphasis; he could say nothing stronger than *Thou:* it means, with the hands with which *Thou* hast opened the eyes of the blind, hast cleansed the leprous, and raised the dead.'—*Chrysostom.*

Verse 8. *Thou shalt never wash my feet.*] 'This would have been a praiseworthy humility, if obedience did not stand higher with God than every service and honour which man can pay him: nay, if the unerring sign of true humility were not the submission of all the thoughts and feelings to God's will; so that, without opposing, we count as good whatever he makes known to us as his pleasure.'—*Calvin.*

Verse 9. *Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head.*] 'Peter was vehement in his refusal, in his submission still more so; yet both proceeded from love. But why did not Jesus tell him the reason of his doing it? why did he rather add a warning? Because Peter would not then have yielded. Had Christ said to him, "Suffer it, for thus will I teach you humility," he would have promised a thousand times to be humble, that his Lord only might not wash his feet.'—*Chrysostom.*

Verse 10. *He that is washed, needeth not save to wash his feet.*] Jesus continues his figurative discourse. The obvious *outward* meaning of his language is this: 'Ye all have already bathed, hence there is need of nothing more than the washing of the feet, to cleanse off the dust which has soiled you in walking.' This design of the custom of washing serves him now for a parabolic discourse. 'In the holy baptism, [or that which only is its efficacy, the new birth,] man is entirely washed, not with the exception of the feet, but altogether. When, however, afterward we mingle in the affairs of the world, we traverse the earth with our feet, our human feelings and desires—without which we cannot live in this mortal state—are like the feet on which the dust gathers; and we are so defiled by them, that if we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. Daily, therefore, our advocate and intercessor washes our feet, and daily do we confess that we need to have them cleansed, when we say in the Lord's Prayer, Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And when we thus confess our sins, he who washed his disciples' feet is faithful and just to forgive our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.'—*Augustine.*"

These extracts will suffice to show the spirit and tone of the work. We should be glad to see it, with some modifications, in the hands of our German membership; who, unfortunately, have access neither to the stores of Fatherland, nor to those of English literature. It is our *duty* to furnish them with wholesome reading in their own language; a duty, we are happy to say, recognized fully by our Church, which has perhaps done more in this way, as well as in others, for the spiritual welfare of the Germans, than any other religious denomination. It has been mentioned to us that a brief,

pointed, but spiritual *Commentary on the Scriptures* is very much needed among them, and that the great leaders of the German movement among us are looking out for such a work. We venture to suggest Von Gerlach's Commentary to their attention. It could easily be weeded of any views inconsistent with those of our Church, and such additions as are necessary to fit it for the precise purpose for which it is needed could readily be made. The accomplished editor of the Apologist is amply competent to the task: may we ask him to address himself to it?

Art. VIII.—THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.

History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; comprehending all the Official Proceedings of the General Conference, and the General Convention, with such other matters as are necessary to a right understanding of the case. Nashville: compiled and published by the Editors and Publishers of the South Western Christian Advocate, for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; by order of the Louisville Convention. William Cameron, Printer: 1845.

We find, in the volume before us, much to commend and little to blame. Taking into consideration the exciting circumstances in which it originated, and the strictly party relations of the writers, the work is characterized by a commendable spirit and temper, and is written with, perhaps, as much fairness and impartiality as could have been reasonably expected. To complain that authors, personally implicated in the transactions they record, and feeling an individual interest in justifying the proceedings they narrate, do not always present the stronger and more unmanageable positions and arguments of their opponents, would be captious, if not querulous. It must be allowed to writers under such circumstances to assume the attitude of advocates, not of historians. Yet there is much of real history in this book. Besides the proceedings of the Louisville Convention itself, it contains papers of no ordinary importance in regard to the previous proceedings of the Annual Conferences represented in the Convention, and of the General Conference of 1844; all which will be necessary to the historian, who shall be favoured to write after the actors in the present excitements, and those excitements themselves, shall have passed away.

With the above palliating remarks, we hope it may not be offensive to say, that the reader must look over the first hundred pages of this History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as a jury is expected to listen to the pleadings of an advocate. His citations of

legal authorities are not suspected to be absolutely spurious, but, on the other hand, they are not to be taken as containing all that the legal decision or authority he cites may import, much less all that may be cited on the other side. These hundred pages of abstracts from the Journal and Debates of the General Conference in the cases of Mr. Harding and Bishop Andrew,—extracts chosen for the purpose of justifying the proceedings of the Louisville Convention in severing the Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States from the Methodist Episcopal Church,—are given in direct view of the end to be answered. The same may be said, too, of the hasty sketch of the history of General Conference action on the subject of slavery from 1780 down to 1844. An opponent would find it easy to show, by simply enlarging the passages cited, that the arguments made to rest upon them stand on a very sandy foundation. We do not purpose, however, to review these abstracts or arguments, in detail. The first may be readily corrected by the reader himself, by reference to the Journal and Debates of the General Conference of 1844, published at the Methodist Episcopal Book-Concern, New-York; and for the rest, the value of the assumptions and arguments based upon and intermingled with these partial citations, will be determined by the reader when he shall have made himself acquainted with the veritable records, published by the order, and under the supervision, of both parties, before the occasion arose for writing the History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

The remainder of the volume under review is chiefly made up of the preliminary proceedings of the Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States preparatory to the Louisville Convention, the doings of the Convention itself, and a chapter "embracing events subsequent to the adjournment of the Louisville Convention." To the last there are prefixed some general remarks on the state of things in the Church in general, and some severe animadversions on opposing editors, conferences, &c., which we can afford to pass over without reply or rejoinder.

Passing over, then, whatever is merely incidental to the narrative, we propose to review the historical statements only, which the diligent committee of the Louisville Convention have laid before the public; and these will be found of no ordinary interest to the Christian reader. A Church, containing more than a million of souls, and affording the ministry of the word of life, statedly, to five times that number of persons, efficient beyond all parallel in modern times in its organization, and successful beyond all example in carrying out the benign purposes of the gospel, especially to the poor, has been violently rent and divided by geographical lines; yet movable lines, according to

the interpretation of the seceders—a line upon wheels, to be pushed north or south as strength or address may prevail. All this has been done, too, under a manifestation of ill feeling, and angry temper, which proclaims a deep sense of injury and wrong done to the seceders. Indeed, the manifesto of the Louisville Convention, a paper drawn up with great ability by a committee, and adopted by the Convention with great unanimity, speaks of violated rights and high-handed injustice, and that too in a tone of indignation and rebuke, as if something had been suffered which outraged all the obligations of religion and even the duties of social life. Yet whoever inquires impartially for the causes which produced these complaints and the secession to which they led, will find, when he has stripped them of all adventitious covering, that the separatists do not themselves allege that any new articles of religious belief had been added to the creed of the Church, or anything expunged therefrom; nor do they intimate that anything whatever had been done which pressed hardly upon their consciences. On the contrary, they adopted, for the new church, both the doctrines and discipline of the old one, without alteration or abridgment, except such verbal changes as were necessary to adapt the whole to a new ecclesiastical organization.

What, then, it may be asked, has produced this sudden and violent dismemberment? What has so excited the feelings, and heated the passions, of Christian men, that they can no longer dwell together in unity with brethren, so long beloved, endeared to them not only by a common faith, but also by the fellowship of common sufferings and common success in the effort "to spread Scriptural holiness over these lands?" The answer, and the only answer which can be inferred from the proceedings of the Louisville Convention, is, that the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church had taken action which gave strong indications that a bishop holding slaves would not be tolerated in the church. For sixty years—that is, from the time of its organization—the Conference had, of set purpose, avoided the election of a slave-holder to the episcopacy; and now that one of those who had been elevated to the office of bishop, or general superintendent, had voluntarily become the owner of slaves, the Conference had voted it as the "sense" of the body, that he should cease to exercise his episcopal functions until the impediment was removed. This was the wound for which there was found no remedy, even in the fulness of Christian charity. It was not to be borne that the slave-holding ministers of the South should be cut off from all hope of reaching the episcopal dignity without parting with their property in their fellow-men. It was denounced as fanaticism, madness, reck-

lessness of law, justice, and good faith, and, to sum up all possible abuse in a word, it was—*abolitionism.*

It is true, and we have no disposition to conceal it, that other grounds of complaint are alleged; but they would not of themselves have occasioned any serious agitation, much less have produced a division of the church. The southern delegates, in their "Declaration" presented to the General Conference of 1844, enumerate among the grievances complained of, "the continued agitation of the subject of slavery and abolition in a portion of the church," and "the frequent action on that subject in the General Conference." But the church could not control the discussion on this subject, in any part of her connexion, without violating the liberty of speech and of the press guaranteed to every citizen; and it is not alleged that the General Conference had taken any action before that time offensive or injurious to the South. On the contrary, the work before us quotes the General Conferences of 1836 and of 1840 as eminently and worthily conservative. There remains, therefore, nothing to account for the separation but the proceedings of the General Conference in the case of Bishop Andrew; and in this case the unpardonable offence was, that it precluded slave-holding ministers from all hope of the episcopal office. Nevertheless, the case of Bishop Andrew was not the cause, but only the immediate occasion of separation. The causes must be looked for farther back, in the history of American slavery and of its effects upon the different branches of the Christian Church in the Southern States.

Christianity, on its first promulgation, found slavery an established practice recognized and sanctioned by public law throughout the Roman empire, which included nearly, if not entirely, the whole civilized world. The celebrated Justinian code not only sanctions the system, but justifies it, on the ground that prisoners taken in war might be rightfully put to death by the captor, and, therefore, if he spared their lives, they became absolutely his property, and might be disposed of in any way which their owner's interest, caprice, or passions might suggest. He had the absolute power of life and death over his slaves, and they were often put to death with the most cruel tortures.

Under the Roman law, the slave was not a *person*, but simply *property*. He had no legal rights, civil, social, or political. He could hold no property; and if, by the favour of his master, he was permitted to acquire any, it might be forcibly wrested from him by violence. The law afforded no redress. He himself, and his children, were only protected from violence as the property of his master; and if this protection was withheld or withdrawn, he was

subject to be robbed or murdered, with entire impunity to the aggressor. Meantime, emancipation was greatly restricted by law. The number of freed-men was strictly limited; and beyond this number, the master conferred no civil, political, or social rights upon those whom he discharged from his service. On the contrary, he greatly aggravated their condition, as he withdrew from them the only protection to life itself. So long as they remained his property, he could legally claim compensation for any personal damage which disabled them for service, as he might for a like injury done to a horse or an ox; but when the ownership was renounced, all protection was withdrawn.

With these historical statements before us, it is easy to account for the fact, that our Lord and his apostles neither gave any positive commandment to the Church enjoining the emancipation of slaves, nor made emancipation a condition of church fellowship. Christianity was designed and calculated to better the civil and social, as well as the religious and moral, condition of man. But its effects upon the slave population of the world would have been directly the reverse had it enjoined as a duty upon masters the discharge of their slaves from service, unless they could at the same time have invested them with the essential rights of freemen; or at least have secured to them the protection of life and property, which under existing circumstances was impracticable. It is easy to imagine the deplorable state to which such a command would have reduced both master and slave. The slave would have been put into the condition of a wild beast, to be hunted and slain in the mere wantonness of cruelty; and the master would have been compelled, on pain of eternal damnation, to inflict upon his fellow-man this cruel injury. Infinite wisdom and mercy ordered it otherwise. The Author of our holy religion ordained and established the universal law of love as the rule of life; and having enjoined it by precept, and illustrated it by comment and example, he caused it to be proclaimed to all the world, by men chosen and qualified to preach his gospel to every creature. It was this law which, under the gracious influences accompanying the ministration of his messengers, was so to enlighten the understandings, and change the hearts of men, as to supplant and abrogate all human laws and institutions, which authorized outrages upon the rights of humanity, or which restrained the overflowings of brotherly kindness and charity, among all classes and conditions of men. The reader will have occasion to remember these remarks on the subject of slavery in the primitive church, when we come to examine the history of our own church action on the same subject, in a subsequent part of this article.

There were several civil relations included in the term slave, (δοῦλος, doulos,) but we have spoken of that relation only which implied absolute property in the master or owner.

That the moral law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," under the commentaries and illustrations of it by our Lord and his apostles, was understood, in the early times of Christianity, to condemn the practice of slavery, and oblige Christians to emancipate their slaves, where it was practicable without inflicting upon them greater evils, is shown by many historical facts. St. Clement, who was a contemporary of the apostles, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, says, "We know how many among ourselves have given themselves unto bonds, that thereby they might free others from them. Others have sold themselves into bondage, that they might free their brethren with the price of themselves." The churches were accustomed to make great pecuniary sacrifices to redeem captives taken in war, from the slavery to which the Roman law doomed them. Those of Armida not only exhausted their personal wealth, but sold the plate and furniture of their churches, and redeemed seven thousand Persians who were offered for sale by the Romans, and sent them home to their own country and people. What an open door did this glorious manifestation of Christian principle and religious philanthropy provide for the preaching of the gospel in Persia!

Julian, the apostate Roman emperor, bears testimony, even in his malice against Christians, to their benevolence, and ascribes their success in spreading the gospel to their charity. They were accustomed to take up collections weekly, and apply them to redeem persons, especially their brethren, from slavery. This gave them great favour with the lower classes, many of whom were slaves.

The primitive Christians read the second table of the Decalogue with great advantages over the Jew. The fact that God had doomed the Canaanites to destruction by the hands of the Israelites, because their iniquities were full, led the Hebrew to suppose the command to "love his neighbour as himself," was restricted to the descendants of Abraham. Our Lord had corrected this mistake, in his sermon on the Mount. "Ye have heard," says he, "that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." And, subsequently, he taught them explicitly the universality of the application of the term "neighbour," in the parable of the good Samaritan.

The apostles too, in their epistles, and we may infer also in their preaching, made the same application of this universal law of love. As a single instance out of many, we may refer to the thirteenth chapter of first Corinthians, upon the reading of which no Christian could doubt the meaning of our Lord when he said, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them, for this is *the law* and the prophets." And the primitive Christians made no mistake as to the meaning of the law, or its application to slavery. So general was the opinion, throughout the churches, that the holding their fellow-men in bondage was a violation of this paramount, universal law of love, that Constantine, the first Christian emperor, among the first acts of his reign, gave to his subjects an unlimited right to emancipate their slaves, by simply declaring their purpose before a congregation assembled for public worship. We cannot suppose the emperor brought the opinions and feelings, which prompted to this act, from the darkness of heathenism out of which he had so recently emerged. He found the condemnation of slavery a common sentiment in the Church, whose tenets he had embraced, and hastened to relieve Christians of the impediments which the laws of the empire had interposed between their sense of duty to their slaves and the fulfilment of their benevolent wishes. There was, perhaps, no Christian statesman at the emperor's elbow, to hint the cautions of worldly policy, or to suggest the danger to the empire of giving way to the fanaticism of the Christians, and turning loose upon society so great a number of persons debased and demoralized by the abject condition of slavery; and the sovereign was left to the conclusion that the moral condition of the slaves, which had been produced by slavery, could not be ameliorated by a perpetuation of the system. Nor was there any Christian minister to ply him with the argument that, as neither the Author of Christianity, nor his apostles, had given any positive precept forbidding slavery, the system could not be morally wrong; and the emperor was left to infer, that, as the system stood opposed to the paramount law of love, the universal church was right in the conclusion to which it had come, that as "love worketh no ill to its neighbour," the manifest ill of depriving their fellow-men of the common personal rights of humanity, was a violation of the law. He would not, therefore, hinder them from performing the duty which their consciences, under the light of the gospel, imperatively enjoined. Christians should therefore be authorized by law to emancipate their slaves without let or hindrance.

In the subsequent ages of the Church, we find the system and the practice of slavery giving way before the light of revelation and the march of Christianity, until Europe, at least, and Asia, wherever the

Christian religion retained its ascendency, in both civil and ecclesiastical legislation, had become nearly, if not entirely, freed from the accursed thing. Even that modified form of it, known as "villanage," had given way before a sacred regard for the rights of man, as yet bearing, even in the ruins of his fall, the image of his Creator. The baronial right of personal service from their vassals, which was established over Europe after the fall of the Roman empire, was, indeed, a very different thing from the slavery which now exists in this country; but it was, nevertheless, too degraded a condition of humanity to be tolerated by the law of love, and we find it nearly, if not entirely abolished before the commencement of the African slave-trade. And neither Louis XIII. of France, nor Elizabeth of England, could be induced to sanction or tolerate this cruel traffic, until they were persuaded it was the best, if not the only way, to convert the heathens of Africa to Christianity; and that the negroes were brought from Africa with their own free consent. Strange as it may appear now, to hear pious pretences urged in favour of slavery, they are of very early date, and were adduced first in justification of the slave-trade itself.

Nor is it at all unaccountable that the Christian world should have been so generally imposed upon by these flimsy pretences. The horrors of the African slave-trade were not even suspected for many years after its existence. It was easy, then, to conceal its enormities from the great mass of the community. It was not the age of newspapers. The first of these vehicles of general information appeared in 1588, and it scarcely deserved the name, being a kind of circular, issued a few times, dropped, and forgotten. It was long afterward that regular newspapers began to circulate intelligence of passing events; and it is only lately that they have become so numerous and cheap as to reach almost every condition and class of society. The manner of obtaining slaves in Africa was known to few except those immediately concerned in the traffic, which continued to increase, both in amount, and in its horrible effects upon its victims, until, some fifty years ago, an effort was made to abolish it, by bringing before the British Parliament the terrible statistics of its outrages on humanity.

The history of this movement forms one of the most interesting and instructive chapters in the annals of the world. On the one hand, we learn the blinding and indurating effects of selfishness,—the total obliteration of the moral sense, in respect to a particular kind or form of transgression, while it may be even acutely sensible to evils of much less magnitude,—the "straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel;" and, on the other, the certain triumph of zealous and per-

severing effort in the cause of truth and righteousness, when governed and invigorated by religious principle. When Mr. Clarkson undertook his glorious task, there were many deeply concerned and personally interested in the profits of the slave-trade, who were professedly pious, and who maintained the appearance of a godly life and conversation in all other respects. Some of these were restored to their mental vision, repented of their sin, and gave their money and influence to the good cause; while others persisted in their opposition to the last. But vain were wealth and power combined in fearful array against the enlightened, direct, and persevering effort, undertaken at first by a single individual, without the aid of wealth, or the patronage of power, but in humble and steadfast reliance upon Him whose strength is made perfect—manifested most gloriously—in human weakness. Friends to the cause sprang up on every hand; here a Wilberforce, and there a Wesley; and finally, God, who hath the hearts of all men—even politicians and statesmen—in his hands, so divided the king's privy council on the subject, that it was agreed to leave the question of abolishing the slave-trade an open question in Parliament, the members of the ministry being allowed severally to take the side which his judgment approved. Mr. Pitt, the prime minister of the crown, was found on the side, first of amelioration, and finally of abolition, and with him the most popular of his colleagues; while the leading members of the "opposition" took an active part with Clarkson and his friends. Some twenty years did the battle rage before the victory was won.

The opponents of the measure disputed every inch of ground. At first they boldly defended the inhuman traffic, as not only just, but merciful and benevolent in its purposes and effects on the slaves. The old pretences—that "they were transported with their own consent," and that they were thus "brought within reach of the Gospel"—were revived, and to these were added others, which, it was alleged, had been developed in the practical operation of the trade. The slaves, it was declared, were chiefly procured from a class who had been already reduced to slavery, either for debt or crime, or who had been made prisoners, and consequently slaves, in the warfare of petty chieftains; and the transporting them to the islands and continent of America was only to transfer them from heathen to Christian masters.

The insincerity and falsity of these pretences were easily exposed, by living witnesses, who had learned the details of the traffic from personal observation. Mr. Clarkson succeeded in proving, before various committees appointed by Parliament, that at least one-half

of those subjected to slavery by the traders were kidnapped, more or less privately, without even the imputation of crime or offence. Of the rest, some were from villages utterly destroyed either by wars, instigated by cupidity, or by the violence of lawless banditti; prisoners taken in wars, mostly waged for the purpose of procuring slaves for the traders; some were convicts for some real or alleged crime, the convictions being influenced by the desire to make merchandise of the convicts; some were born slaves; some had lost their liberty by gambling, and others had been sold for debt. None of these causes, except crimes,—and these only of a desperate kind,—could be made just ground of perpetual, much less of hereditary, slavery. And as to the Christian motive of converting them to the true religion, it was shown, that not only were no measures taken to secure the benefits of religious teaching to the slaves, but measures had been taken to prevent it. There are on record legislative enactments prohibiting the baptism of slaves without the consent of their owners, and on the alleged ground that it might interfere with the rights of property. To counteract the influence of this opinion in preventing the religious instruction of slaves, the Bishop of London, whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction included the British colonies, addressed a circular to the colonists, and attempted to reconcile them to the instruction and baptism of their slaves, by assuring them that religion had nothing to do with civil rights,—that whatever rights they had in their slaves before baptism they would retain afterwards. Whatever may be said of the bishop's doctrine, certain it is there was no occasion for special legislative action to secure masters in the absolute legal right to forbid the religious instruction of their slaves. It is included, to this day, in the general powers invested in every slave-holder, even in the United States. He may absolutely forbid the preaching of the gospel to them, their attendance at public worship, or the practice of any outward religious duty.

Having thus exposed the sophistry and falsehood of the advocates of the slave-trade, Clarkson next showed the terrible sufferings of its victims in the slave-prisons on the coast, the wholesale murders of "the middle passage," and the cruelties practised upon the slaves by the planters and their agents. Finally, public justice was awakened; and after vainly attempting to ameliorate the trade, the British Parliament abolished it. But this did not happen until the colonies, having achieved their liberties by a glorious struggle for independence, had formed a political confederacy under the name of "The United States of America," recognizing in their justification the just "rights of man" as man,—rights

which, if they had given them the universal application which we claim for them, would have abolished the slave-trade and the whole system of slavery imposed upon the colonists by the mother country. Some of the colonies had earnestly remonstrated against the evils imposed upon them by the importation of slaves, and petitioned the mother country for relief; but, strange to say, upon the adoption of the Federal Constitution, our own government was prohibited from interdicting the importation of slaves from Africa until the year 1808, that is, for twenty years.

The preceding facts and statements have been premised, in order to account for the early and strong feeling of the Methodists against the system of slavery, as it existed from the time when they first became known as a religious community in this country, down to the Conference of 1844, when the action was taken, which gave such mortal offence to a large portion of the Methodist ministers and members of the Church in the slave-holding States of the Union.

Some time before the introduction of Methodism into this country, the religious body called "Friends," or "Quakers," had been convinced of the evils and wrong of slavery, in which they had, at first, participated. They very generally carried out their principles by voluntary emancipation. Considering the few channels of communication, the public mind had been much enlightened on the subject, and our earliest preachers bore a faithful testimony against the injustice and cruelty of the slave-trade and of the system of slavery, as it existed by law in all the colonies. But as they did not at first constitute a church, in the ordinary acceptation of the term—being only "Mr. Wesley's societies" in America—they adopted the rules of the societies in England for their government; and as there were no slaves in England, these rules contained none on the subject of slavery, except as the general principles of religious obligation were embodied in "the large Minutes," and applied to the subject. Minor regulations were adopted, from time to time, by the American preachers in "Conference," but only such as were needed to carry out the principles of action and government supplied by the parent society in England, and to adapt them to the peculiar circumstances of the societies in this country. But this very adaptation of principles, or their specific application to the peculiar circumstances of the American societies, was, at a very early day, thought to require the American Conference to take action against the whole system and practice of slavery. In 1780 we find the following minute: "Quest. 16. Ought not this Conference to require those travelling preachers who hold slaves to give promises to set them free? Ans. Yes. Quest. 17. Does this Conference acknow-

ledge that slavery is contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society; contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion, and doing that which we would not that others should do to us and ours? Do we pass our disapprobation on all our friends who keep slaves, and advise their freedom? Ans. Yes." In 1783, it was resolved to try the local preachers who hold slaves, where the laws admit of emancipation, "another year." The resolution proceeds:—"In the mean time, let every assistant" (preacher in charge) "deal faithfully and plainly with every one, and report to the next Conference. It may then be necessary to suspend them." In 1784, at a Conference held before the "Christmas Conference," at which the Methodist Episcopal Church was instituted and organized, it was ruled, that members who persisted in buying slaves, with no other intention than to hold them in slavery, should be expelled; and that they should not be permitted to sell on any consideration. At the same time it was resolved, to continue on trial the local preachers in Virginia, who held slaves, for another year, and to "suspend" those in Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey. This distinction was, no doubt, made in consequence of the greater difficulties in respect to emancipation, under which the local preachers of Virginia laboured; and perhaps from prudential considerations, arising from the state of public feeling in that commonwealth; for the present laws of Virginia on this subject did not exist so early as 1784. With respect to slave-holding travelling preachers, who refused to manumit their slaves where the law permitted it, it was ruled that they should be employed "no more."

This was the state of things when, in December, 1784, the General Conference, under the advice of Mr. Wesley, adopted the episcopal form of government, and organized a church. At this time a large proportion of the preachers were Southern men, that is, were born and brought up in what are still slave-holding States; and some which are now free States then tolerated slavery. Yet among the proceedings of this Conference we find the most direct and unqualified condemnation of slavery; although slave-holding is tolerated, from the necessity imposed by uncontrollable circumstances, in some portions of the connexion. The 42d question is, "What methods can we take to extirpate slavery? Ans. We are deeply conscious of the impropriety of making new terms of communion for a religious society already established, excepting on the most pressing occasion; and such we esteem the practice of holding our fellow-creatures in slavery. We view it as contrary to the golden law of God, on which hang all the law and the prophets, and the unalienable rights of mankind, as well as every principle of the Revolution, to hold in the

deepest debasement, in a more abject slavery than is perhaps to be found in any part of the world except America, so many souls that are all capable of the image of God." . . . . "We therefore think it our most bounden duty to take, immediately, some effectual method to extirpate this abomination from among us, and for that purpose we add the following to the rules of our society."

The rules which follow imperatively require, that after twelve months' notice given by the preacher in charge of a circuit or station, (called the "Assistant,") every member of the society shall emancipate his slaves at certain ages, and manumit, at birth, every child born thereafter. Members refusing compliance with this new term of communion are permitted to withdraw *quietly*, otherwise the Assistant must exclude them. No one so withdrawing, or so excluded, could be allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper with the Methodists, without a previous compliance with the rules on slavery. A note is added, providing that "these rules are to affect the members of our society no further than as they are consistent with the laws of the State in which they reside." And a further exception is made in favour of members residing in Virginia. "In consideration of their peculiar circumstances," they are allowed "two years," instead of one, "to consider the expediency of compliance, or non-compliance, with these rules." With respect to buying and selling slaves, "exclusion is made imperative upon the Assistant, unless they are bought on purpose to free them."

At this Conference, the "General Rules" of Mr. Wesley's societies in England, as contained in the "Larger Minutes," were adopted, with some slight modifications; but they contain no specific rule on slavery, and hence there was added the following prohibition, which had existed in the American societies from 1789: "The buying or selling the bodies and souls of men, women, or children, with an intention to enslave them." In 1792 the rule was so modified as to read, "the buying or selling men, women, or children, with an intention to enslave them;" the words bodies and souls being omitted. For the substitution of the word "and" for "or," as in our present "Discipline," no authority is found in the Journals of the General Conference. It was, no doubt, originally a typographical error, which has been suffered to pass without correction ever since it appeared in the Discipline published in 1808.

Notwithstanding the qualifying note appended to the disciplinary rules enacted by the General Conference of 1784, they engendered a degree of excitement and opposition which could only be appeased by their suspension. Not more than six months after their publication, at an Annual Conference held in 1785, the follow-

ing minute was passed:—"It is recommended to all our brethren to suspend the execution of the Minute on Slavery, till the deliberations of a future Conference; and that an equal space of time be allowed all our members for consideration, when the Minute shall be put in force." Yet this Conference, faithful to the testimony which the societies, before their organization as a Church, and at the moment of such organization, had borne against the whole system of slavery, appended to the foregoing Minute a note reiterating the condemnation:—"N. B. We do hold in the deepest abhorrence the practice of slavery, and shall not cease to seek its destruction by all wise and prudent means." This note was retained in the Discipline of 1786.

From this time until 1796 we find nothing on the subject of slavery, except what is contained in the "General Rules." In 1796 the question occurs, "What regulations shall be made for the extirpation of the crying evil of African slavery?" But the answer shows the general persuasion which obtained in the Church, that little could be done by ecclesiastical legislation, beyond simply testifying against the "crying evil." State legislation so effectually counteracted all disciplinary regulations, that to compel the members, or even the ministers, of the Church, on pain of excommunication, to discharge slaves from their service, was forbidden by that very "law of love" which condemned the system of slavery, because it inflicted an injury, instead of a benefit, on the slaves. The Conference restricted its action to a declaration, that "We are more than ever convinced of the evil of the African slavery which still exists in these United States;" recommending to Annual Conferences, and the inferior official bodies and functionaries, to be cautious in the appointments to official stations in the Church, and to appoint none to such stations who held slaves, and would not promise to free them immediately, or gradually, where the laws of the State allowed it. The Annual Conferences were authorized to make regulations with respect to the admission to official stations. It was also enacted that no slave-holder should be received into the Church until the preacher in charge should have spoken to him freely and faithfully on the subject of slavery.

The Conference, however, still adhered to the rules with respect to the buying and selling of slaves, although it would seem that these regulations were as impracticable, under the adverse legislation of the States, as the emancipation of slaves inherited by members of the Church. It was enacted by this Conference, that "Every member of the society who sells a slave shall immediately, after full proof, be excluded the society." And it was moreover required of every member purchasing a slave to manumit him, or her, at

such time as should be determined upon by the quarterly meeting of the circuit; and a refusal to submit the case to the quarterly meeting, or to abide its decision, was to be followed by exclusion.

Finally, the Conference resolved, that "The preachers and other members of our society are requested to consider the subject of negro slavery with deep attention, until the ensuing General Conference," (1800,) and to report to the Conference the result of their deliberations. What report was made to the Conference of 1800, in consequence of this request, does not appear; but the action of the body thereon shows the great embarrassment it felt on the subject. A rule was enacted imperatively requiring travelling preachers to emancipate their slaves, where the laws of the State permitted it, upon pain of forfeiture of ministerial character; and the Annual Conferences were directed to draw up, and present to the State legislatures which had passed no laws in favour of emancipation, "addresses," praying for the gradual emancipation of slaves. These addresses were to be continued, from year to year, until the end should be accomplished.

In 1808 the Annual Conferences, severally, were authorized to make such regulations with respect to the buying and selling of slaves as might be deemed proper. In 1820 this rule was repealed, and, after a variety of modifications, which serve only to exhibit the utter helplessness of the Church, under the stringent laws in regard to emancipation which had been from time to time adopted by the slave-holding States, our disciplinary regulations on the subject of slavery and slave-holding were reduced to what is at present contained in the 10th Section of the Discipline, and which, it must be confessed, taken in connexion with the interpretation given to the "General Rule" on the subject of "buying or selling men, women, or children, with an intention to enslave them," has been a "dead letter" in most of the slave-holding States, the General Rule being understood to apply only to the purchase of free people, "with the intention to enslave them."

In reviewing the legislation on the subject of slavery by the "Methodist Society," and the "Methodist Episcopal Church," three facts stand out in bold relief, at every period in the history. First, the Methodists in this country have uniformly borne a strong and decided testimony against slavery, as recognized and sustained by the "colonies" in the first instance, and then by the slave-holding States of the Union: they have never wavered in their condemnation of the slave-trade and of the whole system of slavery as a grievous wrong and a violation of the law of God. Secondly, that, very early in the history of the Church, the impediments to emancipa-

tion, interposed by State legislation, controlled the action of the Annual and General Conferences, so that it was impossible to enforce emancipation by making it a term of church membership, without inflicting a grievous injury on the slaves, and requiring of their owners an unwarrantable condition of Christian fellowship. And, thirdly, that under these circumstances the Church followed the example of the Apostolic Church, and ceased to require emancipation where it was legally impracticable, or where a deed of manumission from the owner did not secure to his slaves the blessings of freedom in the State in which they resided, but compelled them to emigrate, or subjected them to a public sale by the sheriff to the highest bidder, who, in almost every instance, would be a merciless slave-trader. The Church struggled hard and long, but the struggle was useless. She therefore acknowledged a distinction between slavery and slave-holding,—between slavery as a system of iniquity, not only sanctioned by law, but from which the laws allowed the master no escape, without a violation of moral and religious duty, and the legal exercise of an ownership which afforded the only means of protecting the slave against a violent separation from wife, children, and the endearments of all social relations.

With this view of the subject, the charge so vehemently urged by the ultra-abolitionists against the Methodist Episcopal Church, that, having repeatedly acknowledged slavery to be sinful, she had tolerated sin, by allowing her members to hold slaves, is as unjust as it is injurious. She has, indeed, as we have shown, declared slavery to be a sin against both God and natural justice; but, though the legislation which sanctions it is necessarily a national sin, the owning of slaves, under such legislation, may, or may not, be sinful, according to the motives and circumstances of the owner. If the motive be gain, or personal convenience, and the circumstances by which he is surrounded allow the owner to confer on his slaves the blessings of freedom, it is a violation of the rule of life, on which hang "the law and the prophets," to retain them in bondage; but if he cannot renounce the ownership without inflicting upon his slaves injuries still greater than slavery itself, it is a fulfilling of the same law to extend to them the protection which his legal rights enable him to afford to them. This is the doctrine of the Methodist Episcopal Church, —a doctrine from which she has never swerved, and from which we hope she never will swerve.

At length the Methodist Episcopal Church found herself nearly in the condition of the primitive Church, with respect to slavery. The paramount law of love is unchanged, and unchangeable; but human legislation is now, as then, antagonistic to its precepts.

Our laws on the subject of slavery differ little from the laws of heathen Rome. They do not, indeed, explicitly give the master the power of life and death over his slaves, but the protection they throw over life is rendered nearly nugatory, by the rejection of the testimony of all coloured persons, in the prosecution of a white slayer, as well as in all other cases. Slaves may, therefore, be murdered with impunity, provided no white person witnesses the act. With respect to punishment short of death, it would, in most of the slave-holding States, be found almost impracticable to hold a master to any legal account whatever; and in some of the States death itself may be inflicted by the master, or by his permission, for the offence of absconding from service. In severity, therefore, our laws differ little from those of the Roman empire; though our legislators are, nominally at least, Christians, while those of ancient Rome knew nothing of the benign precepts of our holy religion.

Meantime, most of the slave-holding States have enacted laws which render emancipation even more difficult than those of the Romans. A certain proportion of the slaves might be freed under the laws of the cruel Nero, and enjoy the privileges of freedom among their kindred; but, outstripping the tyranny of the despots of heathenism, most of our slave-holding States render freedom impossible to any portion of the coloured population within their jurisdiction. And all this is justified by Christian ministers,—Methodist ministers,—who affect to throw around the whole system of slavery the high and holy sanctions of Christianity. True, they take a distinction between slavery and what they call the abuses of the system; but the distinction is without meaning. It is not the use, only, which slave-holders make of the power which the law gives them over their slaves, but the power itself, that the Methodist Episcopal Church has always condemned as a sin against God and natural justice. The abuse of power, we acknowledge, must not be confounded with the power itself; but "the power to do wrong with impunity seldom waits long for the will;" and it is this absolute power to do wrong,—to strip fellow-creatures of the rights of humanity,—which we contend is a legislative violation of the law of God, and a national sin. And it is this power,—this authority to do wrong with impunity, constituting the very essence of slavery,—which is now defended by Christian ministers, but against which the Methodist Episcopal Church continues to bear a faithful testimony.

For a long time the righteous teachings, and faithful, earnest admonitions of the Methodists, had great effect in producing voluntary emancipation; and indeed they have not entirely ceased to operate even to the present time. Thousands have rejoiced in the blessings

of freedom, obtained through Methodist instrumentality, and they have handed down these blessings to a still more numerous posterity. Among the prominent facts in the history of Methodism, only one is a subject of greater rejoicing than the influence of the Church in procuring the freedom of slaves; namely, that her ministry have been the instruments of deliverance to millions—embracing the coloured as well as the white population—from the bondage of sin. Which will ultimately effect the greater amount of good to the human family, perhaps the church triumphant only will reveal. It is now certain that the colony of Liberia could not have been established but by coloured people, who had previously learned social duties and obligations, together with industrious and provident habits as freemen; and of the freemen who first made the experiment, and who for years gave it the high character it maintained, a majority were members of the missionary church established there by the Methodists; and most of the rest received their religious as well as literary instruction from the mission. Even now the preponderance of the Methodists is little abated; and when we look forward to the effects which this colony is to have in Christianizing and civilizing of the whole continent of Africa south of the great desert, who can estimate the ultimate effects of Methodist influence in freeing so many of the African race from corporeal as well as spiritual bondage?

A variety of causes have contributed to interpose State legislation as a barrier to the influence of primitive Methodism, on the condition of the slaves. First of all, the great increase in the value of slaves, from the addition of States in which our most lucrative staples, tobacco, cotton, and sugar, are grown. The high price of negroes awakened the cupidity of owners, and raised a cry against the advocates of emancipation, similar, both in nature and violence, to the outcries of the artisans of Ephesus, against the great apostle to the Gentiles, when his preaching threatened to deprive them of their gains by turning people from the worship of Diana. Secondly, the indiscreet and violent measures of the ultra abolitionists in some of the free States. It would have been difficult, if not impossible, for the pro-slavery party in the South to have enlisted public feeling so effectually in favour of the system, but for the terror occasioned by combinations in the free States, designed, it was alleged, to effect an insurrection of the slaves. No one in the North believed this to be intended, but yet no one could deny that it might be the effect of the movement. In the South it was easy to terrify the public mind into the severest measures which might be proposed, under the plausible pretence of counteracting abolitionism. The friends of gradual

and prudent emancipation either partook of the panic, or were appalled at the tempest of indignation affected or felt by the pro-slavery party, and gave them their own way. Even in Maryland laws were enacted against free people of colour, as well as slaves, which would have disgraced the statute-book of Turkey. Yet worse statutes than any already passed—more cruel and relentless in their nature and consequences—have since been proposed to the legislature. Thirdly, the Methodist testimony against slavery was not sustained by the sister churches as religious communities, except by the "Friends," or "Quakers." The latter made thorough work of it among their own members. In the States which opposed no hindrances to voluntary emancipation, they very early effected an entire liberation of their slaves; and those who resided where emancipation was impracticable, discharged them from personal service, and put them under the care of the Yearly Meeting, which provided for them employment and superintendence, until they could be disposed of according to the principles of Friends. A considerable number were transported and settled in Liberia. We have neither time nor space to inquire whether the plan of the Quakers, or of the Methodists, was the best. The Quakers have long since almost entirely ceased to act aggressively on the world as a Christian body, contenting themselves with a careful instruction of their own children in their religious opinions, and guarding them from injurious association by disciplinary regulations. The Methodists, from their missionary economy, would cease to exist at all, if they ceased to act aggressively in the propagation of the gospel. They have been studious, therefore, to preserve an open door of access to both slaves and slave-holders. The Friends felt called to sacrifice their access to both, rather than compromise, in any degree, their views with respect to slave-holding, under any circumstances whatever. The Methodists have many slaves in their communion, walking humbly in the path of Christian obedience and hope, and many free people of colour. The Friends have hardly any, if indeed they have any, of either class under their care. Perhaps both Quakers and Methodists have followed their appropriate calling in this respect, each subserving a providential purpose, under the guidance of our common Lord and Lawgiver.

The other churches, the Protestant Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Baptists, sects which occupy prominent positions among the religious denominations of the slave-holding States, have not taken any decided action against the system of slavery. Individuals among them have, both by precept and example, done good service; but as Christian denominations, they have not been counted

among the decided opponents of slavery.* It is lately that our Protestant Episcopalian brethren of the South have begun to recover from the deleterious effects of that first principle of church establishments—the taking the world into the church, without converting the world to the truth as it is in Christ. The Church of England, overthrown by the Revolution, left her people without a ministry, and with the recollection of one whose example had been far from edifying. It was to be expected that a church which was of the world, would conform itself to the opinions and practices of the world; but it is matter of great rejoicing, that ever since the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, the southern portion of it has been slowly but surely gaining a more spiritual character, and is already beginning to exercise a Christian discipline over the communicants of the body. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Church may yet wipe off the severe and just reproach lately cast upon her—alas! too justly—by Bishop Wilberforce, in regard to slavery. Heretofore she has not even ranked as an auxiliary, when she ought to have taken the lead.

The Presbyterians, who were never very numerous in the Southern States, and the Baptists, who have always been among the most numerous and influential of the Christian denominations in that section of the Union, were generally reconciled to slavery, on the ground of absolute, unconditional predestination. The social, and civil, and even the moral condition of all classes of men were from all eternity fixed by the immutable decree of God, and therefore could not be wrong. This was the argument for slavery, and it made short work of the whole matter. It is very well known that this doctrine, as held by a large majority of our Calvinistic brethren at the present time, has been greatly diluted; but until within the last twenty or thirty years it was held, especially by the Baptists, without its present qualifications, and without any metaphysical mystifications, and is so held yet by that party among them who claim to be, *par excellence*, the orthodox and primitive party, and who are generally designated in the South by the name of "Hard-shell Baptists." The effect of the doctrine was, that those who held it entered heartily, and without any conscientious scruples, not only upon the advocacy, but the practice, of slavery, and the

* It is true, however, that in 1818, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church did unanimously pass as strong a condemnation of the whole system of American slavery, as ever passed a Methodist General Conference. Since that time, however, the General Assembly have had the mortification to find their body divided in opinion on the subject, and to hear the system advocated on pretended Scriptural arguments, such as we have heard with so much pain in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from Southern preachers.

Methodists were left alone, as a denomination, to their religious scruples and their obstinate opposition to the system.

And alas! they too gave way to the tide of common feeling and selfishness. The laws had effectually restrained all disciplinary regulations on the subject, and very soon members of the Church and ministers of the Church were found, not only holding slaves, but buying and selling them as mere property and articles of common traffic. Still, however, conscience was wakeful and clamorous. The light which had been so long shed on the sin and great evil of slavery by the early Methodist preachers in the South, as well as in the North, could not be immediately extinguished, and the twinges of conscience were at times intolerable. It was necessary, therefore, to look about for an anodyne—some "sweet oblivious antidote,"—and it was found in the "Scriptural arguments in favour of slavery," which have been so zealously urged, and generally believed, by those whose interests and conveniences plead hard for accommodation, and afford a ready inlet to the consolatory doctrine. And now we have Methodist slave-traders, as well as Methodist slave-holders. The followers of Wesley buying slaves at auction, to sell again in a distant and higher market, without regard to family ties or conjugal relations! Some of the travelling preachers themselves have inherited slaves, or acquired them by marriage, and with the slaves got plantations too, and while they travel abroad, preaching as the rule of life, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," their slaves are consigned to the tender mercies of an "overseer," that is, a mercenary slave-driver, who, from the very nature of his service, soon ceases to feel towards slaves as human beings. The preacher teaches the people still, that "love worketh no ill to its neighbour," but they have a right to infer from his example, that it does not forbid them to deprive their neighbour (if he be black or yellow) of all personal rights, to reduce him to a state of the utmost degradation, to subject him to the absolute will of his master or his agent, in respect to both temporal and eternal interests. O Lord! how long! how long!

This was the state of things in the South when the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church assembled in New-York, in May, 1844. What then took place, and the results of the action of that body, we must reserve for notice in a future number of the Quarterly.

Art. IX.—RELIGIOUS TRAINING.

There is not in the wide world a living thing more helpless and unpromising than man in his infancy. He is feeble and dependent beyond any other animal, and for a much longer period. He is utterly unable to perform any good offices for himself. He cannot defend himself against the most insignificant enemy, or the most inconsiderable danger. He must inevitably perish, upon whatever spot his frail body may happen to repose, unless some careful hand feed, protect, and cherish him. Of the tact and skill which are to form the endowment of riper years he does not now manifest the faintest trait. He is even less gifted than brutes of his own age with the instincts which, in the absence of a higher intelligence, guide every other living creature. He breathes, utters some inarticulate sounds, swallows the simple food that is put into his mouth, and makes some unmeaning muscular movements, and that is all he can do to announce to the spectator that this embryo immortal possesses even the lowest of the attributes of things that live.

Such is man, physically, at his entrance upon a career in which he is appointed to act so important a part, and fulfil so unfathomable a destiny. Nor of the higher faculties which he is to develop and exercise in after life does the slightest glimmering now appear. He exhibits nothing like *character*, whether good or evil. He has no reason, no conscience, no moral or immoral habits, no religion, no opinions, no ideas. His mind is a blank. His heart is a mere organ for the performance of an animal function.

Yet is there something wonderful and even sublime in this embryo man. He may become a hero, a philosopher, or a saint,—a scourge, or a benefactor of his race. He is likely to become an active and competent agent in human affairs and to perform a part in the drama of the world; and he will assuredly become a partaker either of endless life, or of eternal death. Great faculties lie concealed under such unpromising aspects. They are seen by the eyes of God; "yet being unperfect, in his book are they written; they are fashioned in continuance, when as yet there is none of them." They are not substances nor powers, but merely *susceptibilities*. To develop these latent capacities,—to bring them out for action and enjoyment, to transform this helpless, insignificant thing into a good and wise man, fitted to serve God and his generation on earth, and to enjoy him forever in heaven, is the work of education. This is a

task it has pleased God to devolve upon parents, and to it they are bound by obligations as sacred as any that rest upon a moral being.

The duty of bestowing careful, timely culture upon infancy and childhood, is clearly indicated by their exceeding delicacy and susceptibility. Physical developments will indeed proceed very well with only the slightest attention on the part of the parent, or with none at all. The nursery, the play-ground, the field, and the workshop, invite the bodily organs into due action, and impart vigour, skill, and activity. The intellect, too, however neglected by the teacher, imbibes knowledge from a thousand sources. Each of the senses becomes an inlet for valuable ideas. Business, social converse, human example, even inanimate nature, the sky, the air, and the earth,—the elements in all their changes and activities, the vegetable kingdom,—in a word, the visible world, and all that is, or is transacted, in it, become sources of instruction, which freely tender their lessons to the opening mind in contact with them, and force their teachings upon it, in its most passive states, and even in spite of indifference or reluctance. From all this it occurs, that every human being who grows up in a civilized community attains a measure of intelligence sufficient for the common purposes of life,—of the intelligence that guides the race in the satisfaction of its most pressing wants, and which must, on that account, rank high in comparison with that class of acquisition and accomplishments which we are wont to dignify with the name of education. Divine Providence has thus mercifully ensured to the human being such degrees of physical and mental development as are indispensable in the performance of those functions which pertain to self-preservation, and on which society is dependent for its being and material prosperity. For the higher culture, which gives the mind enlargement, and elevation, and refinement, and opens before it a career of worthy occupations and enjoyments, years of patient labour and assiduous teaching are requisite; and parents are, unquestionably, bound by all the motives which duty and affection impose, to give to their offspring the best education which their providential positions and circumstances will allow.

Without stopping to enforce, by argument or inculcation, one of the plainest and least controverted of duties, we proceed to add, that the highest of the parent's obligations finds its sphere in the *moral* and *religious* training of his offspring. The superior importance of this department of education is sufficiently apparent, from the consideration already suggested, that whilst both the mind and the body, left to themselves, and wholly neglected by parent and teacher, spontaneously acquire, from their own activity, and from the business and conflicts of the world, the discipline,

as well as the knowledge and skill, most valuable in the pursuits of after life,—the moral susceptibilities, if neglected, are always perverted and corrupted. The most careful and unremitted culture is requisite to preserve them from the most irreclaimable deterioration. They come to no good by any spontaneous, unguided efforts or essays of their own,—they will not remain in a state of embryo or torpor, till genial influences and a plastic hand woo and guide them into kindly manifestations. To let the child alone, is to ensure both precocity and proficiency in evil. It affords demonstrative evidence of the constitutional depravity of man, as well as of its universality, that early childhood ever betrays a strong proclivity to wrong,—that it never fails of growing up in sin, except under decided counteracting influences.

This susceptibility to both moral and to demoralizing influences exists to an extent, and at an age, little suspected by inattentive observers. We give no countenance to the extravagant speculations of those who teach us that the character of the man, both moral and mental, is fixed in infancy, even anterior to the clear dawn of reason; but we think it demonstrable that the bias which shapes our earthly and eternal destinies is usually received in early childhood. This is the obvious teaching of the Holy Scriptures; and all careful observation goes to confirm it. The mind at that early period is exquisitely susceptible to moral impressions. The delicate surfaces on which the daguerreotype so exactly portrays the human countenance, with no pencil or colours but reflected sunbeams, are not half so impressible as the unsophisticated spirit of childhood. The mind at that tender age is not only open to all influences, good and bad, but it spontaneously invites them to write upon its expanding capacities their own image and superscription. It longs for impressions, as the parched cornfield for genial showers. It spreads out its tender leaves to receive them, as the green plant to the dews of heaven. As some flowers follow the sun through all his circuit, and open their gay bosom full upon his glowing, rolling orb all day long, from morn to noon, from noon to night, so are infancy and childhood irresistibly drawn within the sphere of incessantly active influences, which must go far to fashion their manhood, and impress upon them forms of moral dignity or degradation, which will endure, ineffaceable, through eternity.

This extreme susceptibility of opening life, and its active, urgent tendency to put on the attributes of a moral character, are what demands our most profound solicitude. So strong, especially, is the tendency to evil, that could we isolate a child so completely as to exclude all external influences whatever, whether of circumstances

or direct teaching, we might yet calculate, with all certainty, that his heart would become embittered, and his life deformed, by sinful feelings and vicious habits. His own unsatisfied desires would awaken discontent. The restraints imposed by the laws and conditions of his being would generate repining and resentment. Appetite would become wanton, from licentious indulgence; whilst pride and self-conceit would speedily shoot forth into a rank luxuriance, in the absence of sober counsels and of the fear of God. Still more would there be, of necessity, an utter want of any right religious sentiments,—of reverence, and gratitude, and dutifulness towards God, and of charity and justice to men. These results,—and they together constitute a character of decided immorality and irreligion,—are clearly natural and unavoidable, under the circumstances supposed. They come of themselves, spontaneously, at no man's bidding, and can only be prevented by positive, ameliorating, and counteracting efforts. It is hardly an exaggeration to say, that the development of right moral and religious character is wholly the work of education and religious nurture: meaning, by these terms, not the training of the parent and the teacher only, but also the agency of circumstances,—whilst the force of example and association alone, independent of all direct inculcation, is sufficient to impress upon the child's plastic nature any form of vice and ungodliness. Let him grow up amongst idolaters, and that circumstance ensures his being a devotee to false gods, and the deadly foe of all true piety and virtue. Life amongst the Feejees would infallibly convert the child of Christian parents into a cannibal. Give your babe to be nursed and trained in an infidel family, and he will, without some strong remedial or preventing influence from better sources, grow up to be an enemy and a contemner of Christ. Nurtured in a den of thieves, or smugglers, or robbers, he will feel neither horror nor disapprobation of the atrocious crimes with which he is constantly familiar; and to become the most daring and expert of the gang will, in all probability, be the highest aspiration ever felt by his blighted spirit. Without going beyond the limits of our own neighbourhood, or perhaps ten yards from the door of the church where we pay our adoration to God, we may find scores of vile, hardened boys, with whom we could not allow our child habitually to play in the streets, without a feeling of certainty that he would become, like them, a reckless vagrant, upon whom all Christian efforts must be probably unavailing,—with regard to whom we never think, when we think of them as having souls, without feeling a shudder of despair.

Such is the susceptibility of the young mind to evil impressions; and it inculcates a Christian lesson upon all parents who have hearts,

to care for the immortal destinies of their children, more influential than a thousand arguments. It cannot be affirmed, with truth, that pious examples and associations will with equal certainty stamp upon childhood and youth the graceful lineaments of virtue and piety. Allowance is to be made for the *bent* of the fallen spirit. The natural *tendency* and *proclivity* is to sin; and much positive teaching, and much of God's grace, is requisite to achieve the high ends of religion. Yet revelation and experience affirm that good training ensures good results. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." The doctrine comes to us on Divine authority, and without drawback or limitation. It at least inculcates so much as this, that pious example and associations, reinforced by sound teaching and parental faithfulness, will produce such a character as neither time nor eternity will have cause to regret. Such results do unquestionably imply the co-operation of God's grace; but such a promise does also, by plain and necessary implication, pledge the assistance of that grace, to make the parent's faithfulness effectual to the child's virtue and salvation. Keeping in view always this implicit promise of sufficient assisting grace, let us see what evidence the history of pious families may afford us, that a godly training of children secures their Christian character.

There is cogent proof to this point in the fact, that all the evangelical communions are, for the most part, composed of the children of pious parents. We say for the *most part*, because we joyfully recognize the Divine goodness in the conversion of so many persons who have not been blessed with a religious education. These, however, only constitute exceptions to a general rule: and were we to canvass our pious denominations, we should find that the great body of their communicants are hereditary Christians, in whom the foundations of piety were laid in the godly nurture of their early childhood. Another fact, still more demonstrative of the efficacy of Christian training, is this: every one is acquainted with religious families so wisely ordered, and so graciously visited, that all of the children early become pious. There are families where piety is so uniform, consistent, graceful, and efficient, that we look upon the early conversion of the children as a matter of course. We are surprised and disappointed if one daughter or son remains careless and vain, or becomes vicious and profligate. There is no long season of folly and guilt and open contempt for divine things, which we look for as almost necessary in the great majority of the children of professedly pious families. Do we not always ascribe the great success of such religious training to the deep, consistent piety which presides over it? And yet we are none of us acquainted with

parents whose piety is too elevated for general imitation. We never doubt that we and other Christians might equal or surpass it. If all families were such, or yet more intensely devoted to God, what should hinder the whole host of the children of the Church from becoming the children of the kingdom? After making all just allowance for differences of temperament and disposition, we have yet a right to expect the conversion and salvation of all who are "trained up in the way they should go." If the children of infidel, profligate families, grow up infidels and profligates, hardly ever Christians, it would be a gross reflection upon the gospel economy, which boasts of counter-working the effects of the fall, and of making grace still more abound where sin abounded before, to suspect for a moment that it does not possess, or that it will not put forth, a power to save, as effectual and comprehensive as that of sin and Satan to destroy.

It is, beyond all question, the will of Christ that the children of Christian parents should themselves become Christians. It is remarkable that all the promises of God to his people are formally and avowedly extended to their children as well as to themselves. This was a fundamental idea in his covenant with Abraham: "I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee and to thy seed after thee. And I will give unto thee and thy seed after thee the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession, and I will be their God. This is my covenant between me and you, and thy seed after thee. Every man-child among you shall be circumcised." A foresight of Abraham's faithfulness and success in training up his children religiously was the ground of God's especial confidence in him: "Shall I hide from Abraham the thing which I do?—For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, *and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do judgment and justice.*" The religion of the children, let it be observed, is not a mere nominal, national piety, but the "*keeping of the way of the Lord,* and doing judgment and justice,"—not the mere act of circumcision, as is often alleged, but the result of religious education: "He will *command* his children after him." The same principle reappears in the Mosaic dispensation; and so entire was God's reliance upon the children to fill up the ranks of the Jewish Church, that, while proselytes from the heathen were not rejected, no provision was made for replenishing it from any foreign source. The prophetic promises guarantee the same high privilege to the children of pious parents under the Christian dispensation: "The promise is unto you and your children." "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh," and

"your sons and your daughters shall prophesy." Indignant that any should pretend to doubt or limit the plenitude of his grace towards those who were yet unstained by transgression, Christ rebuked the narrow faith of his disciples, and bade them "suffer little children to come unto him," because "of such is the kingdom of heaven." Whoever might reject them, as incapable or unworthy of the Christian dignity, He whose own childhood "increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man," had resolved to perfect praise "out of the mouths of babes and sucklings." To children, the Apostles, now better taught than before in the mysteries of their Master's large compassions, freely extended the rite of baptism, the sign and the seal of the acceptance and sanctification to which they conceded to them a recognized title, as part and parcel of those believing "households," which so early became the nucleus and model of the churches of the living God. The children of Christian parents were thus openly and explicitly recognized as members of the Apostolic Church. Even when but one of the parents was a believer, the children were esteemed holy; or, in other words, they were consecrated to God, and legitimate members of the "household of faith." As members of the Church, they are recognized in the Apostolic epistles. Paul addresses himself, generally, to the "saints" of Ephesus and Colosse; and, in his more specific instructions, gives his advice to the several classes of Christians composing those churches—to husbands and wives, masters and servants, parents and children, recognizing the last, no less than their parents, as part of Christ's flock, of which he had the oversight. These were Christians, "saints," and "faithful in Christ Jesus," in the estimation of the Apostles. They belonged to the kingdom of heaven. They were those upon whom Christ had "laid his hands," whom he had taken "in his arms and blessed," and openly acknowledged and formally claimed as his own. By this most significant act and solemn declaration of his will, the great Head of the Church announced the fundamental law of his kingdom. Children are the heritage of the Lord. It is the Father's good pleasure to give them the kingdom. They are, therefore, to be "brought to Christ"—to be trained for God—to be "brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." To this end he intends the Christian family to be a school of Christ—to live in a holy atmosphere, in which the children shall be bathed, and baptized, and nurtured as in a divine genial element. He would have them put on the Lord Jesus Christ with the first garments of their childhood, and drink in Christian sentiments from the mother's loving, beaming eyes, as they hang upon the breast. He intends them to learn religion as they learn a

thousand other things, from the spirit and tone of the family—from its vocal thanksgivings and songs of praise—from its quiet, joyous Sabbaths—from the penitent tear, the humble carriage, the tender accents, the reverent look and attitude of the father, when, as a priest, he offers the morning and the evening sacrifice. The new immortal that has fallen down into the midst of the Christian family is to be taken into the soul of its piety, to be sanctified by its prayer and faith, and to form a part of that reasonable and acceptable offering in which, morning and evening, the godly parents lay all that they are, and all that they have, on the altar of sacrifice. This, with faithful, diligent instructions, and restraints adapted to the different periods and exigencies of childhood and youth, is the nurture of the Lord—the right training which, under our gracious economy, ensures the early piety of the children of Christian families. They grow up Christians. They are sanctified from the womb. Even their childish prattle savours of Divine things; and they pass on to the attainments and functions of mature piety by gradations so easy and imperceptible, that it is not always possible to fix the day of their espousals to the Saviour.

To dwell no longer upon this inexhaustible argument, we proceed to notice some theoretical objections to the doctrine here advanced, and some practical obstacles in the way of its realization.

We have already anticipated the objection most likely to be felt and alleged against the lessons suggested by this discussion. They conflict with experience. The children of religious families do not uniformly, nor perhaps usually, become pious; while not a few of the sons and daughters of ungodly and unbelieving parents are converted. This is unquestionably true, and yet the admission does not cast suspicion upon the soundness of our principles, which are sustained by the obvious fact, that the great majority of Christians known to us are the children of pious parents, while conversions from other quarters are exceptions to the general rule, which they serve to establish rather than overthrow. It should also be considered, that we seldom see the results of these opposite causes in a form to be most striking. Childhood is acted upon by blended influences of good and evil. The piety of most religious families is shamefully defective, and so is shorn of the most of its power. If the parents are orderly, tolerably uniform Christians, they perhaps lack fervour, or faith, or affection, and so their influence is impaired or neutralized. If the father is pious, the mother, it may be, is a worldling. If home is a place of sanctity and security, the children, it may be, are allowed to associate out of doors with wicked companions. So the sons and daughters of irreligious parents often find

a partial antidote for home infidelity or impiety in out-door associations, at school, in the work-shop, in the Church, or in good books. Still the *tendencies* of piety or impiety in the parent are precisely as we have stated them. These causes always produce their proper effects and no others, however these effects may be modified by other agencies.

A cautious orthodoxy has no doubt felt another objection to our doctrine, far more radical and weighty. It suspects us of attributing too much to human efforts, and of forgetting that God is the only efficient worker. This objection fails to comprehend our meaning. We devoutly ascribe all efficiency to God, and only claim for human agency such power as the divine grace imparts to it. Let us seek the light of an analogy. Children do apparently, and in so far as we can perceive, derive life and being from their parents alone; and yet we know that God claims life and being as his special gifts and peculiar prerogatives. No intelligent Christian is ever puzzled or scandalized by such difficulties. They find their solution in this truism:—Man is the acting, God the efficient, cause. So of the case under consideration. The right training and godly nurture which ensure piety in our children are the parents' duty and work; but they only produce this spiritual result because God wills it and works it in this particular way. Contemplate this objection through another medium. It is a fact familiar to us all, that wicked parents have the power to train up wicked children. They infuse into them their own spirit—their own love of sin and profligacy—their own contempt for religion, and virtue, and pious men. We need not inquire whence they get this terrible, mysterious power. It is enough that we see them wield it, to the ruin of their families, and that God does not wrest it from them. Now the Gospel is a remedial dispensation. It is out in a campaign against sin, meaning to subdue it. Here is a warfare between Christ and Belial, and both employ men—employ parents—as their agents. Should we expect the servant of Satan to be intrusted with higher powers and more effective weapons than the servant of God? The infidel parent, animated by the spirit of the devil, is able to infuse into the mind and heart of his child his own diabolical sentiments—his depravity, his contempt for religion, his hatred of Christ. The pious man has another spirit. He is full of the Holy Ghost. It pervades his words, tempers, thoughts, and deeds. May it not comport with the Divine wisdom and mercy that he too should pour the contents of his own spirit into the heart of his babes—his love, his purity, his gratitude, his meekness, his zeal for the right? Think of God's strong desire that children should become pious, and also that

infancy and childhood are the best—almost the only—season for effectual, permanent impressions, and then say if the Christian doctrine of this article is wholly incredible in your estimation?

There may be those who would hesitate to cherish such a conclusion, and who yet find some discrepancies between our theory of Christian education and their own ideas of God's principles and methods of working. They have a sentiment that some maturity of intellect is requisite in order to a child's becoming a fit subject of gracious operations. Let us devote a moment to this difficulty, which has some show of reason. We have Scriptural authority for affirming, that, in some instances at least, the Holy Spirit has impressed the characteristics of piety upon children in early infancy, and even from their birth. Such instances may be thought miraculous, but they prove none the less conclusively the *possibility* of divine operations upon children anterior to the development of reason. There is, at least, nothing in the nature of the case to exclude them. Again, we all believe that God's grace renews those infants who die and go to heaven before they know how to discern the right hand from the left. This quite dissipates the philosophical objection; there is no *natural* obstacle to the work of grace in a child. Indeed, when we recollect that conversion has quite as much to do with the heart as with the intellect, and that the affections and moral sentiments of children are developed, and may be variously acted upon and modified, in their earliest years, and anterior to the development of the understanding, it is not a little strange that this difficulty should have arisen in thoughtful minds.

This objection is worthy of another reply. God's grace does not, at least it is said it does not, *ordinarily* operate before the mind is capable of exercising faith. This is far from self-evident. Why do parents pray for their children, and ask grace in their behalf, even in early infancy, if they do not believe in the probability, or possibility, of such communications? Who ever felt restrained from offering such intercessions by this consideration? When children before their conversion, and before conversion is expected, manifest good dispositions and tendencies, and refrain from bad actions and bad tempers, we hear all Christian parents ascribe these virtues, not to innate goodness so much as to restraining grace. All believe, then, that grace is imparted to children, who are well trained by Christian parents, but only not renewing grace. In order to this more important operation, the child must be able to have a doctrinal basis, and to *believe*. But if he fear, and love, and obey God, and gradually grow up to trust and believe in Christ, as he bows the pliant knee, and offers up the infant heart at his altar, are not these real Chris-

tian characteristics, developed, indeed, a little in advance of faith proper, but one and all of them containing the germ of faith, and spontaneously leading on to its exercise? And may not the parent's faith, which is able to remove mountains, avail something towards the child's renewing? We pray for impenitent sinners among ourselves, and for the myriads of the heathen world, hoping that our faith may hasten their conversion. Now if our prayers may be, in the divine economy, the means of sending forth a regenerating energy over half the earth's circumference, may they not be equally efficacious in the regeneration of the loved ones who nestle in our bosom, and hang upon our necks, and send tides of joy to the heart, by their innocent glee, and the echoes of their toddling footsteps? Doubtless there is a power for good to the whole household in the parent's faith. There is a family religion which embraces, interpenetrates, and nurtures every mind, and soul, and interest in the tabernacle of the righteous,—every member, and nerve, and sinew of the organization. The Scriptures evidently contemplate such a power and intensity of domestic nurture and piety.

What hinders that such results should be more common? The low state of religion is doubtless the chief obstacle. Such general statements, however, are not likely to lead to any salutary reform. Let us analyze a little.

1. The first obstacle which we notice is the want of such family government as is most favourable to family religion. In many families the parental authority is never fully acknowledged, and the daily life is spent in an endless struggle between coercion and resistance, or forced, reluctant obedience. The family institution is a divine ordinance, obviously designed as a preparatory school for such a training of childhood as shall best fit it for the reception of religious truth, and the performance of religious duties. It is a period of physical weakness and absolute dependence upon the parent, when the heart is impressible, and the mind plastic—when the powers of imitation are strong and active, and when the most unlimited confidence is reposed in the truth and propriety of parental inculcations. Over this period of human life, the laws of society, no less than the laws of heaven, make the parents' authority supreme. The father represents the divine Lawgiver, whose vicegerent he is for carrying out the gracious designs of an infinite benevolence, in the establishment of upright principles, and the formation of a pure, virtuous character. Almost everything depends on preoccupying the soul with right habits, of which none is so intimately connected with favourable religious developments, as the habit of *obedience to legitimate authority.* This is a strictly fundamental principle in

religion, and should be the *first* object in family government. Every parent who fails in establishing this unquestioned dominion over his child, does in the same degree entail upon him a curse of fearful omen. He fosters the inborn enmity of the heart to the claims of religion, and so radicates and strengthens its opposition to the government of God, that the usual agencies of the gospel are very likely to prove ineffectual for the great ends of piety and salvation. That this dereliction of parental faithfulness is one of the most common, as well as inveterate, hindrances to conversion, all experience and observation offer their concurrent testimony. It may be laid down as a Christian axiom, that the rebellious spirit which refuses obedience to parents, will be the last to render it to God.

This fundamental vice in family training assumes a special form, in its connexion with religion, well worthy of our attention. Many parents, whose ordinary administration of family government is judicious and firm, often act upon a vague theory, that in all matters related to Christian faith and practice, their children should be left free from control. They will advise, but nothing further. Hence the children are allowed to grow up in irreligious habits, much as they know and hear of religious principle and duty. They go to church when and where they will, or, if they prefer it, not at all. They frequent Sunday-school if they choose, and only as often and as long as they please. They read what books they like, or accident supplies, on the Sabbath, and at other times. They are absent from family prayer, when they prefer play or sleep to devotion. So of doubtful amusements and company; the parents, it may be, give good counsel, but it is nauseous and will exercise no control. Here again is a perpetual conflict between the religious sentiments of the father or mother and the ungodly propensities of the child, under which the temper is soured, the conscience seared, the heart hardened, and the very name of religion made odious. Now all this is wrong, fatally wrong. The parent is bound to decide all these questions *absolutely* and without appeal, and to settle them so early that the child shall no more think of breaking the Sabbath, or neglecting church, or Sunday-school, or family prayer, or of playing cards, or going to a ball or a theatre, or of keeping improper company, than he would of picking a lock, or telling a lie. Under such firm, enlightened regimen, habit comes to favour piety. The claims of religion are reverenced, and the heart may be expected to open kindly to its genial influences.

We cannot fail to notice, in treating of so momentous an evil, another dereliction of parental duty, more gross and criminal than the pitiable imbecility to which the previous paragraph has been

devoted. In instances not a few, as many heart-sick pastors will bear us witness, religious parents become voluntary purveyors to the anti-Christian propensities of their children. At that period of life when godly counsels, and pure examples, and loving, but inflexible firmness, are most needed by the inexperienced youth just about to look upon life in its more seductive, dangerous aspects, do we often see parents, hitherto bright examples of consistent, fervent piety, suddenly transformed in their character and views. Fathers long remarkable for the gentle, beautiful dignity of their sway over the household domain, relax the strictness of their principles, and recognize no law higher than the inclinations of their children. Mothers long known and reverenced for Christian simplicity and fidelity, and even *awful* for their uncompromising opposition to worldly vanities, pleasures, and conformities, contrive to backslide when the time comes for their daughters to leave school, in order to introduce them into life with proper *éclat*. These poor young creatures, all decorated and prepared for immolation upon the altar of fashion, by maternal indulgence or ambition, powerfully remind us of the children caused by apostate Jewish parents "to pass through the fire to Moloch." The evil here referred to, strikes us as one of fatal tendency, as well as of alarming and increasing magnitude. Not only in our large cities, where fashion is supposed to exert the most potent influence, but in many of our formerly quiet country towns and villages, are our Christian families giving way to the spirit of the world, and opening their doors to sports and amusements which have long been under the condemnation of all the spiritual piety in the land. It seems just now to have been discovered that cards, balls, and operas are in no way incompatible with a creditable profession of religion, and that they constitute innocent and salutary methods for the acquisition and display of such graces as most befit the sons and daughters of opulent educated Christian families. We invoke the attention of parents and pastors to this overflowing fountain of corruption, which threatens to inundate the churches of all our pious denominations, and banish from amongst us the simplicity of our Christian habits, and the angelic purity of our Christian homes. The example of such a fashionable piety is fearfully contagious, and calls for immediate, earnest interference. One of the most alarming symptoms of this spreading plague is the complacent approbation now and then accorded to it by a popular preacher. We desire none of his laurels; and we shall have a more quiet conscience for having raised this note of warning, whoever may sneer or anathematize.

2. Returning from this long digression, we remark, that the general tone and spirit of some religious families is such as to neutralize the

influence of the parents' piety, and counteract their efforts to cultivate piety in their children. There is always some interest or excitement more prevalent and intense than religion. In some families it is the pursuit of wealth; in some vanity, or pride, or petty rivalries—a desire to outdo, or outdress, or outshine a neighbour—envy or irritation, or hostility provoked by the fair name and prosperity of others—a striving to lower or supplant them—a silly ambition to be intimate with the rich or fashionable, and to introduce the young people into what is called, often preposterously enough, *good society*, and so secure for them advantageous alliances. It makes little difference what may for the time be the dominant interest; every child in the house understands it, and learns to sympathize with it, for childhood comprehends the parent's sentiments, passions, and antipathies long before it can comprehend his moral teachings. Every one perceives and feels what is most thought of, most felt, by the parent, and that, whatever that something is, it is not religion. Now it is in accordance with a well-known law of the human mind, that the strongest emotion, excitement, or interest, rules, and expels the weaker. Two powerful sentiments cannot co-exist and operate upon the mind at the same time. We cannot serve two masters. We cannot serve God and Mammon, just because the stronger will soon subjugate the weaker, and if God does not reign, then Mammon will be God. Now this actual predominance of another interest over the religious interest renders null and void all attempts at Christian training, in so far as the conversion and consecration of children are contemplated. These spiritual achievements require that the atmosphere of domestic piety be pure, and genial, and fervid—radiant with heavenly hopes—instinct with benevolence—redolent with charity. Religion must dwell serene and supreme in the bosom of the domestic empire. It must subordinate all other interests and aspirations, and have authority to say to every passion, "Be still." Then may it be able to come into the heart of childhood and youth with a graceful, grateful welcome.

3. Christian education is often thwarted in its aims by its want of sympathy with the Church. We have no fellowship with much of the sentimental nonsense put forth so profusely now-a-days on this subject; still, we cannot say less of the Church of Christ than that it is a holy institution for the edification and spiritual training of all who look to Jesus the Mediator for grace and eternal life. Its teachings, its sacraments, its worship, its discipline, are, in the design of its great Founder, effective means of grace. The unction of the Holy One and the power of the Highest reside in them, and operate through them. The Church is the house of God and the

gate of heaven. Thither the tribes come up to worship, and bring their wives and their little ones, to offer sacrifices and keep holy day. The connexion between the public ordinances of religion and its more private agencies, though but little thought of by many Christians, is yet exceedingly intimate and important—so important, that neither home training nor Sunday-school inculcations are likely to attain to any saving efficacy without it. I think we do not generally expect children to become truly pious without the superaddition of the solemnities of the sanctuary to the lessons of the parent and the lay teacher. The good seed thus sown in the tender mind, wants, in order to its germination and growth, the genial dews and showers that fall nowhere else so plentifully as on Mount Zion. There the pleasure of the Lord delights to dwell; and it will be the glory of this man and of that, that he was born there. Now the power of the Church to awaken into spiritual life and fruitfulness the good principles implanted in the mind by parental teaching, will always be very nearly as the respect, reverence, and love with which its ministrations and ordinances are regarded in the family circle. Think, then, what must be the baleful influence of the captious, fault-finding, unloving spirit cherished by so many parents, and by their children of course,—for such faults are, above all others, family faults,—towards the Church, its teachings, and ordinances. Some professors of religion, who give the ordinary evidence of piety, contrive to be always in a state of dissatisfaction and smothered disaffection towards their brethren and pastor. Neither their families nor their neighbours hear much on this subject besides regrets and complaints. This or that member of the church is always wrong, or perhaps the church itself is tainted by some radical evil—by a vicious polity, or unsound principle, or bad administration. The pastor, it may be, is more faulty still. He lacks eloquence, or intelligence, or pathos, or industry, or humility, or manners. He is loud, or slow, or ungainly—an abolitionist, or not an abolitionist,—a politician. He fraternizes with men or with associations in ill odour with the complainant, or he does, or is, somewhat else not relished by him. It follows that from so many grievous imperfections, decline, apostasy, and ruin cannot be long in coming. If they do come, this croaker ought to know, that whoever is to blame, *he* will not be held guiltless. He, above all others, weakens the hands that already hang down, and loosens the foundations which, if he augurs right, were already about to be swept away. But the chief calamity is likely to be felt in his own household. The ministry, so held up to dishonour in the presence of his children, loses all authority and efficiency, at least for them. They will crave no part, and cherish no faith, in its teachings or its prayers. The

atmosphere of a church so exceptionable and fallen, will be to them a tainted medium, from which they will imbibe no sanatory, vital aliment. Their teeth are set on edge, because their parents eat sour grapes; and however it may be to others, the house of the Lord has neither comfort, nor grace, nor beauty for them. Conversions in such a family would be miracles indeed, whatever the skill or fidelity of parental training.

The children grow ashamed of a church with which their parents have so many grounds of dissatisfaction or disgust. If they continue to attend on its ministrations, it is likely to be in such a temper as repels instruction and defies conviction. If they desert its courts for some other form of Christian worship, the selection will probably be dictated by a worldly spirit, which dares to seek the gratification of its vanity or its fastidiousness, in the name of a crucified Saviour, and which is chiefly solicitous to escape the rebukes of an earnest, unsparing ministry, and the restraints of a pure Christian discipline. It might not be easy to determine on which side lies the greater danger. The actual position of both parent and child is about as unfavourable to all Christian interests and satisfactions as any which the arch-enemy of souls could devise. To escape from it, in any other direction than that offered by hearty repentance and thorough reformation, involves the sacrifice of a class of hereditary sentiments and convictions, much relied on under the gospel economy, for drawing the youthful mind to piety, and for working out the soul's salvation. The Church is essentially weaker for all such unsound, doubtful adherents; whilst it alone possesses for them and their children the spiritual resources from which they are likely to derive whatever saving piety they are destined to attain on this theatre of their probation.

But, apart from the captiousness of those whose grounds of dissatisfaction with the Christian Church are precisely its uncompromising fidelity in enforcing evangelical doctrines and morals, it must be confessed that the real imperfections of its piety constitute a great obstacle in the way of the godly training and early conversion of its children. The Church does not labour earnestly for this result, does not pray for it, or expect it, though that is really the most important of its sacred functions, and its chief reliance for growth and efficiency. The individual members of which it is composed are not all, nor a majority of them, devout spiritual persons, living in habitual communion with God, and conciliating, by their faith and fervent prayers, and stainless sanctity, those divine influences which are indispensable to the work of regeneration. The real efficiency of the Church resides with a few, whose moral forces are nearly ex-

hausted in bearing the burdens and counteracting the malign influences of the imperfect, halting piety of our average Christianity. We therefore lack the pure, fervid atmosphere which is adapted to nurture and invigorate the spiritual life in all who inhale it. We are nearly strangers to that intensity of Christian fellowship, and fervency of joint supplication, reckoned on, in the primitive Church, as distinct powers of the gospel economy, and the living source of efficiency in all its aggressive movements. Does any one suspect that Christianity accomplishes in our day all that it is adapted and intended to achieve for mankind? Four-fifths of the population of our most evangelized communities live and die unconverted. Little less than a moiety of the children of our Christian families fall into the ranks of an impenitent, unregenerate world. Shall it be so evermore? Shall Christ never see the travail of his soul, and be satisfied? Is Satan to triumph to the end? We look confidently for a better day, when the Church shall be anointed afresh, and reinvested with all her legitimate original powers.

The actual type of our Christianity is specially deficient in those attributes which are adapted to exert the greatest power over the early period of life, when religious sentiments and habits are contracted by sympathy and imitation, rather than through any conscious effort of intellect or volition. It is a bustling, devising, out-door piety, comprehensive in its schemes, and effective in execution, but marvellously poor in those genial, penetrating, all-embracing influences, which embosom childhood and youth in a genial atmosphere, to breathe which is to imbibe the pure elements of a new and higher life, and to refresh all good aspirations and tendencies with the dews of heaven. Our Christianity is no longer austere and repulsive with puritanical strictness and much ado about trifles; but its cheerfulness and amenity savour strongly of the levity and compliant spirit of the world. It lacks that high religious joy which diffuses itself over common life like a heavenly radiance. It lacks the "shining face" that reflects upon the family and the social circle the divine splendours with which it has had long and deep communion on the mount. Compared with the primitive Church, or even with our fathers, we know little of that "peace of God," which is not a mere negative state that ensues when the enmity of sin and the war of passion have subsided; but which is in real antagonism to all sinful dispositions,—a positive element of moral efficiency,—a moving tide of consolation and influence, that mingles and flows on with the river of daily life, tinging and refreshing each object that is laved by its waters. The Church greatly wants, in order to an effective discharge of its duties to the young, that strong assurance of accept-

ance with God that rested upon Edwards, Wesley, Whitefield, and their contemporaries, like a perpetual sunshine, and imparted to their ministry and their presence a preternatural efficiency, and sublime, subduing dignity, which was felt by all ages and conditions. We want, it may be, more than all these, for the special object now under discussion, a new baptism of brotherly love, such as in the days of the Apostles made the whole multitude of the disciples "of one accord;" and whilst it disarmed enmity, and overawed authority, won the applause and admiration of the Pagan world. It is through these milder elements, which we have enumerated, that Christianity chiefly acts upon the world as an *influence*, and it is by its influence, rather than by positive, overt ministrations and inculcations, that it can hope to penetrate the heart and mould the character of childhood. Joy, peace, courage, and divine charity have power to propagate themselves. They act upon the young more especially by sympathy and contagion. They diffuse themselves spontaneously through the family circle, transforming and assimilating gentle natures and tender hearts, by the divine grace of which they are redolent. Christian sentiments are thus conveyed into the soul, and secure a lodgment there, as soon as the affections of the child are brought into play,—earlier, by many years, than the period when the understanding becomes competent, intelligently, to embrace doctrinal Christianity.

The last, and, as being the most prevalent and radical, perhaps the strongest, obstacle to the success of Christian training to which we call attention, is *unbelief*. Christian parents do not generally expect their children to grow up pious. They believe that a religious education will, very likely, be highly beneficial to them in various ways; that it will restrain them from vice, and furnish their minds with valuable knowledge, and facilitate their conversion at a later period: but we seldom find a father or mother who really looks upon Christian education as a divinely appointed means of grace, and as God's chosen agency for the salvation of their offspring. They pray that sanctifying, saving grace may be showered down upon their babes, even before they can walk or speak; but, with a strange inconsistency, postpone all hope of receiving answers of prayer to a future period, distant by many years. They follow a theory which allows, and almost requires, a career in sin and impenitence, before a gracious state is attained. When the subject shall have been thus prepared for bitter repentance, they trust he will be arrested in his folly, and, under the influence of some prevalent, powerful religious excitement, brought to bow to the cross. The revival is the agency often looked to for a result which God proposes to accomplish by

his blessing on Christian education. The theory will have years of transgression; the divine word would forestall all of this guilt and danger, by training up the child in the way he should go, not that he may come into it at a mature age, but that he may walk in it all along, and never depart from it. Upon this theory, then, which does not expect the result promised in the divine word, parents do not seek it nor work for it. The exertions which they actually put forth do by no means satisfy the idea of *training*. That involves the notion of patient, protracted, incessant effort; of earnest, trustful prayer; of effective, intelligible, appropriating faith; of a holy, emphatic example; of a gentle, winning, loving spirit; of an obedient, all-embracing, and intense piety, which should transform our homes into Bethels, and our hearths into holy, consecrated altars, upon which incense and peace-offerings shall blaze evermore. They err grievously who conclude that such results as are proposed by the theory here discussed, would supersede revivals. They would wrap the Church in a heavenly flame and triple its energies. They would beautify it with holiness. Influences, powerful as the Pentecostal spirit, would stream out on every side; and sinners, of whom charity itself has ceased to hope, would be penetrated by the moral power of a sanctified Church. The "unlearned and the unbeliever," on coming into the presence of such a Christian congregation, would be compelled to recognize, in the "still small voice" of its universal testimony, an authority more potent than the miracle of "tongues." "Convinced of all and judged of all," the secrets of their hearts would be made manifest, "and so, falling down on their faces, they would worship God, and report that God is in you of a truth."

Our argument is suggestive of many practical, impressive lessons, of which the limits prescribed to this article do not allow us to make application. In the bosoms of many Christian parents we are sure we shall have awakened deep and perhaps unavailing regrets, but also, we trust, high and holy purposes. To pastors our subject appeals in the thrice-repeated, earnest words addressed by the great Teacher to Peter,—"Feed my lambs." The Sunday-school teacher, who has been raised up in this age of changes to fulfil a class of duties much neglected by both parent and pastor, will discover, we think, in the doctrines here set forth, clear intimations of the dignity and usefulness of his benevolent and truly evangelical function. It is, however, foreign from our object to follow out these practical details. Content to have thrown out some important principles, which, as it has long seemed to us, are too little heeded in our evangelizing plans, we leave their fuller discussion and their application to some future occasion, and, as we hope, to other and abler hands.

Art X.—BAPTIST NOEL ON CHURCH AND STATE.

Essay on the Union of Church and State. By Baptist Wriothesley Noel, M. A. Pp. 442. 1849. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

"The Union of the Churches with the State is doomed," says Baptist Noel, and there seems to be good ground for the assertion. In Germany the separation has already been decreed; in France it has *nearly* been secured, and in Rome, the "Head of the Church" is no longer head of the State. But the struggle in England has for us more interest than any other. There this Union, unhallowed as it is, has been most securely founded: under it, or rather in spite of it, Christian men and Christian ministers have exhibited the loftiest virtues of the Christian character; and even the Union itself has been sanctified to many minds by the exalted holiness and pre-eminent services of many of the sons of the English Church. But the "corrupt tree," notwithstanding, has borne its corrupt fruit; eyes that have been long blinded are beginning to see; and the sturdy English mind appears to be in a fair way to rid itself of the prejudices of ages, and apprehend the *truth* in regard to the Union of Church and State. Still, we do not see any indications (as some of our contemporaries do) of an *immediate* result. Sir Culling Eardley gives it as his opinion (letter of Jan. 4th) that "the public mind is not ripe for the separation of Church and State." "I wish," says he, "that I could believe it were otherwise; but I hold it to be next to impossible, that while the ministry of the Establishment continues to have a hold upon large congregations, the endowment of that ministry should be opposed by those who avail themselves of it." But the secession of Baptist Noel is an instance, and a most prominent one, of opposition to the endowment on the part of one who had enjoyed, or at least might have looked forward to, its highest advantages. The phenomenon is a remarkable one. With commanding popular talents, with an unstained reputation, a man of rank, education, and influence, and, more than all, the acknowledged leader of the Evangelical party in the Church of England, he has abandoned his position, his friends, his admirers, and his prospects, on the ground of conscience, and of conscience alone. Bitter as are the reproaches which his quondam friends are heaping upon him, not one of them has breathed a syllable of imputation upon his motives. All parties, high church and low, Puseyite and Evangelical, unite in testifying to his unimpeachable rectitude.

A remarkable feature of the case is, that "Mr. Noel is the first minister that has seceded from the Establishment on the question of union with the State. Others have left its communion on account of the corruptions which they found in it; but Mr. Noel seceded because he conceived the Union itself to be unscriptural, impolitic, and absurd. They left because they found evil fruit on what they conceived to be a good tree; but Mr. Noel left because the tree itself is corrupt. Other seceders retired on matters of detail; but he went forth in obedience to principle." It is this which has excited the ire of his evangelical friends so strongly. The *Record* speaks of his "weakness," his "oscillation," his "want of sound and sober judgment," &c.; and sums up its

opinion of his new book as follows:—"On the whole, we must describe the book as composed of, 1. An argument from Scripture, which is nearly the weakest we have ever seen. 2. An argument from history, which is grotesquely inapplicable and irrelevant. 3. The usual criticisms on the questionable points in our liturgy, urged strongly and warmly, but not effectively, because all appearance of impartiality is wanting. 4. Some most exaggerated statements, as to the mischiefs of Establishments and the excellencies of free churches. While, 5. The bulk of the volume is made up of one huge fallacy."

But we must forbear further remark upon Mr. Noel's secession, and give our readers some account of his book, which Messrs. Harpers have reprinted in a handsome duodecimo. In a brief preface, Mr. Noel testifies to the piety and excellence of many of the upholders of the Establishment, and begs forgiveness for any inadvertences or exaggerations in his work. The *Introduction* fixes the position, that the lawfulness of the union between Church and State must be determined by "reference to the Word of God;" and, after defining the words, "Church," "State," and "Union," lays down the question to be discussed in the following terms, namely:—

"Whether it is the will of Christ, as deducible from the word of God, that the Christian congregations of this country should receive the salaries of their pastors from the State, and be consequently placed under its superintendence?"—P. 20.

The work is then divided into two parts, of which the FIRST treats of the "Principles of the Union between the Church and the State," and the SECOND, of "the Effects of the Union." The first chapter of Part I. exhibits certain *general* considerations which condemn the Union. First, the constitution of the State unfits it for authority over the Church;—its members are neither *pious*, nor *united*. His picture of the British Parliament would be thought a caricature, if an American had drawn it:—

"The three things which introduce men into the legislature are rank, wealth, and superior capacity. The House of Lords is composed, without reference to character, of those who inherit rank and wealth. The descendants of able statesmen, of brave generals, of clever lawyers, or of successful money-makers; they are hereditary legislators, whatever may be their lack of intellect, their contempt for the Gospel, or their disregard of morals."—P. 23.

Again:—

"The House of Commons is composed of the eldest sons of peers, of baronets and squires, of naval captains and of colonels in the army, of lawyers, of aldermen, of bankers, of merchants and manufacturers, of stockbrokers and railroad directors; and what is there in their education and pursuits to qualify them to be rulers of the Churches of Christ, to sit in judgment upon creeds and canons, or to determine for all the Christians of the land the election of their pastors and the administration of church discipline?"—P. 25.

The second section shows that the *parental relation* (under the analogy of which Churchmen are so fond of exhibiting the blessings of the Union) cannot possibly subsist between the State and the Church. The third section collects from *history* a long catalogue of crimes and abuses directly resulting from the Union. The remaining sections of this chapter show that the Union is condemned by the Law of Moses, by the Prophecies of the Old Testament, and by the spirit and express declarations of the New. After examining the

passages usually cited in favour of the Union, and showing their inapplicability, he deduces from our Lord's conversation with Pilate the strongest argument against the system.

"To defend himself from the charge of rivalry to the Roman emperor, it was necessary to inform Pilate that his dominion would be so entirely spiritual that it never could interfere with the rights of the emperor. And of this he did convince Pilate by saying, '*My kingdom is not of this world.*' This was therefore the legitimate meaning of his words; and in them he has solemnly taught us, that his dominion is entirely and forever distinct from secular dominion; that he rules over men's hearts and consciences; that he will ever establish and maintain his rule without the aid of the tax-gatherer and the soldier; that he employs no coercion, and will never resort to military force.

"But the union in England, being intended to advance his dominion by maintaining his ministers, seeks that end by the taxation of the realm for the support of his ministers, and then employs force to sustain that taxation. Christ declared to Pilate that his dominion should never be maintained by taxation and by force, and the churches of England declare that it shall be so maintained. He pronounced his kingdom to be purely spiritual, they declare that it shall be spiritual and secular; and their decision is in flagrant opposition to his will."—Pp. 103, 104.

The *second chapter* shows that the chief elements of the Establishment, namely, the support of Christian pastors by the State; the supremacy of the State in spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction; the right of patronage, by which pastors may be, and are, appointed to churches without reference either to their personal fitness or to the will of the people; and the law of coercion, by which the support of pastors is made compulsory,—are utterly and irreconcilably inconsistent with the principles of the New Testament and the well-being of the churches.

"The support of the first of these principles of the union involves Anglican Christians in the guilt of a selfish and covetous disregard of positive duty. Their allowance of the State supremacy is infidelity to Christ, their King and Head. The third principle which they support is destructive of their spiritual welfare; and the fourth renders them schismatical toward their dissenting brethren, and uncharitable to every other recusant. All these four principles are unscriptural, corrupt, and noxious; and by placing the churches of Christ under the influence of men of the world, hinder their free action, destroy their spirituality, and perpetuate their corruptions."—Pp. 183, 184.

The SECOND part of the work, as we have said, treats of the "Effects of the Union of Church and State." Under the head of "Effects on Persons," it is shown that the Union tends to make *bishops* worldly, ambitious, and proud; and to introduce incapable and even ungodly men into the service of the Church as *pastors*, and to corrupt the better minded. Here is a sad picture:—

"The result of this system is too apparent in the undisguised worldliness of many of the clergy, who, by their presence at the ball and the race-course, by their assiduity in hunting and shooting, by their ignorance of the Scriptures, and their ministerial incapacity, do much dishonour to the religion of which they are professedly ministers."—P. 20.

"But what are the pastors of the Anglican Churches in fact? I grieve to write it. There are men among them of great virtues, to whom I gladly do homage. I know and love many faithful, energetic, and sincere servants of Christ; but when these exceptions are subtracted, what are the rest? I grieve to write it. Chosen by peers and squires, by colleges and church corporations, by chancellors and State-made prelates, many are made pastors by a corrupt favouritism, many are allured to an uncongenial employment by the income which it offers them, and many embrace the profession

of a pastor because they are too dull, inert, or timid, for any other. They have scarcely any theological training, they are pledged to all the errors in the prayer-book, and all the abuses sanctioned by the union. They dread reforms, they are servile to patrons, they are intolerant to dissenters: their zeal is crippled by State restrictions, and their indolence tempted by unbounded liberty to indulge it. Severed from the body of the people by their birth, by their early education, by their college life, by their aristocratical association, by their zeal for their ecclesiastical prerogatives, they have little popular influence. Lawyers, men of science, and editors of newspapers do not listen to them; Chartists and Socialists dislike and despise them; they scarcely touch the operative millions; they make few converts among the devotees of fashion; and under their leadership the Christian army is inert, timid, and unsuccessful."—P. 222.

In the subsequent sections, the destructive effects of the Union upon the curates, upon the members of the Church, and upon the dissenting bodies, are set forth at length, but our space will allow us only to quote the following sad description of the state of the members of the Church:—

"On the whole, it is most melancholy to contrast what the Anglican churches ought to be with what they are. They ought to be composed of 'saints and faithful brethren,' under the superintendence of able and faithful pastors. They ought to be 'the salt of the earth and the light of the world;' 'epistles of Christ known and read of all men;' the soldiers of truth clothed in a divine panoply, and earnestly contending for the faith; each separate member an evangelist to his neighbours, and all together aiming at the conquest of the whole nation for Christ.

"But they are a confused mass of believers and unbelievers, allowing strangers to impose upon them multitudes of ungodly pastors, who bring a spiritual blight upon them, and whose ministry they nevertheless support. The Scriptural discipline, which is essential to the purity and vigour of Christian churches, they have wholly abandoned. For the plague-stricken multitudes round them they do almost nothing. If the pastors are often exclusive and schismatical, so are some of them. They associate freely, both at their own tables and at the Lord's table, with his enemies, from whom they ought to separate; and live in almost total separation from his nonconformist followers, with whom they ought to be united. Few are evangelists to the poor; few teach in Sunday-schools, and of these few scarcely any are educated men. They see round them whole villages degraded by ignorance and vice, and suffer them to live and die untaught and unwarned. Family and personal religion languishes. Few heads of families expound the Scriptures to their children and servants, or pray with them, except by the repetitions of a book. Trained in so heartless a manner, the children of religious parents frequently relapse into total worldliness; and the world recruits its forces from those who ought to have become the servants of the Redeemer. Upon the masses of the working class, the myriads of fashion, and the whole army of scientific and literary men, Anglican Christians make scarcely any impression, while a latent and wide infidelity is making unchecked ravages among them. In this Laodicean lukewarmness the churches ought to repent, to meet for discussion and mutual exhortation, should unitedly and fervently supplicate the gift of the Holy Spirit, and begin to labour for the conversion of sinners and their own spiritual improvement. But except to go through the Sunday services they never meet as churches; they have no brotherly association, no social prayer, no acts of humiliation, no effort for spiritual revival."—Pp. 234–236.

And the following, in regard to Dissenters:—

"Let us now recapitulate the evils which the Union inflicts upon Dissenters. By exalting a rival denomination it necessarily depresses them, and by branding them as schismatics shuts them out from the society and sympathies of their fellow-Christians. It impedes their efforts to instruct the ignorant, it allures the children of their wealthier members to desert them, and thus impoverishes their ministers, their schools, their colleges, and their missions; it deprives them of their share of advantage from the ecclesiastical property of the nation; it forces them, by the payment of church-rates, to support an ecclesiastical system which they condemn; and, by

compelling them to seek a political remedy for a great political grievance, it exposes them to the censure and dislike of their fellow-Christians, as a turbulent political party, who merit the severest reprehension."—P. 243.

Under the somewhat odd title of the "Influence of the Union upon Things," the second chapter shows, in several sections, that the Establishment does not materially increase the number of ministers, while it greatly hinders their judicious distribution through the land; that its revenues are so unequally distributed as to make a part of the clergy rich, and the majority poor,—"the Right Reverend Dives in the bishop's palace, and Lazarus in orders at the gate, doctored by dogs, and comforted by crumbs;"—that it destroys both doctrine and discipline, and throws stumbling-blocks in the way of the gospel; that it promotes heresies and schisms; that it embarrasses the government; and that it supports the corrupt establishments of the Greek and Roman Catholic Churches in other countries in Europe. The account given in this chapter of the immoralities that are practised with impunity, and the heresies that are preached without rebuke, by ministers of the Established Church, is absolutely fearful.

After a brief discussion of the best "means of promoting a revival of religion throughout the country," the work concludes with a stirring appeal to all true men, in the Establishment and out of it, to claim, in the name of Christ, the Christian liberty of the British Churches. God grant that the appeal may be successful.

We have no space for extended comment upon the work, as it only reached our hands when our last pages were going to press. It bears the mark of great haste, is in many places badly written, and abounds in repetitions. But it is a store-house of facts on this great question, and, coming as it does from one who has long held high place in the Church, its general statements cannot be disputed. Time only can tell its effects upon the public mind of England. As yet Mr. Noel's example of secession does not appear to have been followed by a single member of his congregation, or by any other clergyman; nevertheless, it is possible, and we think probable, that it may lead, in connexion with other events, to some modification in the practical working of the system of the Establishment. Petitions from various quarters, including the congregation of St. John's chapel, asking for such modifications, have already been presented to the Queen. In the mean time, may we express the hope that the day is approaching when the Wesleyans in England will be found united, as one man, with their dissenting brethren, in earnest efforts for the overthrow of the monstrous fabric of corruption, upon which, as it seems to us, they have too long looked with forbearance, if not with complacency!

Art. XI.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) "*The History of England from the Accession of James II.*, by Thomas Babington Macaulay:" (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 8vo.) The most brilliant of modern essayists has taken up the historian's pen. It must be remembered, however, that his essays were nearly all histories in miniature,—short flights, as it were, to try his wings, before venturing on the wide career perhaps then contemplated. When his purpose was announced, there was much fear (and we confess to sharing it) that the very qualities which signalized Macaulay as a reviewer would detract from his capacity to write a sustained history. His partisan spirit gave edge and point to his articles in the Edinburgh; but, in an historian, edge and point are dearly purchased at the expense of impartial justice. His epigrammatic manner was not only tolerable, but pleasant, in a paper of forty pages; it would be wearisome, and even nauseous, in a book of five hundred. His asthmatic sentences (*style coupé*) were yet so sharp, compact, and full of meaning, that one could read page after page to the end of a *sketch* without any very painful sense of the want of majesty and solemnity: but a *history*, without the "solemn march" of stately periods or dignified sentences—nay, without sentences or periods at all—would be a grief indeed.

Such fears, and others, we cherished before Mr. Macaulay's volumes appeared. Let us frankly say, that, on our first perusal, all such fears—and indeed all recollection of the critical grounds on which they rested—were lost in the pleasure and delight which the volumes afforded us. Never has any book of history or fiction more completely fascinated our attention than this; or carried us on with such continuous and almost breathless interest. Its graphic delineations of character; its rapid, yet never confused narrative; its marvellous pictures, following each other like the scenes of a diorama; its life-like descriptions of the manners, the everyday life of a former age, would be sufficient to account for the magic attractiveness of the work; but when to these are added the charms of a style so perfectly transparent that no man or boy could by possibility mistake the meaning of a paragraph, and so direct and unperplexed that the mind never need rest upon a sentence, we need not call in Macaulay's vast store of learning and mastery of books to account for the power of fascination which these volumes exert. Puritans will read them with many a misgiving at the latitude of opinion, and even of morals, which they plainly evince; but, spite of all misgivings, they will read on with delight. Puseyites will shudder to see the robes of martyrdom torn from their Charles and their Laud, and will frown at the cool contempt with which their Church fooleries are laid bare; but, spite of shudderings and frowns, they will admire. The Quaker will be tempted to lay aside the book when he finds William Penn directly painted as a pliant courtier,—laying aside his conscience, if he would not his hat,—but he will still look to see the picture finished. Most of all, the Romanist will find it difficult to keep down his rising wrath as the crimes of his cherished saints and the ineradicable vices of his Church are mercilessly exposed; but his anger will not subdue his

curiosity. Few men will allow that the book, in all its parts, is truthful; fewer still will deny that, as a whole, it is admirable.

A reperusal of the work has given us opportunity of calmer judgment. Its gravest faults are want of philosophy, want of sympathy with the deepest questions of human nature, and, most of all, want of spiritual religion—the old faults of his Essays, and, as now appears, the faults of the author's nature. Its minor blemishes are exaggeration, constant straining after effect, and even occasional carelessness, showing itself in repetitions and redundancies, that in some instances are really remarkable. But we mean merely to announce the book now, not to criticise it. An extended review is in preparation, by able hands.

(2.) An edition of the Hebrew Bible is an enterprise not lightly to be spoken of. We are told that the sale of Hahn's (Leipsic) edition has averaged 500 copies a year in this country; and now we have a reprint of that edition, page for page, issued by J. Wiley of New-York, and J. W. Moore of Philadelphia. Even if this were nothing more than a careful reprint of Hahn, the publishers would deserve the thanks and the encouragement of every student of Hebrew in the country. But it has been carefully revised by Rev. Isaac Leeser, Pastor of a Jewish Synagogue in Philadelphia, and by Rev. Joseph Jaquett, of the Protestant Episcopal Church—both well skilled in Hebrew. Besides scrutinizing the text for typographical errors, they have compared all the editions within their reach, and have inserted as many of the various readings as the page would admit. The type used is clear and distinct, though of the English cut; the paper is also excellent, but a little too thin; and the binding in the substantial German style. We trust that the Theological Seminaries, and students of the Hebrew Bible generally, will consult at once their duty and their interest by using this edition *exclusively*.

(3.) The question of the Person of Christ, and of his relations to man and the Church, is the question of the age in theology. In Germany, England, and America, it is occupying the minds and stirring the hearts of thousands, even though in many unconsciously; and a sign of this general interest is manifest in the many books upon the subject that have come forth of late years. One of the latest and most note-worthy of these is, "*The Doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in its Relation to Mankind and to the Church*, by Robert Isaac Wilberforce, A. M., Archdeacon of the East Riding:" (London, Murray, 1848, pp. 548, 8vo.) The work has arrived too late for us to do anything more than characterize it briefly. That it is one of the most profound and elaborate books of the time, we say fairly and at once; the grasp of thought, the abundant learning, the close consistency of view, and the mastery of language which it displays throughout, are rare indeed in modern English theology. That its view of Christianity, on the other hand, is fundamentally and fatally false, we must say with equal emphasis. It builds its fabric of Church doctrine in reality upon what Schleiermacher calls Catholicism, namely, "that system which represents the relation of the individual to

Christ to be dependent on his relation to the Church;" as distinguished from Protestantism, namely, "that which represents the relation of the individual to the Church to be dependent on his relation to Christ." It falls in well, therefore, with Archdeacon Wilberforce's theory, to denounce Archbishop Whately as having deviated from Church principles *because* he has deviated from Trinitarianism; and to assert, in effect, that personal Christianity cannot long coexist with neglect or distrust of what he and his school are pleased to call "Church principles." We feel the more bound to warn our readers of the real *end* of this book, because its expositions of the Incarnation and Divinity of our Blessed Lord are clear and able to a rare degree; and the danger is so much the greater, because the way to the adytum of error is ingeniously opened by this writer through the portal of truth. But we cannot extend our notice. In the breadth and largeness of view which characterize the first part of the work, especially in the development of the *manhood* of Christ, we cannot fail to recognize the influence of the great German thinkers who have so deeply impressed the theology of this century. However Mr. Wilberforce may succeed in thus combining truth with error, and however Anglicanism may succeed in turning all the streams of thought into its own mould in England, we have little fear that the effort will be ever made in this country, or, if made, that it can be in any great degree successful.

(4.) Few have studied the history of the doctrine of the Trinity without arriving at the conclusion of Richard Watson, that "it would, perhaps, have been well if divines, in treating this awful and mysterious subject, had confined themselves to the expressions of Scripture; for the moment we begin to explain it beyond the written word of God, we plunge ourselves into inextricable difficulties." This impression will be deepened in all who read Dr. Bushnell's new work, entitled, "*God in Christ. Three Discourses delivered at New-Haven, Cambridge, and Andover, with a Preliminary Dissertation on Language:*" (12mo., pp. 356.) The "Three Discourses" have been the subject of much comment since they were severally delivered; and the general tone of remark upon them has been as unfavourable to their orthodoxy as it has been favourable in regard to their ability. We must confess that they are not exactly what we looked for. So far as we can judge from the perusal we have been able to give the work, it contains no striking *novelty* of doctrine, either good or bad, with perhaps one exception—the writer's view of the atonement; and even the seeds of that we think can be found elsewhere. We can only now state the contents of the book, with a casual remark by the way. An extended review, covering also the recent treatises on kindred topics by Wilberforce and Turnbull, will be furnished to our readers shortly, we hope, by an able hand.

The Dissertation on Language—which seems to be prefixed in order to prepare the reader for some unusual use of terms—seeks for the *significancy of words, taken as vehicles of thought and spiritual truth.* It is introduced by a somewhat prolix discussion of the origin of language, displaying acuteness, but no very large acquaintance with the subject under its latest scientific forms. Can Dr. B. be in earnest in saying that "it is impossible to conceive"

how the word *lux* should ever become *light?* The distinction between names of sensible objects and names of thought is well drawn—and certain cautions are aptly deduced therefrom. The amount of the Dissertation seems to be, that language is inadequate, and logic inapplicable, to spiritual themes; and that a *science* of theology is impossible. But what are the very discourses that follow but speculations on the Godhead as adapted to the requirements of the human mind?—In the First Discourse, Dr. Bushnell avows his full belief in the Divinity of Christ; exhibits the difficulties of the more commonly accepted doctrine of the Trinity, and then states the great question to be, not whether Christ is divine, (for that is beyond question,) but "*how the divinity of Christ is to be reconciled with the unity of God?*" He solves this problem for himself by adopting Schleiermacher's modified Sabellianism; namely, that there is not a *real* Trinity of persons in the absolute Divine nature, but that the Trinity *results of necessity from the revelation of God to man.*—The Second Discourse treats of the Atonement. After stating and—apparently—rejecting the orthodox doctrine of the vicarious sacrifice, he sets forth his view of the atonement, first, *subjectively*, namely, that "Christ is a manifestation of the Life, thus a power whose end it is to quicken or regenerate the human character;" second, *objectively*, in which the *ritualistic* view of Christ's sufferings, death, &c., appears as the "Divine Form" in which God designs the *feeling* of the world to find its object. To such of our readers as are accustomed to German writers, or even to Coleridge, this brief explanation will perhaps be intelligible; to others it will not. The Discourse is able indeed, but prolix to a fault. Its tendency will, we fear, be evil; though we are sure the author means it for good. That God is the great Artist—that Redemption is his Art-work—these and similar ideas are too far remote from the ordinary thought of men and from the simplicity of Scripture to be otherwise than hazardous. Still, in justice to the writer, we must say that he propounds his view as a philosophical, semi-scholastic *solution* of apparent contradictions in the Scriptural narrative and doctrine; and holds it to be, not a rejection of the vicarious atonement, but simply an "artistic" instead of a "didactic" representation of it.—The Third Discourse, on "Dogma and Spirit; or, the true reviving of religion," is, in substance, an objurgation against dogmatic theology. So far as Dr. Bushnell condemns the substitution of dogma for spirit, or the establishment of dogma, instead of Scripture, as the rule of faith, we fully agree with him. We are not prepared, however, to believe that theology, instead of being the mother of sciences, neither is, nor can be, a science at all; we are not prepared to believe that she is neither bound by the same laws of thought that regulate human cognition generally, nor has any laws or method of her own that can be discovered by, or revealed to, the human mind. Dr. Bushnell's book is eminently suggestive; it has the freshness of thought, if not of originality, about it; and it will doubtless make its impression upon the mind of the age.

(5.) We have to mention still another work on the Person of Christ, namely, "*Theophany; or, the Manifestation of God in the Life, Character, and Mission of Jesus Christ,*" by Rev. Robert Turnbull: (Hartford, Brockett, Fuller,

& Co., 1849, pp. 239, 12mo.) The established meaning of the word *Theophany* (namely, an occasional manifestation of Divinity) renders it rather unsuitable for the title of this book, the object of which is to set forth the eternal manifestation of God in Christ. The work consists of two parts, of which the first "gives a rapid sketch of the principal incidents in our Saviour's life, in order to exhibit the great truth of God manifest in the flesh in its historical aspects." The Second Part, on the "Character and Mission of Christ," treats, in six chapters, of the Sinlessness of Christ, of his Divinity, of the Incarnation as a Mystery, of certain Theories of the Incarnation, of the Atonement, and of the Relations of the Godhead to the Sufferings of Christ. The work is imbued with reverence for the Scriptures, and with a spirit of devotion; while, at the same time, it gives proof of extensive reading, as well as of industrious and independent thought. Here, as in Dr. Bushnell's book, the German mark is plain; but there is no *scar*, because there has been no wound. It will not escape the reader of both works, that although this treatise is meant, as the author states in his preface, to be practical, not polemical, he takes ground in certain cases directly opposed to that of Dr. Bushnell, without, however, giving even the cast of controversy to his statements. In this view, particularly, we commend it to all who have read the "Three Discourses;" and to those who have not, it will furnish nutritious food both for the mind and the heart.

(6.) It is a pity that inferior men should attempt the defence of evangelical truth in such a crisis as that of the Church of England at the present day. It is painful to pass from the clear statements, the massive thought, and pure eloquence of Wilberforce's "Incarnation,"—the whole aim of which is, in our view, evil,—to a feeble, ill-contrived, ill-written treatise, with such a title as "*Baptismal Regeneration not the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures nor of the Church of England.*" The author (Rev. T. Brooke) has good intentions—and that is the best that can be said of his book.

(7.) Among the new works issued during the quarter, under the supervision of Mr. Kidder, is "*Our English Bible:*" (Lane & Scott, 18mo., pp. 218.) The Editor remarks in his preface, that "few of the millions who peruse that blessed volume in our language, have ever been informed of the slow and painful steps by which an excellent translation of the original Scriptures has been freely furnished to them. The object of this volume is to supply that information with correctness and detail." The work was prepared for the Religious Tract Society of London, by the author of the Introduction to Bagster's Hexapla,—a fact which amply guarantees its accuracy and truthfulness. It treats, in eight chapters, of the Anglo-Saxon Fragments; of Wiclif, Tyndale, and their respective translations; of Coverdale, and his Biblical toils; of the "Great Bible;" of the Genevan exiles and their version; of the Bishops' book; and, finally, of "our translation in common use." The history is not only clear, but graphic and interesting, to a degree that one would hardly expect from the nature of the subject. We give a specimen or

two. First, a picture of the "Venerable Bede," on his death-bed, completing his version of St. John:—

"'There remains now only one chapter, but it seems difficult for you to speak,' exclaims the monkish scribe, as his pen traces on the parchment the last verse of the 20th chapter of John. 'It is easy,' replied Bede; 'take your pen, dip it in ink, and write as fast as you can.' 'Now, master,' says the monk of Jarrow, after hastily penning down the sentences from his trembling lips, 'now, only one sentence is wanting.' Bede repeats it—'It is finished!' says the scribe—'It is finished!' replied the dying saint; 'lift up my head, let me sit in my cell, in the place where I have been accustomed to pray—and now, glory be to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.' And with the utterance of these words, his spirit fled."—Pp. 17, 18.

The history of the "Great Bible" is quite eventful. It was printing in Paris, under the guidance of Coverdale, with the full sanction of the French authorities; but the Inquisition proved too strong for the authorities:—

"With the countenance of the English ambassador, and the express license of the King of France, obtained by a letter from Henry, no doubt at the solicitation of Cromwell, our translator and his printers proceeded rapidly with their work, and were anticipating the successful completion of their toils, when indications of peril made their appearance, and in the month of December, the Inquisition issued an order, prohibiting them, under canonical pains, to imprint the said Bible. Thus the hand of ecclesiastical despotism snatched away the permission which had been ceded by the civil power; and, as the history of Roman Catholic countries testifies to have been often the case, the royal prerogative grew pale before the imperious assumptions of the Church of Rome. The parties engaged upon the Great Bible were summoned to appear before the inquisitors; but, very naturally, they sought escape from the power of that tyrannical and iniquitous court. Having before the outburst of the storm perceived the gathering clouds, they had forwarded to England all the sheets of the book, as far as they had gone, and now they would gladly have saved the remainder worked off since; but this they found impossible; and, therefore, seeking their own personal safety, they hastily decamped from Paris, leaving the residue of the printed sheets to be seized by the harpies of the Inquisition. Some of these were burned, but 'four great dry fats' full' of the obnoxious bales of printed paper were sold to a haberdasher 'to lap his caps in.' The Englishmen, afterward, by the encouragement of Cromwell, returned to Paris, and succeeded in recovering the presses, types, and workmen they had employed there. Grafton set up business in London. In the next year, 1539, he proceeded to complete some of the copies which had been sent over to Cromwell, and at length the Great Bible appeared, with the colophon, 'Fynisshed Apryle, anno M.CCCCC.XXXIX.' Grafton also tried to recover the 'four fats' full' which had been sold to the haberdasher. He earnestly solicited Bonner to use his influence in the matter; but with no success."—Pp. 120–122.

We commend this attractive little work not only to Sunday-school scholars and teachers, but to all Christian preachers and families.

(8.) We have seldom read an occasional address so excellent in all respects as "*An Oration delivered before the New-York Typographical Society, on the Occasion of the Birth-day of Franklin, at the Printers' Festival, held January* 17, 1849," by John L. Jewett: (Harper & Brothers, 1849.) It is no easy task to give a brief *résumé* of a well-known life that will be interesting without exaggeration; but Mr. Jewett has hit the difficult medium admirably. He brings out certain features of Franklin's character in a light at once novel and true. The style is clear, direct, and animated.

(9.) The American press has never sent forth a work so complete in its kind, (with the single exception of Liddell & Scott's Lexicon, issued by the Messrs. Harper) as the "*Dictionary of the German and English Languages, compiled from the Works of Hilpert, Flügel, Grieb, Heyse*, &c., by G. J. Adler, A. M., Professor of the German Language and Literature in the University of New-York," (royal 8vo., pp. 1375,) recently published by D. Appleton & Co. Were the work merely a reprint of the excellent London edition of Flügel, it would be a boon to American scholars: but it is far more than this. According to the Editor's statement in the preface, he has added nearly *thirty thousand* new words and articles, and has rewritten many of the remainder. Besides this vast addition to the vocabulary, there is also added what we have long felt the need of, namely, a judicious selection of *synonymes*, taken mainly from Hilpert. We cannot show the advantage of this in any way so well as by an example, for which purpose we select the word *Vernunft*. After giving all the uses and compounds of the word to be found in Flügel, and some eight or ten besides, the accurate use of the word is distinguished at the end as follows:—

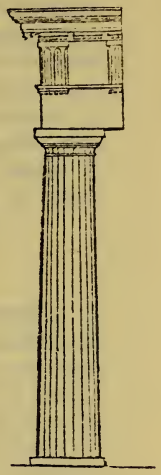
"*Syn. Vernunft, Verstand, Urtheilskraft.* The objects of the *Verstand* (understanding) are notions and judgments; the objects of the *Vernunft* (reason) are principles, or the connexion of things; the objects of the *Urtheilskraft* (judgment) are the good and bad, the perfection and imperfection of things, or, in general, the true value of them."—P. 722.

How great an advantage such distinctions will afford, we need not say to any one who has tried his hand, when a novice in the language, upon any of the metaphysical writers of Germany. The work has another excellence also in the *accentuation* of every word,—thus removing a great stumbling-block out of the way of beginners. Among the *addenda* to the volume is a very full list of abbreviations, and also a classification of the irregular verbs, in addition to the usual alphabetical list. In point of mechanical execution the work is an honour indeed to the publishers,—paper, print, binding, all are most excellent, and in admirable taste. No other German Lexicon now extant will hereafter find sale to any great extent in this country.

(10.) Messrs. Lane & Scott have just published a neat little volume, entitled "*Columbus; or, the Discovery of America*," by George Curtis, revised by D. P. Kidder. The work is chiefly a condensation and abridgment of Irving's Columbus, made for the benefit of young persons. Whoever tells the story, this wondrous history is always attractive.

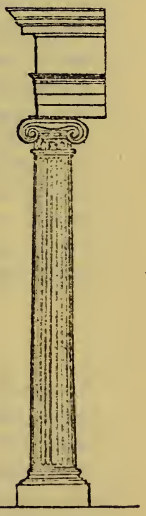
(11.) In our last number we called the attention of our readers to the new books issued for the Sunday-School Union, under the direction of Rev. D. P. Kidder. We have now to notice one of the most beautiful and attractive works for children and youth that we have ever seen, namely, "*Athens, its Grandeur and Decay:*" (18mo., pp. 166: Lane & Scott, 1849.) An outline of the rise, progress, and decline of Athens, "the eye of Greece," is here presented: and the scope of the work affords room for clear statements of the

Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, &c., of the Greeks, which are illustrated by admirably executed wood-cuts. As a specimen, take the following account of the Doric order:—



"According to Vitruvius, Dorus, son of Helen and the nymph Orseis, reigned over Achaia and Peloponnesus, and built a temple of the Doric order on a spot sacred to Juno and Argos. Many similar temples were afterward erected in other parts of Achaia, though at that time the proportions were not precisely established. According to other writers, the order was called Doric from the Dorians, those Greeks being so named who lived to the north of the gulf of Corinth.

"Vitruvius has given a pleasing fable to account for the discovery of the relative dimensions of the columns. 'A body of Greeks,' he says, 'having been sent under Ion, to colonize that part of Asia before inhabited by the Carians and Leleges, built the cities of Ephesus, Miletus, and others. The states here formed were called "Ionian," from Ion, the leader of the emigrants. When the ancient inhabitants had been driven out, they resolved to build temples for their idolatrous worship. The first was dedicated to Apollo Panionias; and as they wished to erect this temple with columns, and had not a knowledge of the proper proportions of them, nor knew the way in which they ought to be constructed, so as, at the same time, to be fit both to carry the superincumbent weight, and to produce a beautiful effect, they measured a man's foot, and finding its length the sixth part of his height, they gave the column a similar proportion; that is, they made its height, including the capital, six times the thickness of the shaft, measured at the base. Thus the Doric order obtained its proportion, its strength, and beauty, from the human figure.' "—Pp. 28, 29.



Also the following of the Ionic:—

"The Ionic order is said to have originated in the Ionians requiring a lighter and more elegant structure for a temple to Diana. 'Seeking, therefore, a new proportion,' says Vitruvius, 'they used the female figure as the standard; and for the purpose of producing a more lofty effect, they made the height of the column eight times the thickness. Under it they placed a base, after the manner of a shoe to a foot; they also added volutes to its capitals, like graceful curling hair hanging on each side. On the shafts they sank channels, which bear a resemblance to the folds of a matronly garment.'

"A temple of this order at Ephesus, dedicated to Diana, was used for the idolatrous worship of that goddess in the days of the apostles. It is said to have been 425 feet long, and 220 broad, and the columns were 60 feet high. It was designed by Ctesiphon, and was four hundred years in course of erection, the expense being borne by a tax laid on all the Greek cities of Asia. Several edifices of this order appear at Athens." —P. 31.

The book is a gem throughout. Buy it for your children, and you will read it for yourself.

(12.) Were Benjamin Franklin the printer to return among men, it would gladden his eyes to see in how perfect a form his Memoirs are given to the world, in the new edition of his life now issuing in numbers by Messrs.

Harper & Brothers. It contains his "*Autobiography*"—of the character of which it were superfluous to say a word—together with "*a Narrative of his Public Life and Services*," by Rev. H. H. Weld. There are some differences between the text of the "Autobiography" and that of the editions in common use, which is explained by the fact, that most of these last are printed from a translation of a French version, while the present edition is from the original copy. Although it is greatly to be regretted that Franklin's life was not more directly guided by pure religion, the record of his career is still a treasure of practical wisdom for youthful minds, and the story is more attractive than romance. This edition is beautifully illustrated with original designs by Chapman, in which the artist has almost surpassed himself. Even as a specimen of the arts, the work should find admittance into every family.

(13.) There are some gleams of sense amid the absurd phantasies of "Raphael,"—that wretched rhapsody by which Lamartine has suffered his name to be disgraced. Speaking of Tacitus, he says,—"Would you make crime impossible to your sons? Would you rear them in the love of virtue? Rear them in the love of Tacitus." Bating the extravagance of the expression, the sentiment is true enough. Every facility for the study of Tacitus in our schools and colleges should be welcomed: and we announce with pleasure, "*The Histories of Caius Cornelius Tacitus, with Notes for Colleges*," by W. S. Tyler, Professor of Languages in Amherst College: (New-York, D. Appleton & Co., 12mo., pp. 452.) Prefixed to the text is an "Essay on the Style of Tacitus," abridged from Döderlein's Prolegomena. The text itself is founded on Orelli, (Zurich, 1848.) The notes occupy about 200 pages, and evince the same scholarship, taste, and skill which characterized Professor Tyler's edition of the Germany and Agricola, while, at the same time, they are somewhat more grammatical. Then follow an Index of persons and places, and an Index to the notes—useful *adminicula*, which have heretofore seldom found place in American text-books. Altogether, the edition is one of the best specimens of a classical text-book that we have ever seen. It will doubtless take its place at once in all our colleges.

(14.) Our readers are generally aware that a new edition of the Works of Washington Irving, revised and enlarged by the author, is now in course of publication by Mr. G. P. Putnam, 155 Broadway, New-York. We have received, of the series, the *Sketch-Book*, *Bracebridge Hall*, *Knickerbocker's New-York*, and the *Life and Voyages of Columbus*, volumes I. and II. In the original announcement of the series, Mr. Putnam says:—"This being the first uniform and complete edition of Mr. Irving's Works, either in this country or in Europe, the publisher confidently believes that the undertaking will meet with a prompt and cordial response." We are happy to learn that the "response" has been as prompt and cordial as the undertaking was timely and well-conceived. And the public have the best of the bargain. The style of the series is in all respects admirable,—volumes of a portable and

convenient size, clear type, fine paper, and neat binding. To *commend* Irving to the American people, would be to "paint the lily;" our only purpose now is to call the attention of our readers to this new edition of his Works, which should be in every library.

(15.) It is singular enough that the history and criticism of English literature have been more attended to by Germans than by Englishmen. There is no history of our literature, in the proper sense of the word, extant in the language. An attempt to supply the deficiency has been recently made in a work entitled "*Outlines of English Literature*," by Thomas B. Shaw, B. A., Professor of English Literature in the Imperial Lyceum, St. Petersburg: (London, Murray, 1849, 12mo., pp. 510.) The work does not pretend to offer a complete course of English Literature, but is, according to the author's own statement, "merely an attempt to describe the causes, instruments, and nature of those great revolutions in taste which form what are termed 'Schools of Writing.'" After an introduction on the English Language, he takes up, in successive chapters.—Chaucer and his Times; Sidney and Spenser; Bacon; Shakspeare; the Shakspearian Dramatists; the Great Divines; Milton; Butler and Dryden; Clarendon, Bunyan, and Locke; the Wits of Anne's Reign; Swift and the Essayists; the Great Novelists; the great Historians,—Hume, Gibbon, &c.; Scott and Southey; Moore, Byron, and Shelley; the Modern Novelists; the Stage, Oratory, Politics, Theology, Metaphysics, and Journalism; and, finally, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and the New Poetry. The field is ample, but the present work gathers only a scanty harvest. Still, in the absence of anything better, it will serve a very useful turn, as a collection of facts and dates. As for strong, elevated, and healthy criticism, the book has little of it.

(16.) Messrs. Lane & Scott have just published a new edition of "*The Causes, Evils, and Cures of Heart and Church Divisions, extracted from the Works of Burroughs and Baxter*," by Bishop Asbury, (18mo., 1849, pp. 217,) a little work well known to our older ministers and members, and recommended in the Discipline, (Part I. chap. iv, § 16,) for the perusal of all our people; but which has been for some years out of print. After a brief address to the Church from Bishop Asbury, the *Causes* of divisions are set forth under the heads of "Distempers that Divide" and "Practices that Divide." The former are, Pride, Self-love, Envy, Passion, Rigidness, Rashness, Wilfulness, Inconstancy, Jealousy, and Contention; the latter are, Whispering, Needless Disputes, Meddling, Slander, Respect of Persons, Partial Disagreements, Using the Wicked against the Good, and Revenge. The *Evils* of divisions are treated in Part II., under the heads of "the Good they Hinder," and "the Sin they Cause." The *Cures* are, Peace, Love, Public Spirit, the Will of God, and the various Considerations which the Christian Life in general affords. The work closes with "Directions to Pastors both to Prevent and Heal Divisions." We have given this outline for the benefit of

those who are unacquainted with the work; a *recommendation* of it is superfluous. We hope the preachers will follow out the recommendation of the Discipline, and scatter the book broadcast among our people.

(17.) He is a lucky author whose book comes just in time; and no more timely book has lately appeared than "*Oregon and California in* 1848, by J. Quinn Thornton, late Judge of the Supreme Court of Oregon," with an Appendix, including Recent and Authentic Information on the subject of the gold-mines of California, &c.: (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 2 vols., 12mo., 1849.) The work gives an account, in minute and ample detail, of a journey from Independence, Missouri, by way of the South Pass, Ogden's River, and the Umpqua Mountains, to Oregon, during most of which a regular journal was kept from day to day. Notwithstanding occasional prolixity and inapt quotations, the narrative is full of incident and interest. The first volume closes with an account of Oregon;—its climate, soil, productions, population, &c.,—giving by far the best view of that extreme region of our territory that we have ever seen. From Oregon, Judge Thornton went to California; and his second volume gives an account of that country, with a fearful narration of the sufferings of the California emigrants of 1846—enough to frighten any one from attempting a journey liable to such accumulated horrors. An appendix of one hundred pages contains a summary of the latest information in regard to the gold regions of California.

(18.) Another:—"*The California and Oregon Trail; being Sketches of Prairie and Rocky Mountain Life*," by Francis Parkman, jr.: (New-York, G. P. Putnam, 12mo., pp. 448.) Life in the wilderness will soon become familiar to thousands from actual observation; and to tens of thousands, stay-at-home travellers, from books. A more agreeable guide of this latter sort could not be found than Mr. Parkman. The sketches furnished in this volume are stirring and graphic; the style is that of a man of culture; and the interest is kept up throughout. The work deserves a fuller notice, but it came too late for anything more than this brief one.

(19.) Messrs. Harper & Brothers are still continuing the publication of Jacob Abbott's series of Histories, of the plan and general tendency of which we spoke in our last number. The "*History of Hannibal, the Carthaginian*," is fully equal in spirit and execution to those which preceded it. By skilful *selection* of the most striking events in the career of this most energetic general of antiquity, Mr. Abbott gives all the interest of romance to his biography. There are no dull places, no tedious pages that a boy will want to skip. We renew our hearty recommendation of the series. It cannot fail, if as widely diffused as its merits deserve, to create a taste for better reading than the trash of romance with which the land is flooded. These "Histories" have all the interest of novels, with none of their dangers; and in that light especially are worthy the attention of all Christian parents who desire to put good, and, at the same time, *attractive* reading into the hands of their children.

(20.) The "President of the French people" is, on many accounts, a man of whom the world desires information, and of whom the world has doubtless heard many false reports. For this reason, if for no other, a hearty welcome will be given to "*Napoleon Louis Bonaparte, First President of France*," by Henry Wikoff: (New-York, G. P. Putnam, 1849, pp. 155.) These sketches originally appeared in a New-York journal, and are therefore more loose and discursive than printed books ought to be; and, moreover, the writer too often gives us his own words and thoughts instead of M. Bonaparte's. But still the book is full of interest. Mr. Wikoff met the Prince in London, and afterwards obtained from the French government permission to visit him during his imprisonment at Ham. His view of the person, culture, and bearing of M. Bonaparte are highly favourable.

(21.) "*An Elementary Treatise on Mechanics, embracing the Theory of Statics and Dynamics, and its Application to Solids and Fluids.* Prepared for the undergraduate course in the Wesleyan University. By Augustus W. Smith, LL.D., Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy:" (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1849, pp. 307, 8vo.) A book that will be heartily welcome to all Professors of Mathematics in our colleges. The only books of higher Mechanics heretofore accessible to our students have been Boucharlat and Young. The former is clear and scientific, but destitute of examples for practice; the latter is crowded, not seldom confused, and frequently deficient in brevity of statement. The chief points to be sought in such a work are, apt selection of materials *for the purpose of college recitations*, abundant illustration by examples, and concise and clear expression. In all these essential features Professor Smith's work is a model. The points selected are precisely those which combine adaptation to college classes with essential importance in the science; examples are supplied amply; and each statement is made with a clearness and precision rarely rivalled. The division of the whole into propositions is an advantage which every working teacher will at once recognize. The work must and will take its place as *the* text-book on Mechanics, in all our colleges that seek to maintain a high standard of mathematical training.

(22.) We have received a copy of "*Elementary Astronomy for Academies and Schools, illustrated by Diagrams, and adapted to use either with or without the Author's large Maps*," by H. Mattison: (New-York, Huntingdon & Savage, 1849, pp. 213.) The copy sent us is of the *twelfth thousand*, although the work has been in circulation but little more than eighteen months. This fact alone renders any commendation of ours almost superfluous. Mr. Mattison has also published a series of *astronomical maps*, sixteen in number, representing the various appearances of the heavenly bodies, &c.,—designed to be hung up in the school-room. The present edition of the "Elementary Astronomy," however, contains *all* these maps in miniature; so that the work can be used either with or without the large maps. Our opinion of the book must be put into a sentence:—it is the *best* elementary book on the subject we are acquainted with.

(23.) Messrs. Lane & Scott have just published "*An Essay on Dancing,*" by J. Townley Crane, A. M., of the New-Jersey Conference: (18mo., pp. 132, muslin, gilt.) It is a very timely production, and well adapted to its purpose. It contains nine chapters, with the following titles:—Introduction —Religious Dances of the Hebrews; Religious Dances of the Heathen; Military or War Dances; Dances of Pleasure and Amusement; Apologies for the Pleasure-Dance considered; More Apologies for Dancing considered; Objections to the Dance of Amusement; More Objections to the Pleasure-Dance; Appeal to all concerned in the Matter. Without any cant whatever, the writer sets forth clearly the dangers of the pleasure-dance, and, in a strain of rich irony, exposes its absurdities. It closes with an earnest appeal to the Christian feeling of professors of religion, and to the good sense of all others, for their aid in discountenancing so hazardous an amusement. The style is pleasant, lively, and attractive.

(24.) "*Reminiscences of Methodism in West Jersey,*" by Rev. G. A. Raybold, of the New-Jersey Conference, is the title of a very neat 18mo., just issued by Messrs. Lane & Scott: (pp. 202.) Under the very modest guise of recollections gathered from old ministers and members of the Church, it presents a number of interesting facts that will be useful to the future historian of the Church; and as a record of the patience, labours, and sufferings of the pioneers of Methodism, it is full of interest for all members and friends of our Church. The style is easy and graphic—precisely the qualities for this kind of writing.

(25.) A new edition of Burkitt's excellent "*Explanatory Notes, with Practical Observations on the New Testament,*" has just been published by John Ball, Philadelphia. Long as this work has been before the public, it still holds its place as one of the very best of practical Commentaries, and indeed, as such, it is not likely to be soon supplanted. This edition is very neatly got up, on good paper, well bound, and is sold at the low price of $4 50. The publisher sells it by *agency*, and advertises for a number of suitable persons to act as agents in its distribution.

(26.) The second part of the third and final volume of De Wette's Compendious Commentary on the New Testament (*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*, von D. W. M. L. De Wette; Leipsig, 3 vols., 8vo.) is before us. The veteran commentator, now in his seventieth year, closes his labours on the New Testament in sadness and gloom. How different might have been his state of mind; how much more cheerful his hopes; how much more bright his visions even from the Apocalypse, had his whole career been lighted up by the simple, child-like faith in Christ, which he now sees to be so necessary! It is clear that a great change has passed over his mind;—though still far from orthodoxy, he is no longer the reckless rationalist of thirty years ago. The Commentary on the Apocalypse is

condensed into 207 closely printed pages, containing as much matter as three times the number in ordinary commentators. We translate the following passages from the preface:—

"I am permitted to finish this last part of the *Exegetical Manual*, and, with it, the work begun thirty years ago. The last labour on the book has been the hardest. . . I began this part amid the preparations for civil war in Switzerland; I carried it on, undisturbed, while the throne of France was falling, and those of Germany tottered; I have finished it under the dark thunder-clouds of anarchy which are lowering over the nations and kingdoms of Europe. I thank God for the peace of mind he has granted me; yet anxiety for our fate, and for that of the Church, has accompanied every stroke of my pen. I could not help seeing the Antichrist of the Apocalypse in our day, though with changed and even more fearful characters. The self-deification of the Romish Church appears to me as child's play compared with that arrogant and atheistical *Egoismus* which spurns all restraint; and what were persecution, with fire and sword, in comparison with the modern unbelieving *love-of-freedom*, with all its infatuations and blandishments; freedom, so called, yet springing from the veriest slavery, and leading the poor nations to the direst bondage, both of soul and body? . . . This I know, that salvation can be found in no other Name, but the Name of Jesus Christ the crucified; that there is nothing higher for mankind than the Divine Humanity realized in him, and the kingdom of God planted by him. . . . Had Christ been our Life in deed and in truth, how could such an apostasy have occurred? . . . Our Christianity must become life and deed. How long before we shall escape from the confined and barren circle of the abstract understanding and enervating sentiment? More than seven, and again seven plagues, may be necessary to teach us where true salvation is to be sought."

(27.) A NEW edition of CLAUDE'S "*Essay on the Composition of a Sermon*" has been called for, as the work is now made part of the Preachers' course of study. Messrs. Lane & Scott have reprinted it in a neat 18mo., (pp. 252,) from the edition of Simeon.

(28.) "*The Life and Thoughts of John Foster*, by W. W. EVERTS," author of Pastor's Hand-book, &c.: (New-York, E. H. Fletcher, 1849, 12mo., pp. 314.) This is a well-conceived and useful compilation. It contains a brief sketch of the life, character, and writings of Foster, with a selection of his best thoughts, arranged under distinct heads, as the "Existence and Attributes of God," the "Individual and Social Depravity of Man," &c. Those who do not possess Foster's complete works (and, by the way, no complete edition has been published in this country) will find here the cream of his writings,—not in unconnected excerpts, but in systematic form; and those who have them will find the volume as useful as a common-place book filled with extracts from the works of a master mind. But it is strange that the compiler could get up such a book, and the publisher permit it to go forth, without an index. The table of contents does not supply its place.

(29.) MESSRS. HARPER AND BROTHERS have published a new edition of LONGFELLOW'S Poems, including *Evangeline*. As Longfellow has taken his place, not merely among the poets of America, but of the age, we need say nothing more than that this is the most complete edition of his Poems; and while it is neatly, and even elegantly, got up, it is sold remarkably low.

(30.) MESSRS. HUNTINGDON & SAVAGE have published "*A Pictorial History of Ancient Rome, with a Sketch of the History of Modern Italy,*" by S. G. GOODRICH: (12mo., pp. 333.) This is the last of Goodrich's series of Pictorial Histories for schools and families, and is characterized by the same excellences that have made the others so popular. A set of questions would add to its practical value.

(31.) MUCH is said about elevating and dignifying the office of the teacher. It is true that a totally false view of that office has too long prevailed; but one of the best modes of correcting it is to elevate the *teachers* themselves—the dignity of the office will follow. This end will be greatly promoted by such books as the "*Theory and Practice of Teaching; or, the Motives and Methods of good School-keeping,*" by DAVID P. PAGE, A. M., Principal of the State Normal School, Albany, N. Y.: (New-York, A. S. Barnes & Co., 12mo., pp. 349.) It has already to some extent fulfilled its mission, for the copy before us is of the *tenth* edition—and the work was first issued in 1847.

(32.) "*A Practical Grammar of the English Language, in which Words, Phrases, and Sentences are Classified, &c., illustrated by a complete System of Diagrams,*" by S. W. CLARK, A. M.: (New-York, A. S. Barnes & Co., 1848, 12mo., pp. 218.) This work takes up the subject analytically, and contains many ingenious devices for fixing the attention, and facilitating the progress of pupils. The machinery appears to be a little too cumbrous, but perhaps this objection might disappear if we were practically using the book.

(33.) WE are pleased with the practical look of "*A System of Book-keeping by Single Entry,*" by LEVI S. FULTON and GEORGE W. EASTMAN: (New-York, A. S. Barnes & Co., 1848, 12mo., pp. 210.) It contains three different forms of books, designed for the farmer, mechanic, and merchant respectively, with a variety of useful forms of notes, bills, receipts, &c. The work is unpretending, but decidedly meritorious.

(34.) WHILE the study of language, in the higher walks of philological science, has given rise to books without number, the general reader has been left to gather his knowledge of the subject as he best can, from incidental notices merely. At all events, we are acquainted with no separate and portable treatise conveying clear views of the present state of the science except a little volume prepared for the (London) Religious Tract Society, and lately republished under the editorial care of Rev. D. P. Kidder, entitled, "*The Origin and Progress of Language:*" (New-York, Lane & Scott, 1849, 18mo., pp. 227.) Its "main object is to prove that language was not invented by men, but bestowed at first upon them by the Author of their being." Besides discussing this great question, the work embodies a large amount of information on the general subject of the nature of language, its uses, its growth, and

its diffusion. With the exception of occasional prolixity, amounting even to tediousness, it is well written. The recent writers on the subject, the Schlegels, Klaproth, Von Humboldt, Donaldson, &c., have all been laid under contribution, and the gathered matter is well arranged and combined.

(35.) WOODBURY'S "*German-English Grammar*" (*Kurzgefasste Praktische Englische Grammatik*, &c., von W. H. WOODBURY) is designed for the use of Germans in studying English, and is admirably adapted to its purpose. Facts and principles are applied to practice almost as soon as stated; the mind of the learner is not encumbered with matter that he cannot use; and so with every page of the book he *feels* that he is making progress. Sufficient reading-lessons and a vocabulary follow. A work like this must be of inestimable advantage to German immigrants and settlers; and the present has only to be known in order to meet with success.

ART. XII.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

England.

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.—That the present condition of the "Church of England, as by law established," unquestionably demands reformatory measures, seems to be admitted even by those who contend for the continuance of its connexion with the State. Just now, that Church seems to be like the parted strands of a rope, each having little or no union with the other save at the point—the Gordian Knot—where it is united with the temporal power. Its Puseyism is becoming practically Papal, and its Evangelism seems verging toward Dissent. The breach between the high and the low Church appears to be gradually widening, while there scarcely seems to exist a moderate or central party, which, free from these extremes, continues to represent the *Church*. At least, the centre bears no proportion to the wings, which are constantly extending in opposite directions. The power of the bishops also appears to be injudiciously and capriciously wielded, while among them great diversity of sentiment and administration prevails. Remonstrances have been made, directly to the throne, against certain proceedings of the notorious Bishop of Exeter, by true and orthodox churchmen, and the conduct of that prelate and others has been unsparingly censured by leading journals of the Church of England. It will require consummate skill and not a little concession, on the part of the supreme dignitaries of the Establishment, to avoid serious collisions and defections, if we are not greatly at fault in reading the signs of the times.

REV. MR. GORHAM AND THE BISHOP OF EXETER.—The right of the bishops of the Anglican Church to examine into the orthodoxy of their clergy, at any time, has been established by the decision of the Arches Court in this case. Mr. Gorham, formerly vicar of St. Just, in the county of Devon, was appointed by the Lord Chancellor to another living in the same diocese, and applied to the Bishop of Exeter to be instituted therein. This application was not acted upon for some months, but in Dec., 1847, the Bishop intimated to Mr. Gorham that he must undergo an examination, in reference to his doctrinal views, before he could be instituted. To this Mr. Gorham objected, on the ground that the law limited the Bishop's right to institute such an examination to twenty-eight days after the appointment. He submitted, however, under protest; the Bishop decided that he was unsound in doctrine, principally on the subject of Baptismal regeneration, and refused to institute him in the new living. Mr. Gorham sought his remedy in the ecclesiastical courts. Sir H. J. Fust decided that the statute of limitations at common law did not apply to the case; that the Bishop *had* the right to ex-

amine into the soundness of Mr. Gorham's doctrines, although the twenty-eight days had expired. The parties then proceeded to argue whether Mr. Gorham's view of the doctrine in question was sound or not.

"Sisters of Mercy."—The most recent exhibition of the Papal character of Puseyism has been made at the "Orphans' Home," at Plymouth, in the diocese of the Bishop of Exeter. It was in evidence, at an examination before the Bishop, that the principal of the institution, Miss Sellon, was always accosted or spoken of by the inmates as the "Lady Superior," and her associates as the "Sisters of Mercy;" that Dr. Pusey, who visited the institution, was styled "Father Pusey;" that the devotional routine of the "Home" was divided into laud, prime, terse, sext, none, vesper, and eompline; that there was an "oratory," with an altar ornamented with a cross, flowers, paintings of the Virgin and child, &c.; that before these each inmate bowed on entering and retiring from the altar, &c.; and that the greatest seereey was enjoined upon all—"they were never to speak of what was said or done in the house." The closing scene of the investigation is described, by an eye-witness, as most exciting, —the Bishop, after much commendation of the "Lady Superior" and her associates, declaring, amid hisses and laughter,—"Miss Sellon will go from this room, not as a Sister of Mercy, but as a Martyr of Mercy; she makes us feel what poor, miserable things we are as compared with herself." The Queen Dowager, who had been a patron of the institution, has, since these disclosures, withdrawn her countenanee from it.

Germany.

The Evangelical Conference at Wittenberg.—We mentioned this remarkable assembly in our last number. It resulted in the formation of a *Church-league*, embracing all who hold the Confessions of the Reformation. The urgent necessity of such a league was felt strongly by men of very different religious affinities. The committee appointed to carry out the plans of the Convention is a very strong one; and meetings have been held in various parts of the eountry, preparatory to the organization.—The approaching separation of Church and State is regarded with great fear by most of the Evangelical leaders in Germany; they have not yet learned that the Church finds but a broken reed in State support. It must be remembered, however, that the movements for freedom are made mostly by infidels. Yet Thomas Jefferson was the author of the separation of Church and State in America: and how wonderfully God has wrought good out of what, perhaps, was intended for evil! So, doubtless, it will be in Europe.

France.

Free Church Movement.—The January number of this Review informed our readers that an informal Synodical Assembly of the Reformed Church of France had been held, and resulted in a partial separation of the Evangelicals from the Rationalists. The principal event that has since occurred in connexion with the religious history of France, is the withdrawal of the Rev. Frederick Monod and the Rev. Agenor de Gasparin from the National Church. M. Monod assigns as his reasons for this step, that the Synodical Assembly refused to avow a confession of faith—"of faith in the revealed truth of God, . . . a faith acknowledged and personally confessed by the members of the Church," as distinguished from merely human opinions. This step involves heavy sacrifices, both personal and pecuniary, on the part of M. Monod. It is his hope, and that of his coadjutors, to found a *Free Church* of France, after the manner of that of Holland and of Vaud. The *Archives du Christianisme* is to be the organ of the new movement.

Italy.

The Pope.—We shall say little respecting the present "anomalous condition" of Pius Papa IX. The entire circumstances are too deeply impregnated with a politico-ecclesiastical character to be classed, with strict propriety, under *religious intelligence*. Still they have a religious aspect, and may therefore be briefly adverted to in this connexion. "Vulgar eyes have seen (him who claimed to be) the vice-God, running away in the guise of a lacquey! As if HE, whose glory had been claimed for another, had come forth to write shame upon the pretender." What we chiefly desire to chronicle

here, however, is the fact that the Pope's bull of excommunication has been entirely powerless,—has been laughed to scorn, and publicly defied,—even in papal Rome. This is, indeed, "a marvellous thing, and wondrous in our eyes." What the final issue will be, we pretend not to foresee; but it seems certain, that even should the Pope be restored to the sovereignty of his dominions, the spell of Romish superstition must be broken, now that the harmlessness of a Papal bull has been thus publicly demonstrated.

In Italy, as elsewhere in Europe, political changes seem to be preparing the way for the kingdom of Christ. The Bible can now be freely distributed, especially in the north of Italy,—and much has already been done in spreading the word of God. The "Christian Union" for March contains a loud call upon American Christians for help,—and we earnestly echo it. We think too little of *our* duty in the wonderful days in which we live. Aid is needed for the publication of the third and fourth volumes of D'Aubigné's Reformation, in the Italian language; the first and second having appeared some time ago.

Switzerland.

Religion and religious liberty are at a low ebb in the Canton de Vaud. The Council of State, in a late document, says of the National Reformed Church, that being protected, privileged, and subsisted by the State, her clergy "are especially bound to obey the will of the State;" that "however spiritual the authority of the clergy may be declared to be, it is essentially based upon, and draws its sanctions from, the institutions and laws of the State." So that the "National Reformed Church" may hereafter be considered as in bondage unto the temporal power. The religious sects free from such bondage are, the Free Church, the Wesleyans, the Independents, and the Plymouth Brethren; the two former being, numerically and influentially, much the stronger. They are all exposed to persecution by the State; and although at present, comparatively, they "have rest," further persecution is anticipated, the President and several members of the Council of State having publicly stated that more severe measures would probably be required. As evidence of the religious condition of the masses of the people, it may be mentioned, that at Lausanne, on New-Year's day, a masquerade being held in the streets, a Roman Catholic altar was exhibited, around which pretended priests and nuns congregated, and performed mimic mass, substituting for the Romish service obscene and blasphemous words and songs; while tracts were freely circulated among the by-standers, containing an infamous parody upon the ten commandments, inciting to every abominable crime.

Missions.

In our next number we shall furnish an epitome of missionary operations throughout the world.

Art. XIII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Theological.

EUROPEAN.

The January number of Kitto's "*Journal of Sacred Literature*" (London, Cox) is unusually attractive. Among its articles are, "Fine Art among the Jews;" the "Typical Import of the Ordinances of the Day of Atonement;" a translation of Calmet's account of the "Schools of the Hebrews;" an elaborate essay on the "Doctrine of the Logos;" and another on "the Miracle of Joshua," designed to show that it was *not* a miracle. But the chief merit of the number lies in a most able, frank, and comprehensive sketch of the character of "John Wesley," and of the principles developed in his career; by Dr. Dobbin, of Trinity College, Dublin. We quote a single passage. Speaking of Wesley's movements as far in advance of his age, the writer proceeds:—

"There were no Bible, Tract, or Missionary Societies then to employ the Church's powers, and indicate its path of duty. But Wesley started them all. He wrote and printed and circulated books in thousands upon thousands of copies. He set afloat home and foreign missions. The church and the world were alike asleep; he sounded the loud trumpet of the gospel, and awoke the world to tremble, and the church to work. Never was such a scene before in this land. The correctness and maturity of his views, amid the deep darkness surrounding him, is startling, wonderful, like the idea of a Catholic Church springing up amid a sectarian Judaism. It is mid-day without the antecedent dawn. It beggars thought. It defies explanation. A church in earnest as a want of the times is, even now, in these greatly advanced days, strenuously demanded and eloquently enforced by appeal after appeal from the press, the platform, and the pulpit; but Wesley gave it practical existence from the very birth-hour of his society. His vigorous bantling rent the swathing-bands of quiet, self-communing, and prevalent custom, and gave itself, a young Hercules, to the struggle with the inertia of the Church and the opposition of the world. Successfully it encountered both. It quickened the one and subdued the other, and attained, by the endeavour, the muscular development and manful port and indomitable energy of its present life. John Wesley's church is no mummy-chamber of a pyramid —silent, sepulchral, garnished with still figures in hieroglyphic coif and cerecloth, but a busy town, a busier hive, himself the informing spirit, the parent energy, the exemplary genius of the whole. Never was the character of the leader more accurately reflected in his troops. Bonaparte made soldiers, Wesley made active Christians."

We are sorry to learn that the "Journal" is not so well sustained as it ought to be. It is published quarterly, at five shillings (sterling) a number.

The *History of Doctrines* has never been treated as a separate branch of theological science by English writers, though German literature is particularly rich both in general and special works on it. English readers, however, have been put in possession of Hagenbach's valuable "*Compendium of the History of Doctrines*," by the translation (of Carl W. Buch) published in Clark's Theological Library, in two 8vo. volumes. Hagenbach's method is to divide the history into *periods*, marked by distinct epochs in theology, and in each period to treat of the several doctrines in order. This method exhibits most advantageously the doctrinal tendencies of each age as a whole; but is not so convenient for the study of any particular doctrine. A new compendium, "*Christliche Dogmengeschichte in gedrängter übersicht, als Handbuch zum Selbstunterricht*," von CARL BECK, (Weimar, 1848, pp. 353,) takes the opposite method, dividing the history of *doctrines*, and treating each doctrine under its several periods in order. The work is very close, compact, and full of matter. The same qualities of conciseness, &c., belong to Baur's *Lehrbuch der Christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, (Stuttgart, 1847, 8vo., pp. 284:) but it cannot be commended as a safe guide. The works on this subject by German writers are so often dangerous, and besides are so closely confined to the German range of history, making little mention of English divines, that an English "History of Doctrines," represented from the stand-point of evangelical theology, is indeed a desideratum.

The uniform 12mo. edition of Dr. CHALMERS' Works, published by T. Constable, Edinburgh, includes 25 vols. It may interest our readers to see, at one glance, a summary of the great and varied literary labours of that eminent divine:

Natural Theology . .	2 vols.
Christian Evidences . .	2 "
Moral Philosophy . . .	1 vol.
Commercial Discourses .	1 "
Astronomical Discourses .	1 "
Congregational Sermons .	3 "
Public Sermons . .	1 "
Tracts and Essays . .	1 "
Essays on Christian Authors	1 "
Christian and Economic Polity	3 "
Church Establishments .	1 "
Church Extension . .	1 "
Political Economy . .	2 "
Parochial System . .	1 "
Lectures on Romans . .	4 "

Besides these are his Posthumous Works, now in course of publication, viz:—

Daily Scripture Readings .	3 vols.
Sabbath Scripture Readings	2 "
Discourses hitherto unpublished	1 vol.
Lectures on Butler, Hill, &c.	1 "
Institutes of Christian Theology	1 "

The beautiful edition of the Daily Scripture Readings, and the Sabbath Scripture Readings, published by Harper & Brothers, New-York, is a fac-simile of the Edinburgh copy.

Dr. Kitto is publishing, in London, an abridged edition of his "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," designed as a manual for families, Sunday-school teachers, &c.

A new translation of the Bible into French, with the Hebrew text in parallel pages, is in progress by S. Cohen, in Paris. The work has advanced as far as the Book of Esther.

Some two years ago we furnished our

readers with a review of *Palmer's* Homiletik. Several books on the subject have since been produced in Germany, and among them "*Homiletik der Evangelisch-Protestantischen Kirche, systematisch dargestellt*, von ALEXANDER SCHWEIZER," Professor, &c., in Zurich, (Leipsig, 1848, 8vo., pp. 405.) It takes up the subject as part of *worship*, not merely of instruction. The theory of church-worship and service is fully treated, and then Homiletics, as part thereof, is unfolded, 1st, in its principles; 2d, in its material; 3d, in its formal part. The latter embraces most of what in English treatises generally goes under the name of Homiletics. The work is close and compact, fitted well for a compendium, and deserving of examination here, although the demands of Protestant worship among us are in many respects different from what they are in Germany.

A translation of Neander's *Kaiser Julian und sein Zeitalter*, (the Emperor Julian and his Times,) by G. F. Cox, M. A., Oxford, is announced in London.

The 27th and 28th volumes of the *Library of the Fathers* (Parker, London) include Chrysostom's Homilies on John's Gospel and on 2d Corinthians.

Messrs. Longman & Co. are publishing a new edition of Bishop Jeremy Taylor's Entire Works, revised and corrected by the Rev. Charles Page Eden, M. A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. To be completed in 10 vols. By the way, the treatise hitherto attributed to Jeremy Taylor, entitled "Contemplations on the State of Man," has been ascertained to be from another hand; a recently published pamphlet, by Archdeacon Churton, having shown it to be taken from a work by Nieremberg, a Spanish writer contemporary with Taylor.

The lectures before the "Young Men's Christian Association," of London, delivered by eminent clergymen and laymen of different denominations, have been eminently successful. The aim to "baptize science and literature with a Christian spirit," and to combine the energies of so many minds of varied culture and modes of thought, was a most happy one. The lectures for 1847–8 are published in a handsome 8vo. volume, including the following:—

The Natural History of Creation, by Edwin Lankester, Esq., M.D.:—Social Organization, by Rev. John Harris, D. D.:—The Art of Printing, and the effects of the Cheapness and Facilities of that Art on Society, by Rev. John Tod Brown, M. A.:—Mohammedanism, its Rise, Tenets, and History, by Rev. W. Arthur, late Missionary in India: [Methodist]:—The Acquisition of Knowledge, by the Rev. Dr. Beaumont: [Methodist]:—The Geological Evidences of the Existence of the Deity, by Rev. Thomas Archer, D. D.:—The Mythology of the Greeks, by Rev. John Aldis:—The History of the Formation of the Free Church of the Canton de Vaud, Switzerland, by the Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel, M. A.:—The Truths Peculiar to Christianity, and the Principal Proofs of which they are susceptible, by Rev. Charles Stovel:—The Moral Influence of the Commercial Spirit of the Day, by Rev. George Fisk, LL. B.:—The Mysteriousness of Christianity Compatible with its Truth, and with Faith in its Verities, by Rev. Charles Prest: [Methodist]:—The Age we Live in, by Rev. Dr. Cumming.

Mr. J. D. Morell, author of the "Historical and Critical View of the Speculative Philosophy of the 19th Century," writes books too rapidly. We noticed his "Philosophical Tendencies of the Age" in our last; he has since published a work with a title somewhat old in this country,—"The Philosophy of Religion." We have not yet seen it.

The 1st and 2d volumes of Clarke's Foreign Theological Library for 1849, containing *Olshausen on the Romans*, and *Neander's Church History*, vol. iv., (Torrey's translation,) have appeared.

There has been just published in London "An Exact Reprint of the Second Edition of the 'Scholastic Philosophy, considered in its Relation to Christian Theology,' being the Bampton Lectures for 1832, by R. D. Hampden, D. D., Bishop of Hereford, late Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford."

We are glad to see announced as in press, Guericke's Hand-book of Christian Archæology, translated by Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, M. A.

It is gratifying to see that the literature and interpretation of the Bible are commanding much more attention in England, of late years, than formerly. One of the most important works in this department, we are glad to see, is from a Methodist minister, namely, *The Apostolical Acts and Epistles, from the Peschito or Ancient Syriac: to which are added the Remaining Epistles and the Book of Revelation, from a later Syrian Text*: translated, with Prolegomena and Indices, by J. W. Etheridge, M. A., Doctor in Philosophy of the University of Heidelberg, and Member of the Asiatic Society of Paris. London: Longmans, 1849, crown 8vo., pp. 495. This volume, in connexion with a version of the Gospels previously published by

Mr. Etheridge, forms a complete translation of the Peschito. There is added, also, a translation of the canonical Epistles, and of the Apocalypse, from the later Syriac versions. Besides this, are the following works illustrative of the Bible:—

The Greek Testament, with a critically revised Text, a Digest of various Readings, Marginal References to Verbal and Idiomatic Usage, and a copious Critical and Exegetical Commentary in English, by Henry Alford, M. A., 2 vols., 8vo.:—*The Gospel of St. Mark*, illustrated from ancient and modern authors, by Rev. James Ford:—Annotations on *Romans and Corinthians*, by Rev. T. W. Peile, D. D.:—a *Translation of the Twelve Minor Prophets*, with a Commentary, by E. Henderson, D. D.:—Grinfield's *Scholia Hellenistica*, in Novum Testamentum:—Davidson's *Introduction to the New Testament*:—Curæ Romanæ, Notes on the Epistle to the Romans, with a Revised Translation, by William Walford, author of "A New Translation of the Psalms:"—An Atlas of Prophecy, being the Prophecies of Daniel and St. John, the text, with an Historical Elucidation, illustrated by Maps, 4to., with many Charts and Tables:—Lectures on the Apocalypse, Critical, Expository, and Practical, being the Hulsean Lecture for 1848, with the Original Greek Text from the best MSS., and a revised English Translation, by Christopher Wordsworth, D. D., 2 vols., 8vo.:—The New Testament, with the Marginal References for the most part transcribed at full length beneath the Text, and forming a plain and easy Commentary on the New Testament, in the very words of the Holy Scripture; with a complete Marginal Harmony of the Four Gospels, by the Rev. Clement Moody, M. A.:—The Harmony of History with Prophecy, an Exposition of the Apocalypse, by Josiah Conder, 1 vol., 8vo.:—The Four Gospels, with Annotations by the Right Rev. John Lonsdale, D. D., Bishop of Lichfield, and the Ven. William Hale Hale, M. A., Archdeacon of London, 4to.

The following, on theology, or kindred subjects, are recently published, or in press, in London:—

The Earth's Antiquity, in Harmony with the Mosaic Record of Creation, by James Gray, M. A., Rector of Dibden:—Sacred Latin Poetry, chiefly lyrical, selected and arranged for use, with Notes, &c., by Rev. R. C. Trench, A. M.:—A second volume of Parish Sermons, by Julius Charles Hare, M. A., Archdeacon of Lewes:—Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation in England, by the Rev. S. R. Maitland, D. D., F. R. S., author of "Essays on the Dark Ages:"—A New General Ecclesiastical Dictionary, by the Rev. Edward H. Landon, M. A., 6 vols., 12mo.:—The Life and Times of John Calvin, the Great Reformer, translated from the German of Dr. Paul Henry, by Henry Stebbing, D. D., 2 vols., 8vo.:—Israel and the Gentiles, a Sketch of the History of the Jews to the present day, by Dr. Isaac Da Costa, of Amsterdam. Post 8vo.:—The Closing Scene, or Christianity and Infidelity contrasted, in the Last Hours of Remarkable Persons, by the Rev. Erskine Neale, second series, fcp. 8vo.:—Thoughts on Natural Theology, suggested by the "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation:"—The First Revelations of God to Man, considered in a Series of Sermons on the First Chapters of Genesis, by the Rev. W. E. Evans, 12mo.:—The Ancient Syriac Version of the Epistles of Ignatius, from MSS. of very great antiquity, edited, with an English Translation, and copious Notes, by the Rev. William Cureton, M. A., F. R. S., of the British Museum, second edition, much enlarged, 2 vols., 8vo.:—Athanasia; or, four books on Immortality, by John Howard Hinton, M. A.

Among the Theological books lately published on the continent of Europe are the following:—

Testament, (das Neue,) Griechisch, nach den besten Hulfsmitteln kritisch revidirt m. neuen Deutschen Uebersetzg. u. kritischen u. exegetischen Kommentar, v. Dr. A. W. Meyer. Vol. II. Kommentar; Vol. IX. Part 2, Kolosser u. Philemon. 8vo. (Gött.)

Brückner, Cand. theol. Epistola ad Philippenses Paulo auctori vindicata contra Baurium.—Commentatio præmio Regio ornata. 8vo. Lipsiæ, Tauchnitz, jun.

Lücke, Dr. Friedr., Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes und in die apokalypt. Litteratur überhaupt. 2 verm. u. verb. Aufl. 1. Liefer., das 1. Buch, über den Begriff u. die Geschichte der apokalypt. Litteratur, enthaltend. gr. 8.

Præcipua Patrum ecclesiasticorum testimonia, quæ ad mortem Pauli apostoli spectant, collegit et examinavit *Aug. Otto Kunze*, Gottng. 8vo., pp. 57. 1848.

Die apostolischen Denkwürdigkeiten des Märtyrers Justinus. Zur Geschichte und Aechtheit der kanonischen Evangelien. Von K. Semisch, d. Theol. Dr. u. o. Prof. in Greifswald. Hamburg. 8vo., pp. 412. 1848.

Zur Geschichte der christlichen Logoslehre in den ersten Jahrhunderten. Die Logoslehre Justin's des Märtyrers. Von Lic. Ludw. Duncker. Prof. in Göttingen. 8vo., pp. 39. 1848.

Ueber die principielle Begründung der Lehren von der Sünde, von der Person Christi, von der Erlösung und Rechtfertigung. Von C. Rennecke. 8vo., pp. 433. Magdeburg. 1848.

Die Kirchengeschichte des 18. und 19. Jahrh. aus dem Standpuncte des evangelischen Protestantismus betrachtet in einer Reihe von Vorlesungen. Von Dr. K. R. Hagenbach. 1. Thl. Leipzig. 8vo., pp. 511 1848.

AMERICAN.

Messrs. Lane and Scott are preparing for publication:—

A History of the Vaudois Church, from its Origin, and of the Vaudois of Piedmont, to the Present Day, by ANTOINE MONASTIER, formerly Pastor in the Canton de Vaud, and a Native of the Valley of Piedmont: translated from the French. 12mo.

The Work of the Holy Spirit on the Human Heart, by Rev. JONATHAN EDWARDS, M. A., Pastor of the Church of Christ at Northampton, in Connecticut: being two Tracts on that Subject, abridged by Rev. JOHN WESLEY, A. M. 1 vol., 18mo.

Fletcher's Letters; embracing six Letters on the Spiritual Manifestation of the Son of God, with the Pastoral and Familiar Letters. 1 vol., 12mo. (*Nearly Ready.*)

Camp-Meetings, considered with Reference to their History, Philosophy, Importance, &c.; by the Author of "The True Evangelist." 1 vol., 18mo. In this work the objections commonly brought against Camp-meetings are fully considered; and while the uses of these meetings are illustrated, some excellent hints for their improvement are thrown out.

The Fitness of Holy Scripture for Unfolding the Spiritual Life of Men: being the Hulsean Lecture for the Year 1845, by RICHARD CHEVENIX TRENCH, M. A., Prof. of Divinity in King's College, London. From the Second London Edition, with an Introduction and Notes, by J. M'CLINTOCK, 12mo.

Palestine; the Geography and History of the Holy Land; adapted to Bible Classes, Sunday Schools, and Private Use, by Rev. F. G. HIBBARD: to be illustrated by Twenty Stereographic Maps. This work will contain: 1. A distinct, authentic, and somewhat detailed description of the physical geography of Palestine. 2. An account of each place and object, properly belonging to the geography of Palestine, so far as they stand connected with Biblical history, or so far as is necessary to appreciate it. 3. A full account of the aboriginal nations of Canaan. 4. A separate account of each of the tribes of Israel, embracing all the important reliable knowledge we have of their distinct and relative histories. 5. A general, connected view of the history of Palestine, from its first settlement to the time of Christ. 6. The present Arabic names and the condition of cities, districts, &c., of Palestine, mentioned in the Bible, so far as modern research has identified them, and given us any valuable information.

A classical and illustrated catalogue of all the publications of the Methodist Book Concern is in preparation, and will be issued as soon as possible. It will be worthy the attention, not merely of Methodists and Methodist Ministers, but of all persons interested in religious or theological literature.

We are glad to see that Messrs. Harpers have in press Prof. Davidson's new translation of *Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History*, (from Clark's Library.) There is no *compendium* of Church History to compare with Gieseler's; and Cunningham's translation was made from an old edition, and is, moreover, out of print. They are also continuing the publication of Dr. Chalmers' "*Posthumous Works*," of which vol. VI. will soon appear.

A translation of Tholuck's "*Festal Chimes and Sabbath Musings*," by Rev. Edward Meyer, of Albany, has recently appeared.

Messrs. Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln will soon issue *Republican Christianity*; or, True Liberty, as exhibited in the Life, Precepts, and early Disciples of the Great Redeemer, by E. L. MAGOON, Author of "Proverbs for the People," "Orators of the American Revolution," &c.:—*Sacred Rhetoric*; or, the Composition and Delivery of Sermons: with "Ware's Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching," by HENRY J. RIPLEY, D. D., of Newton Theological Institution:—*Man, Primeval*; or, the Constitution and Primitive Condition of the Human Being. A Contribution to Theological Science, by JOHN HARRIS, D. D., Author of "Mammon:" *History of the American Baptist Missions* in all Parts of the World, from the earliest Commencement to the Present Time. Prepared under the Direction of the Baptist Missionary Union, by WM. GAMMELL, Prof. in Brown University.

Classical and Miscellaneous.

EUROPEAN.

A NEW series of School Classics is announced in London, "to be adapted to the use of students, by the omission of offensive words and passages; and to be illustrated by original notes in English, embodying the most recent philological information, together with occasional strictures on sentiments of an unchristian tendency." We have examined the first of the series, viz., "*Horace*, with Notes, by Rev. C. Girdlestone, M. A.,

and Rev. W. A. Osborne, M. A." (Longmans, 1848, pp. 301.) Prefixed is an account of the Life and Metres of Horace. The notes are brief, neat, and pointed—with a little too much quotation from difficult authors. The plan is, in our judgment, a most excellent one. Roman indecency is no better than any other, yet our school-boys are exposed to it, nay, introduced to it, by Christian teachers. Expurgated editions heretofore have been too often issued under the auspices of insufficient scholarship: but that objection will not lie against the series now proposed.

J. W. Parker, London, publishes "C. Cornelii Taciti Opera Ad Codices Antiquissimos Commentario Critico Exacta et Emendata. Edidit Franciscus Ritter, Professor Bonnensis." 4 vols. 8vo. This edition professes to give a complete collation of all the older and only important MSS., with the emendations of Professor Ritter and of former editors; a Commentary, containing an Explanation of all difficult Passages, and a Justification of New Readings introduced; and a Life of Tacitus, a Criticism of his Writings, and of the original form of the works still extant: also Indices to the Text, and Notes by the editor.

We have received a copy of the translation of Madvig's Latin Grammar, made by Rev. George Woods, with the sanction and co-operation of the author. We have examined it sufficiently to see that the translation is faithfully performed. But we cannot discern any ground in the merits of Professor Madvig's book to make it worth the trouble of translation at all. It is valuable, indeed, for its abundant illustration in the Syntax; but in philosophical method, either in Etymology or Syntax, it is far behind Weissenborn or Kühner.

A work of some pretension in Philology is "*Mithridates Minor, or an Essay on Language*," by HENRY WELSFORD, Esq., (London, Longmans, 1848, pp. 431, 8vo.) The design of the work is to bring together all the aid which the languages of Asia afford for elucidating those of Europe. It discusses all the most weighty questions of philology,—the origin of language, and of alphabetic writing, the diversities of language and their causes, &c.; and, besides, attempts to compare the elements of the Eastern languages, (Chinese, Egyptian, Hebrew, Arabic, Sanscrit, &c.,) with the Greek, Latin, and modern tongues. The attempt is ambitious,—but the writer's strength is not equal to his ambition.

Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology" is now complete, in 3 large 8vo. volumes. Many of the articles are elaborate dissertations, and, what would hardly be expected from the title of the book, it includes the early Christian writers, fathers, heretics, &c. As the cost of this great work (£5 15s. 6d.) puts it out of the reach of most American students, it is to be hoped that some of our enterprising publishers will reprint it.

Among the new issues in Bohn's cheap "Libraries" are Schlegel's Æsthetic and Miscellaneous Works, and the first volume of Plato's Works, to be translated by the Rev. H. Cary and others. This volume contains The Apology of Socrates, Crito. Phædo, Gorgias, Protagoras, Phædrus, Theætetus, Euthyphron, and Lysis.

The following are announced as recently published, or in press, in London:—

An English-Greek Lexicon, citing the Authorities in Chronological Order for every Word used; and marking the Quantities of all doubtful Syllables, by C. D. Yonge, B. A., 1 vol. small 4to.:—Exact Philosophy, by Dr. Fraser Halle, 1 vol., 8vo.:—Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography, and on other Subjects, taken from Articles which have appeared in the "Edinburgh Review," by the Right Hon. Sir James Stephen, K. C. B.:—Colonel Mure's Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece:—Life and Correspondence of Southey, edited by his Son, the Rev. C. C. Southey, M. A.:—Miscellaneous Writings of Pascal; a large portion from original MSS., translated from the French of M. Faugère, by George Pearce. Post 8vo.

The following table gives the number of resident members of the University of Cambridge, (Eng.,) Nov. 15, 1848:—

	In college.	In lodgings.	Total residents.
Trinity	229	327	556
St. John's	236	133	369
Caius	57	73	130
Christ's	72	39	111
Emmanuel	63	40	103
Queens'	45	52	97
Corpus Christi	75	8	83
St. Peter's	58	18	76
Cath. H.	37	34	71
Jesus	56	8	64
Clare H.	55	9	64
Magdalene	47	12	59
Sidney	40	2	42
Pemb. H.	35	3	38
Trin. H.	34	1	35
King's	30	—	30
Downing	12	2	14
	1181	761	1942

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Among the books in classical or general literature, lately published on the continent of Europe, are :—

Boettticher, P.—Rudimenta Mythologiæ Semiticæ: Supplementa Lexici Aramaici, (Berol.)

Die Geschichte der griechischen Welt von ihrem Ursprung bis zu ihrer Beruhrung m. der römischen, von H. Dittmar. Maps and Plates, 8vo. Heidelb.

Versuch einer wissenschaftliche Darstellung der Geschichte der neuern Philosophie, von J. E. Erdmann. Bde. III. Thl. I. Die Entwicklung der deutschen Speculation seit Kant. Bd. I., 8vo., Leipzig.

Handbuch der alten Geographie, aus den Quellen bearb. von A. Forbiger. Bd. III. Politische Geographie der Alten Europa. Royal 8vo., Leipzig.

Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, von Jac. Grimm. 2 Bde., 8vo., Leipzig.

Horatii Opera, in usum Scholarum ed., varietate Scripturæ et Commentariis instruxit H. Duentzer. 8vo., Brunsv.

Sophoclis Tragœdiæ. Ad optim. libror. fidem iterum recens. et brev. not. instrux. C. G. A. Erfurdt. Ed. III., Vol. III.: Ajax. 12mo., Leipzig.

Geschichte der Poesie Europa's und der bedeutensden aussereuropäischen Länder vom Anfang des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts bis auf die neueste Zeit, von Dr. Joh. Geo. Thd. Grässe. Dresden u. Leipzig, 1848. pp. 1090, 8vo.

Ueber den Begriff des Epos, von Dr. Friedr. Zimmermann. Darmstadt, 1848, pp. 149, 8vo.

Recueil des Inscriptions grecques et Latines de l'Egypte, étudiées dans leur rapport avec l'histoire politique, l'administration intérieure, les institutions civiles et religieuses de ce pays depuis la conquête d'Alexandre jusqu'à celle des Arabes. Par M. Letronne. Tome II. Paris, imprimerie royale. 1848, pp. 554, 4to.

Euripidis tragœdiæ cum fragmentis. Versio latina ad novam Tauchnitii editionem stereot. accommodata. Tom. II.: Alcestis, Andromache, Supplices, Iphigenia Aul., Iphigenia Taur. Lugd. Bat., 1848, pp. 258.

Q. Horatii Flacci carmina. Kritisch berichtigt, erklärt u. mit einer literarhistor. Einleitung versehen, von Dr. Thd. Obbarius. Jena, 1848, pp. 378, 8vo.

AMERICAN.

The translation of *Freund's* Latin Lexicon, by Professor Andrews, is advancing through the press of Messrs. Harper and Brothers as rapidly as the great care necessary in the preparation of the work will admit. From a glance at the proof-sheets, we perceive that the style in which the book is to appear will fairly match that *chef d'œuvre* of American typography, Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, edited by Prof. Drisler.

The same publishers are also preparing an edition of *Riddle and Arnold's* English-Latin Lexicon, revised, &c., by Dr. Anthon. A work of this kind has long been needed in our schools.

The third volume of McClintock and Crooks' series of elementary works, embracing Greek Syntax, with Reading Lessons in Prose, and Greek Prosody, with Reading Lessons in Verse, will shortly appear. It will form a sufficient "Greek Reader," and be furnished at a very low price. A Latin Reader is also in preparation.

Messrs. Little and Brown, Boston, have issued proposals for publishing by subscription the "Life and Works of John Adams, second President of the United States;" edited by his grandson, Charles F. Adams. Among the papers is a *diary* commenced in 1755, and continued for thirty years. The whole work is intended to make ten octavo volumes; subscription price, $2 25 per vol. When these remains of John Adams, and the Life and Works of his "no less distinguished son," John Quincy Adams, shall have been laid before the world, many dark places in American history will be cleared up. We trust that no lack of interest in the American public will render the publication of these writings doubtful.

A book of 700 pages, entitled, Rational Psychology, or the Subjective Idea and the Objective Law of all Intelligence, by Laurens P. Hickok, D. D., Prof. of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary of Auburn, has lately been published. We have not seen it.

Messrs Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia, will soon publish an "*Authentic Narrative of the United States Expedition to the Dead Sea and Source of the River Jordan*," by W. F. Lynch, U. S. N., Commander of the Expedition. In one vol., 8vo., of about 500 pages, with maps and numerous plates. This work will command the attention of all biblical students, as settling many hitherto doubtful points and disputed questions of sacred topography. The large and accurate maps and elegant illustrations will not only embellish the work, but greatly increase its utility. An expedition like this, undertaken by the Government, and prosecuted with the aids of modern science, cannot fail to present many points of new and peculiar interest.

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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1849.

ART. I.—GOLDSMITH.

The Life and Adventures of Oliver Goldsmith: a Biography, in four books. By JOHN FORSTER, of the Inner Temple, Barrister: author of the "Lives of the Statesmen of the Commonwealth." 8vo. pp. 704. London: Bradbury & Evans. 1848.

"A POET, while living, is seldom an object sufficiently great to attract much attention; his real merits are known but to a few, and these are generally sparing in their praises. When his fame is increased by time, it is then too late to investigate the peculiarities of his disposition; the dews of the morning are past, and we vainly try to continue the chase by the meridian splendour. Some dates and some few facts, scarcely more interesting than those that make the ornaments of a country tombstone, are all that remain of one, whose labours now excite universal curiosity." Thus wrote Oliver Goldsmith, when, only a few years before his death, he was compiling "for the booksellers" a Life of Parnell. His words well describe his own case, as it remained for a long time after his death; and we may very properly appropriate to himself what he has so justly and elegantly said of another.

For a while Goldsmith had only a literary reputation. He had appeared in the busy world an unheralded stranger; very few knew whence he came, or turned aside to inquire into his former history. His progress was that of a rising star, beaming with increasing radiance, but suddenly, and before it had reached its meridian, eclipsed in the shadow of death. He had lived and died; and during his brief but brilliant career he had reared to his own memory a monument more enduring than the pyramids, and more exquisitely wrought than the handiwork of the painter or sculptor. Could this have remained his only memorial, and he been known only as portrayed by his own genius, though rigid truth had been somewhat

defrauded, yet would the picture, spoiled by his biographers, have been preserved in its original symmetry and beauty.

For some years after Goldsmith's death, his only written memoirs were the meagre biographical prefaces prefixed to his published works. The lack of a history of his private life was, however, at length supplied, by the zealous and patient industry of Mr. Prior, whose lively appreciation of the merits of his subject compensated, in some degree, for any want of the genius best adapted to his work. But, whatever is wanting in sprightliness in Mr. Prior's authentic narrative, is abundantly supplied in the work now before us. Mr. Forster figures on the title-page as the "Author of the Lives of the Statesmen of the Commonwealth;" but we presume he will hereafter choose to be known as the author of the "Life and Adventures of Oliver Goldsmith." Writers sometimes select and pursue subjects not the most congenial to their tastes, and upon which they can never do full justice to their own powers; and though the former work may never have suggested this thought to any of its readers, yet it will now be very generally granted, that till our author wrote this book, he had not given full proof of his ability. Artists produce their best works when they follow the leadings of their own tastes; especially literary artists. The muse is an intractable beast of burden, though gentle and playful when left to her native freedom. Though we know nothing of the private history of the case, yet we dare venture to guess that this work was undertaken and pursued as a "labour of love;" and we presume, from internal evidence, that it has been the business of a life,—some of whose happiest hours have been devoted to this favourite production,—loved first for its subject's, and afterwards for its own sake.

Topical histories are of two kinds: one seems to be written only for the use of the reader; the other for the gratification of the writer himself. The former consists chiefly of a plain detail of facts; the latter employs the facts related as a basis for a philosophical disquisition upon the subject detailed. Each of these forms of history has its peculiar advantages; one being best adapted to the learner, and the other to the learned. Mr. Forster's work is almost exclusively of the latter kind. It is not, indeed, deficient in details, but every thing is arranged and classified, as if something ulterior was always in view. This is, unquestionably, a higher kind of literary creation than plain narrative. It requires superior genius for its production, and is capable of affording a more refined and elevated pleasure. But its utility is more questionable; and we may doubt the propriety of adopting an arrangement so exclusively artistical as that of this work.

The author's interest in his subject has exerted a very happy influence upon his production. He is evidently enamoured of the character of Goldsmith, and therefore writes with a genial warmth of admiration, which gives a pleasing animation to his style, and a lively naturalness to his imagery. His vivacity also affects the reader pleasantly; for even dulness is pleased to be aroused by the gentle fervour of others, and every one desires to have his author in earnest. But the same cause has betrayed him into two very considerable faults. In the first place, he has made the book too large, by more than a quarter of its matter, much of which is quite extraneous to the subject, and, however excellent in itself, would have been as little out of place almost anywhere else, as in a biography of Goldsmith; and, secondly, he, without designing it, places himself before the reader in the attitude of an advocate, as well as a biographer. That is evidently bad policy; for, though it is expected that the writer will favour his subject, yet he should maintain rather the character of the judge than of the partisan. There is always an inclination to make large allowances for the special pleading of one who brings before us a cause, to one side of which he is pretty fully committed. Though much might be said of the skill with which, in the work before us, many difficult points are managed, and the worse made to appear the better cause, still, all this praise to the author must be at the expense of the subject. Did he not seem determined to exculpate Goldsmith in *everything*, we should be better prepared to agree with him in many of his defensive or apologetic positions.

As to the literary character of the work, we shall say but little. Liberal criticism will not fail to assign it an elevated place among its fellows, and an enlightened public will appreciate its worth. The style is pure, classical English; and if it errs at all, it is by an excess of elaborate refinement. Its highest blemish is an affectation of the manner of Carlyle. The plan of the work is dramatic, as may be inferred from the somewhat fanciful title, "Life and Adventures." The distribution into parts, or periods, is philosophical and luminous, and much better adapted to give a clear perception of the whole theme, than a narrative in unbroken unity, or an arbitrary division into chapters. The purpose of the author seems to be to exhibit the life and character of Goldsmith directly to the reader, rather than to propose it as a subject to be heard of and learned at second hand. And in this he has succeeded, beyond most who have made similar attempts.

In the following pages we design to present a succinct view of the character and genius of Goldsmith, as exhibited in his life and wri-

tings, making but little further allusion to the work named at the head of this article.

According to the inscription upon the tablet erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey, Oliver Goldsmith was born on the 29th of November, 1731, in the hamlet of Pallas, county of Longford, Ireland; but the less ostentatious, though more reliable authority of the records of his native parish, places that event some three years earlier, to wit, on the 10th of November, 1728. His father, a country curate, "with forty pounds a year," resided in a crazy mansion on the banks of the Inny, in a desolate tract of lowland; and here young Oliver first looked out upon the world. Two years later his father obtained the living of Kilkenny West, when he removed to the village of Lissoy, the scene of the childhood of him who has made the name of Goldsmith a household word, wherever the English language is spoken. Here, at four years old, a book was first put into his hand by Mrs. Elizabeth Delap, who, after his death, remembered him only as "impenetrably dull." Here, too, he was disciplined in the village school of Mr. Thomas Byrne, a "broken soldier," who, having served in Queen Anne's wars, had returned to his original calling, though still bearing more of the stamp of the camp than of the school-room, and much better qualified to "shoulder his crutch, and show how fields were won," than to vindicate his title to all the learning ascribed to him by his too partial pupil. His tales of startling adventures awakened the spirit of the child to a love of vagrant pleasures, and his doggerel verses first taught him the use of rhyme and measure. The rhymes of the school-boy were interpreted, by maternal fondness, as evidence of genius too exalted to be desecrated to a mere mechanic's art. His father's heart, if not his judgment, was persuaded by such arguments, and accordingly young Oliver was devoted to poverty and the Muses.

His studies, preparatory for college, were pursued in the usual manner, and without any peculiar incidents. In scholarship he was below mediocrity; but he was fond of fun and frolic, and always more esteemed by his school-fellows than by his teachers. To a natural awkwardness and ungainly appearance were added the indelible imprints of the small-pox; and to his native dulness, he joined an almost morbid sensitiveness; though his anger was as readily appeased as excited. Yet his schoolmates remembered that he was brisk and skilful at their childish games, and evinced less dislike for the classics than for severer studies. At sixteen years old he was matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin; not a pensioner, as had been the case with his elder brother, but a "poor scholar." Here his natural sensitiveness was exposed to rude insults, and his gay

spirit subjected to a most uncongenial discipline. Yet his life in college was more a round of boisterous sports, than a succession of the degrading toils and severe studies that commonly distinguished the sizar's undergraduate course. He had a strong aversion to the exact sciences, and fancied they were only fit for the dull and stupid. He despised college honours and prizes,—probably because he had no hopes of gaining them. Yet, by some lucky blunder, he once received the seventeenth prize of his class, when, in a fit of excessive munificence, nineteen were distributed. This sudden influx of both honours and wealth (the prize was thirty shillings) was too much to be endured with self-possession. He gave a supper and dance in his chamber the next evening, in the midst of which his enraged tutor broke in upon the revel, and, scattering the guests, gave the lord of the feast a wholesome flagellation. His confusion was now complete; so, selling his books, he hastily quitted college, determining to bury his disgrace in the wilds of America. But, once out of college, his haste for expatriation left him; he lingered about Dublin till his funds were reduced to a single shilling, and then set out for Belfast. Being met on the way by his elder brother, he was persuaded to return to college, and be reconciled to his tutor. Two years later we see him issuing from those halls, honoured with the title of Bachelor of Arts.

But it was a cold and uncongenial world into which he now made his unheralded progress. Returning to Lissoy, he found the family mansion occupied by a brother-in-law; for his father had died nearly two years before, and the family had removed to Ballymahon. His elder brother, Henry, had exchanged his college fellowship for a wife, and his father's old curacy of forty pounds a year, and now occupied the old goblin mansion on the banks of the Inny. For two years he sauntered away his time among his relations, without effort or determination, waiting "for something to turn up." Sometimes he assisted Henry in his little school at Pallas: sometimes he played the flute, or joined in field-sports with his brother-in-law, Hodson, at Lissoy; and sometimes joined the council at the ale-house of Ballymahon,—"where news much older than the wine went round;" and, if report speak truly, even then he gloried "among the swain, to show his book-learned skill." He was the first man at the club of village *savans*, and was especially celebrated for his power at throwing the sledge-hammer on the green.

This listless course of life was highly unsatisfactory to his friends, who urged him to choose a profession. Guided by others, or by his own blundering genius, he made the very worst selection possible for himself,—the Church. It is said he had a

strong dislike to this course; but whether from a conviction of his unfitness for the duties of the sacred office, or a dislike to its restraints, is not so clear,—unless we apply to himself the language that he subsequently put into the mouth of the "Man in Black:"—"To be obliged to wear a long wig, when I liked a short one, or a black coat, when I generally dressed in brown, I thought was such a restraint upon my liberty, that I absolutely rejected the proposal." The refusal, however, was not quite so absolute on his part, for he actually presented himself to the Bishop of Elphin for orders, and, greatly to the honour of that dignitary, was rejected. Whether his lordship was aware of his irregularities at college, or found him deficient in theological attainments, or was scandalized at the brilliant scarlet breeches in which he had arrayed himself for the occasion, it is not necessary to determine. The decision itself is one at which all must rejoice. Thus ended his first attempt to get forward in the world.

Among Goldsmith's early friends was a maternal uncle-in-law, by name Contarine,—one of those rare characters that combine practical good sense with kindness towards the follies of others. He was, withal, able to afford substantial aid, as well as kind wishes; and through his good offices his nephew obtained the place of a tutor in a gentleman's family, where he continued nearly a year; when, heartily tired of confinement, and with greatly improved finances, he procured a spirited steed, and, with thirty pounds in his purse, sallied out upon the world. A few weeks restored him to his almost distracted relatives; but with empty pockets, and his goodly beast replaced by a diminutive jade, which he facetiously called Fiddleback. He was both surprised and grieved, because his mother received him with rebukes instead of caresses.

It was next determined that he should make a trial of the law, and, his kind uncle again furnishing the means, he set out for London with fifty pounds; but, meeting an acquaintance at Dublin, he was beguiled into a gaming-house, where he staked and lost the whole. Two of the learned professions had thus been tried; the third was now undertaken as a forlorn hope. The same generous hand was again opened, and the youthful adventurer set out for Edinburgh, to study medicine. This enterprise came near terminating as the others had done; for, on arriving at the Scotch capital, he took lodgings at random, he knew not where; and, having deposited his effects, sallied out to view the town, knowing neither the name of his host, nor the street where he lived. But, by good luck, he at length met and recognized the porter who had carried his trunk, and was relieved of his embarrassment.

He now devoted himself with comparative zeal and steadiness to his

studies, though the pleasures of the town somewhat interfered with them. Two winters were devoted to hearing lectures,—the intermediate vacation having been spent at the mansion of the Duke of Hamilton, where his haughty spirit was greatly offended, because he was "liked more as a jester than a companion,"—and in an excursion to the Highlands, upon a hired horse, "about the size of a ram." At length, burdened with debts, and hunted by the bailiffs, he quitted Edinburgh for the Continent; and, after encountering a series of mishaps, such as could befall none but an Irishman, or, if they should by any means, out of which no other could extricate himself, he reached Rotterdam, and passed thence to Leyden. Here he remained nearly a year, ostensibly attending lectures, but in fact playing at cards, and reading light literature. By his usual improvidence, he was reduced to the same embarrassments that drove him from Edinburgh; so he sold his books, and borrowed a small sum from a friend, and set off for Paris. But, in passing a florist's garden, (it was during the tulip mania,) he remembered that uncle Contarine was an amateur of flowers, and bought one of the most costly, as a thank-offering to that faithful friend. And now, with empty pockets, he sallied forth to make the tour of the Continent. In most of his tour he supported himself by his flute, after the manner of a wandering minstrel. He strolled leisurely through France, and parts of Germany and Switzerland, till he came to Padua. Here he resumed his medical studies, was admitted to the doctor's degree, and again set off on his vagrant tour to visit the states of Italy. There his musical resources failed him,—for every Italian peasant was a better musician than he. But he found another, and even better means of living. "In all the foreign universities and convents," (it is the language of the "Philosophic Vagabond," of which Goldsmith is both author and original,) "are, upon certain days, philosophical theses maintained against every adventitious disputant; for which, if the champion opposes with any dexterity, he can claim a gratuity in money, a dinner, and a bed for the night. In this manner, therefore, I fought my way towards England, walked along from city to city, examined mankind more nearly, and, if I may so express it, saw both sides of the picture." After two years spent in these wanderings, he landed at Dover, early in 1756, friendless and penniless. How he found his way to London, through a country where both his flute and his philosophy failed to serve him, is uncertain; but it is known that "in the middle of February he was wandering, without friend or acquaintance, without the knowledge or comfort of even one kind face, in the lonely terrible London streets."

At this point his hitherto checkered and grotesque history becomes so dark, as no longer to be clearly traceable. It was probably too painfully humiliating to be recited by himself, and too obscure to be recovered by others. Some ten or twelve years after, he startled a brilliant circle at Sir Joshua Reynolds', by beginning a story with —"When I lived among the beggars of Axe Lane." It is known that he was for a little while an usher in the school of a Dr. Milner, —a business ever ready in the seasons of his deepest depression, and always most cordially detested;—that he also acted for a time as assistant to a chemist, and for a little while practised medicine among patients yet poorer than himself, at Bankside, Southwark. His patron, Dr. Milner, was an acquaintance of Griffiths, the publisher of the Monthly Review, and an occasional contributor. Griffiths, dining with his friend one day, came in contact with the unpromising usher, and, with the avidity of a bloodhound, scented his genius and engaged his pen. It was thus that Goldsmith stumbled upon his appropriate calling.

Here our author closes the first book of this graphic history,—covering a period embracing more than two-thirds of Goldsmith's years, and comprehending some of the most important events of his life. However unpromising his early career, it disclosed his character;—the boy was father to the man. The idler of Trinity College, the good-natured trifler at Lissoy and Ballymahon, the "Philosophic Vagabond" of the continental tour, and the reckless spendthrift upon all occasions, is identical in the principal traits of character with the Goldsmith of later years. He never seemed to be so much deficient in genius, as in the tact necessary to render his genius available, and the energy of character to force his way to his appropriate position. Thus far he had drifted on the ocean of life, rather than navigated it; and now, by the concurrence of circumstances altogether independent of his own efforts, he had struck upon the coast that best of all suited his mental character.

But the picture of Goldsmith, presented in this initial period of his life, though true to nature, is still very imperfect. To see him in his own likeness, we must trace him through the next,—the transition period of his history,—till he attained the perfectly developed character of an author. He has left Dr. Milner's school, where he had gambolled with the boys, and amused them with his flute, as well as performed other and less congenial offices, and has gone to serve the bookseller, in the literary department of his Review. "He was man-of-letters then at last, but had gratified no passion, and attained no object of ambition. The hope of greatness and distinction, day-star of his wanderings and privations, was, at this

hour, more than it had ever been, dim, distant, cold." He was in the employ of a mere penny-wise bookseller, wholly incapable of sympathizing with anything that did not appear in his ledger; and, as if conscious of a better destiny in reversion for him, he refused his name to the productions of his venal muse. But, galled and jaded as was his muse, she was still vastly more graceful in her constrained movements, than any of the long-eared tribe that had been accustomed to bear burdens for the Monthly.

There was a starting up and opening of eyes, among the better class of the readers of the Review, when the first number issued after Goldsmith entered Griffith's garret came to hand. An article on the Scandinavian Poetry and Mythology,—a subject then beginning to excite the attention of the learned,—written in a style the most natural and pleasing, and evincing a degree of discernment and literary taste seldom met with in the same pages, gave promise of a new era in the career of the magazine. Soon followed another, evidently from the same pen,—a critique on a tragedy called Douglass, then enjoying an ephemeral popularity at one of the London theatres,—whose acknowledged "perfection" was called in question, and its glaring defects condemned, with just and forcible animadversions. At length came a review of Burke's "Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful," then lately issued from the press. The theme was evidently congenial to the critic's taste, and, while engaged upon it, his genius rose above its former lowly flight, and seemed about to demonstrate his claim to a better destiny. The criticisms were elaborate and discriminating; and while some parts of the book were objected to as erroneous, to the work, as a whole, was accorded a hearty and decided approval. Burke, who was then just commencing authorship, felt and acknowledged the worth of these timely commendations.

But this is the bright side of the picture. Goldsmith had hired himself to Griffiths for a year, for a stipulated price, to write a given number of hours daily. The degradation of his situation was recognized by both parties from the first; leading to insolence on one side, and exasperation on the other, which brought on mutual criminations and recriminations, and ended in a complete rupture at the close of the fifth month. Goldsmith was now a free man again, and the world was before him,—that world to which he owed but little, and from which he had little expectation. He had, however, made one valuable discovery by his connexion with the Monthly Review, —he had learned that he possessed latent powers, and he had caught the first faint glimpse of rational hope, that "the great world would be listening some day." He now took lodgings in Salisbury

Court, not far from the Temple Exchange Coffee-House, which, as a more respectable residence, he made the place of his public address. Here he devoted himself to his new profession in the most approved style of the Grub-street literati,—writing to order on any subject, for anybody that would pay. He had reached the base of the hill, on whose top "Fame's proud temple shines afar," and had even caught a distant glimpse of its bright eminence, but as yet all about him was dark, murky, and cold. A characteristic incident fitly illustrates the dismal state of his affairs. He had left at Ballymahon a brother named Charles, some ten years his junior, who seems to have inherited a good share of his own foibles, with but little of his genius. Goldsmith was one day sitting at his desk, engaged in his miserable drudgery, when the door suddenly opened, and a raw-looking country youth stood before him. It was his brother Charles. He had heard of Oliver's success in the metropolis, and how he was associated with great and learned men, and fancied he must now be able to do something towards starting a poor kinsman in the world. Full of high expectations, he had found his way to London, and then to the Temple Exchange Coffee-House, whence a waiter conducted him to the object of his ambitious search. The same moment revealed sad truths to both of them. But when Goldsmith meets Goldsmith, what power have disappointment and poverty to produce sorrow? "All in good time," cried Oliver, joyfully, "I shall be richer by and by. Addison, let me tell you, wrote his poem of the *Campaigne* in a garret in the Haymarket, three stories high; and you see I am not come to that yet, for I have only got to the second story." Charles was made to rehearse the family history since Oliver had left the scenes of his youthful pleasures, and received in return the hospitalities of the humble garret. Soon after, this hopeful stripling sailed for Jamaica, a forlorn adventurer; whence he did not return to relate this anecdote, till after his brother had ceased to suffer and to hope.

The sight and society of a familiar friend,—one whom he could love without distrust, and by whom he might be loved without selfishness,—seems to have revived in his heart the memory of his early associations and familiar friends. We next trace him by his letters to his relations in Ireland, which, while they show his unvarying fidelity of affection, also shed some light upon the cheerless condition of his private affairs. Writing to Hodson, he sketches, in a style the most felicitous, and in a vein half serious and half playful, his past struggles and conflicts. But when he comes to describe his present condition, the picture becomes yet darker, as he exhibits himself, conducted by Poverty to the gates of the Muses, where

Want acts as gentleman-usher, and also presides as master of ceremonies. Then, with admirable skill, the scene is changed from London to Lissoy, and want and poverty give place to the tenderness of friendship and the joys of refined affection.

He continued to write for the press with all the assiduity of a slave at the oar. His motives to industry were at once the least elevated and the most imperious;—he toiled not for fame, but for bread. Indeed, his hard apprenticeship seems to have shaken his allegiance to the Muses; for about this time we trace him, on a cheerless afternoon, wandering out, "unfriended, melancholy, slow," and directing his footsteps towards the door of his friend, Dr. Milner. The kind-hearted doctor would have welcomed his old usher at any time, but now this visit was doubly welcome;—he needed assistance in his school, and Goldsmith wanted *to live;* and though he loathed the duties of school-teaching, yet want is more imperious than taste; so he once more resumed the primer and the ferule. This, however, was done in the hope of something better, for Dr. Milner promised to aid him in obtaining a more congenial occupation. He was faithful to his promise, and soon after secured for his usher the place of surgeon and physician to an English factory on the coast of Coromandel,—a post that, to his expectant vision, glittered with Oriental magnificence. But, for some unexplained reason, the enterprise was abandoned, and seldom mentioned afterwards, except in the most vague and mysterious terms.

The tyranny of the Muses was too severe to be submitted to without another effort at self-emancipation. He went privily to the College of Surgeons and Physicians for examination, hoping to make his way into a reputable and adequate livelihood. Fortunately, he was rejected; and though the cause,—incompetency,—is hard to be accounted for, yet who does not rejoice at the result? But the consequences of this futile attempt were not so readily got rid of. To make a proper appearance before the learned examiners, he had hired of a tailor a suit of clothes, for which Griffiths was security, in consideration of four articles to be furnished by Goldsmith for his Review. Soon after, and before the clothes were returned, a scene of sorrow occurred at Green Arbour Court,—whither he had removed. His landlord was seized and borne off by the bailiffs, and his heart-broken landlady, to whom he was somewhat in arrears, appealed to him for assistance. With that promptness of beneficence, by virtue of which "his pity gave ere charity began," the borrowed suit was quickly pawned for a sum requisite to relieve the distressed family. The affair, coming to Griffiths' ears, drew from him an insulting letter, with a demand for the immediate return of the clothes. Gold-

smith wrote an apologetic answer, which, not satisfying the bookseller, was followed by another, breathing the spirit of conscious degradation without crime, with some faint flashes of the bravery that originates in despair. The ill-paid labours of his pen afterward satisfied the demands of the soulless creditor,—and the poor writer dragged on in his wretched and hopeless course.

Goldsmith had now reached his deepest depression under the discipline of adversity. Few persons had greater need than he of the salutary lessons of experience, and he did not wholly fail to profit by them. The best index to his mental state in this time of extremity is given in a letter to his brother Henry, the curate of Pallas,—that brother to whom his heart turned alike in prosperity and adversity. Dark as are the clouds of sorrow that shade this picture, we still trace in it the hand of Goldsmith. Eight years had passed since the brothers had seen each other; and now Oliver seeks to re-introduce himself to his loved, home-abiding brother. The picture of his person savours but little of that vanity of which Goldsmith has been very generally suspected; unless, indeed, self-reproach is itself a covert vanity; but when he describes the effects of his experience upon his own character, he evidently writes from the heart, though the figure he presents is worse than a caricature,—it is a libel upon himself. He had placed the world in prospect before himself,—as young persons are apt to do,—not as it in fact is, but as it is imaged by the glowing fancy of youth. Hopes thus founded are necessarily doomed to disappointment; and this Goldsmith had now proved. He therefore inveighs against all novels, and charges his brother never to permit his son to read one of them. This was indeed before he had written his own inimitable romance, a work, however, but slightly obnoxious to the charges so freely laid against that class of works generally. But the part that is least like himself is his strong and emphatic commendation of frugality as a cardinal virtue, and even of avarice, as something less than a vice, in the lower orders of society. He was suffering the effects of his almost total want of even prudence in pecuniary affairs, and hence his praises of the qualities of mind the farthest removed from his own. "Teach then, my dear sir," he writes, "your son, thrift and economy. Let his poor wandering uncle's example be placed before his eyes. I had learned from books to be disinterested and generous, before I was taught by experience the necessity of being prudent."

While Goldsmith was thus brooding over his sorrows, he was also composing his first acknowledged work,—"An Inquiry into the Present State of Polite Literature in Europe,"—a respectable duode-

cimo, printed early in 1759. With this publication he determined to assume a new position in the literary world; and from a mere mercenary critic, writing for bread, to rise to independent authorship, uttering the real sentiments of his heart, without fear or favour. His position was not favourable to a calm and clear illustration of his subject, which had become a personal matter with him. But, as his heart was in it, he was the more likely to be in earnest about it; and though he might judge amiss, yet error, forcibly expressed, is far more tolerable than vapid common-place, however truthful.

The quarrel between the man of letters and the patron is as old as the trade of authorship. Nor is the fault always on the side of the patron. It were certainly a hardship that the assumption of authorship, by any brainless pretender, should devolve on the public the duty of patronizing impudent dulness. The growth of genius is commonly slow, and its early buddings give but faint indication of what will be its matured fruits. Were all the patrons of genius as munificent as Mæcenas, few would have his discernment to guide them in the bestowment of their favours, and still fewer would be so fortunate as to find a Horace to repay them with immortality. Goldsmith had seen the embarrassments under which literature was labouring, and thought he had discovered their causes. It was a transition period in the republic of letters: the days of legitimate patronage were gone forever, but literature had not yet learned that noble self-dependence, by which alone it can effect its greatest achievements.

The whole book is alive with the conviction that the popular form of criticism was highly unfriendly to literature, and that this was the direct and necessary result of the sordid spirit of the book-sellers. Such an attack upon Grub-street and Paternoster Row, implied a courage nearly allied to temerity; for the justness of the charge was its most offensive feature. It was like turning his weapons against himself, since he was a critic by trade, and in the employ of these very book-sellers. But though among them, he was not of them; poverty had driven him into strange associations, and now, with honest indignation, he sought to be avenged of the insult.

The uttering of such sentiments, especially by one of their own craft, created no little commotion. The whole kennel, "Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart," were soon in full cry upon the luckless author and his ill-favoured production. Smollett, with stately dignity and consummate self-complacency, complained that while the censures were sufficiently just as to most of the critical productions of the day, they were "too indiscriminate; confounding a work [the Critical Review] undertaken from public spirit, with one [Griffiths' Monthly] sup-

ported for the sordid purposes of a bookseller." But Griffiths was not so delicate; and, calling to his aid an accomplished libeller, he gave poor Goldsmith such a castigation as could only come from a combination of malevolence and meanness.

This first attempt at dignified authorship was not among its author's happy efforts. The style was very generally admired, and many of the sentiments were acknowledged to be just; but the tone was querulous, and its spirit somewhat sour and austere. It failed to do justice to Goldsmith, though it did him some service before the public; and from this time we may date a new period in his "Life and Adventures."

There is reason to suspect that Goldsmith's sufferings, which first produced such deep depression of soul, at length operated as a salutary discipline upon his too ardent spirit. He seems now to have given over his childish whimperings, and to have risen in conscious self-dependence, resolved to be a man. From this point his course was steadily upward, till he was admitted, by common consent, to the first place among living authors. We have followed him through his youthful vagaries, till fortune and folly led him, a hapless and forlorn wanderer, into the British metropolis. There we have endeavoured to trace his devious course, and especially to note the vicissitudes of that mind whose more matured productions have ministered to the refined pleasures of thousands, and proved a stimulus and support to faltering virtue, in many a season of trial. He is now to emerge from the obscurity of garrets and the dull drudgery of book-sellers, to more congenial and better requited labours. We must refer the reader to the life-like sketches of his further history, given in the animated pages of Mr. Forster;—how he gathered honey for the luxuriant but short-lived "Bee;" and by its sweets drew about him, and bound fast in honourable friendship, such persons as the authors of the Reliques, and the Rambler, and the prudent conductor of the "Critical," and compiler of the "Complete History of England;" and how, when that publication ceased, his contributions were solicited by the better class of periodicals, through some of which he first issued many of those lighter pieces, which have since been collected, and are now honoured with the name of their author, as at first they honoured it.

This was the birth-day of newspapers. A short time before, the Universal Chronicle had assumed an advanced position among hebdomadals, and, to sustain it, the genius of Johnson was invoked, and the Idler discoursed wisdom to its readers. The "Essay" of that age was the progenitor of the modern "Leader." Next a daily

paper was projected, and the pen of Goldsmith, instead of that of the great lexicographer, was relied on for its support. There was honour in the association, as well as emolument in the employment; and for nearly two years the "Chinese Philosopher" conversed, in pleasant satires, or more solid wisdom, to the readers of the Public Ledger. Lien Chi Altangi was always good-humoured, but always grave. His stranger character allowed him to be surprised at many things, which, though surprising in themselves, had ceased to be so considered, because they were common. His animadversions are quiet and amusing, and often under their smooth surface lurks a satire more potent than the grave censures of professed moralists. The purity and simplicity of their style, and the vein of good-natured wit that pervades the letters, gave them an early popularity, and their wisdom and good taste have secured its continuance.

The success of the Chinese Letters improved Goldsmith's finances, and he was not the man to suffer want while he enjoyed prosperity. We accordingly find him quitting his cheerless abode in Green Arbour Court, and taking more eligible quarters in Fleet-street. Here he became a great man, in the eyes of his late Grub-street associates; and as his sufferings had not sufficiently taught him wisdom, he frequently became the victim of those who had less genius, but more impudence, than himself. Here too he first received a visit from Johnson. Percy had visited him some time previously, and in the depth of his depression,—a visit that must have been painful to both parties, such was the squalid poverty of the host. But things were now changed, and Johnson's visit was the harbinger of better days, especially as Percy was his companion, and comfortable competence had taken the place of meagre want in the abode of Goldsmith. Johnson arrayed himself in his best attire, and had every part of his dress in the most exact order. Percy expressed some surprise at this; but Johnson explained by saying, "I hear that Goldsmith, who is a great sloven, justifies his disregard of cleanliness and decency, by quoting my practice; and I am desirous this night of showing him a better example." An unhappy example it proved to Goldsmith, as his unpaid tailor's bills too forcibly declare.

This was an epoch in Goldsmith's history; for now he began to be sought after, both by the really great and by those who aspired to be esteemed such. During the latter part of this year he dined with Davies, the book-seller, where he first met with an individual with whom, for no friendly reason, his name has become intimately associated. "A youth of two-and-twenty, the son of a Scottish judge, and respectable old whig laird, had come up, at the end of the year,

from Edinburgh, to see Johnson and the London wits, and not a little anxious that Johnson and the London wits should see him. . . . . *James Boswell* was not yet to see Samuel Johnson. He saw only Oliver Goldsmith, and was doubtless much disappointed." There was little in the exterior or manners of the garrulous, conceited, lion-hunting young Scot, to awaken the admiration of Goldsmith; nor is it strange that the latter did not detect those latent qualities by which the former has attained a fool's immortality.

Goldsmith's rooms became now the frequent resort of the wits of the metropolis. Here Hogarth delighted to while away a pleasant afternoon in congenial converse with his newly acquired friend. The declining star of the great artist may have led him to seek the society and the sympathies of the "Citizen of the World," and Goldsmith's heart was ever open. Here, too, was often seen another distinguished artist, then occupying the highest place in his profession. The friendship between Goldsmith and Reynolds became most intimate and sincere. They were kindred spirits—and only death divided them.

Though Goldsmith continued his labours for the book-sellers with unabated diligence, he was also aspiring to more elevated walks of authorship. The sunshine of prosperity seems to have awakened his slumbering powers and evoked the deep music of his soul. Two works, both of sterling merit, were now dividing his attention and exercising his genius. The impressions of his wanderings upon the continent had lived in his imagination during all the painful vicissitudes of the intervening years. In the reveries of his solitary hours he had revisited their scenes, reproduced their adventures, and laughed, sighed, and philosophized over their treasured reminiscences. The language of the heart is poetry, whether in verse or prose; and with Goldsmith's powers of versification, the language of sentiment naturally assumed the forms of poetry. These floating fancies were now reduced to living and symmetrical forms, and, thus arranged and embodied with the skill of a master, became a choice gem of English poetry. Such was the literary pedigree of "The Traveller," which issued from the press in December, 1764.

Though Goldsmith had attained to a place among the chief wits of his times, any one of whom would have felt himself flattered by a dedication, yet, mindful of a purer love, and of a friendship more wholly unselfish than any that the great world could bestow, he dedicated this first ripe fruit of his muse to his brother. The delicate but forcible language in which he alludes, in the introductory portion of the Poem, to their mutual affection, when he speaks of his "untravelled heart" ever fondly turning to his "earliest friend," is the

best memorial of their fraternal union. The appearance of this Poem produced a deep impression among the literary circles of the metropolis. Johnson, with his usual impetuosity and energy, pronounced it the best poem that had appeared since the death of Pope. The London wits could scarcely persuade themselves that it was really Goldsmith's, so much did it exceed all his former works; and when they were at length compelled to award him the honour of its production, he at once assumed, in the public mind, the place of the first living poet.

Criticisms upon the literary merits of "The Traveller" would be superfluous. Who that will peruse this paper has not read and reread that pure and elevated English classic? And who that has read, has not admired and approved? It is a simple effusion from a warm and benignant heart,—"a prospect of society," as seen, not by the scheming politician, or by the selfish partisans of oppression, but by one whose sympathies are always with the common people. His philosophy may be faulty, and his theories incorrect, but the sentiment is right; and though we may doubt, we will also approve and admire nevertheless. Its distinguishing characteristic, as in all Goldsmith's writings, is its naturalness, and the facility of its diction: and as poetry is a more elevated kind of composition than prose, he well maintains its elevation without at all sacrificing the simplicity of his style. "It does not cry to the moon and the stars for impossible sympathy, or deal with other worlds, in fact or imagination, than the writer has lived in and known. The language is unadorned, yet rich; select, yet exquisitely plain; condensed, yet home-felt and familiar."

And now the learned world could see real beauty in Goldsmith's hitherto neglected minor pieces. A revised edition of his Essays was required by the public, and he not unwillingly yielded to the demand. To the same period belongs another of his well-known productions,—which, though short, as a poem, is really one of the most admired lyrics in the language. The ballad of Edwin and Angelina (commonly called the Hermit) was first sent by the author to the Countess (afterward the Duchess) of Northumberland, by whom it was privately printed and circulated among her friends, but it was never published till it appeared in the Vicar of Wakefield. Northumberland was fully sensible of the honour done him and his lady by Goldsmith, and made some advances toward providing for him in his own country, of which the duke was Lord-lieutenant; but the poet simply commended his brother to the favourable notice of the viceroy, feeling that self-dependence was better than the patronage of the great.

Meanwhile there was lying unhonoured in the desk of the bookseller, Newbury, a manuscript destined to occupy no second place among the works of its author. The manner of its getting there is characteristic. One morning during the preceding year, Johnson had received a hasty message from Goldsmith, that he was in great distress; and as it was not in his power to go to Johnson, begging Johnson to come to him, as soon as possible. The nature of the difficulty being readily apprehended, a guinea was sent by the servant, and the Ajax of literature followed soon after. He found Goldsmith in a violent rage at his landlady, who had arrested him for rent. A manuscript was at length produced, which he said was ready for the press. Johnson hastened with it to Newbury, who bought it for sixty pounds, and so the poor author was once more set at liberty. More than a year elapsed, and in the mean time the appearance and success of the Traveller had added new value to whatever might come from the pen of its author. Still the success of this new work was considered very doubtful; but the book-seller had paid for the manuscript and must seek to be reimbursed. At length, unheralded, and with great apparent modesty, appeared "The Vicar of Wakefield; a Tale, in two volumes, 12mo." Its authorship was confessed, though not proclaimed; for the tale was in the form of a personal narrative by the vicar; but Goldsmith's name was inserted as editor, so that the work actually appeared under the auspices of the Traveller. Its first reception was not highly flattering. By some of the public prints, especially the more aristocratic, it was wholly neglected, while others praised it faintly, and reproduced some of its most striking passages. Of all the members of the Gerrard-street Club, (Goldsmith's most intimate friends,) embracing many of the first wits of London, only Burke could see any great merit in it. But, in spite of all this, it grew in public favour; a second edition was called for in a few weeks, and in less than three months later a third. Before the author's death it had reached its eighth edition.

Though it may not seem necessary to go into an estimate of the merits and defects of a work so well known and generally appreciated as the Vicar of Wakefield, a few remarks upon its character and tendencies may be not altogether out of place. The plot is generally well conceived, but only imperfectly executed. This is especially manifest towards the close, where matters seem to rush to a consummation with headlong haste, as if the author was in a hurry to make an end of the business. This probably was the case; and we may presume that when Johnson bore off the manuscript to the bookseller, the latter part was considered as unfinished by the au-

thor. The work presents to the reader a succession of pictures, sometimes pleasing, sometimes painful, and often singularly grotesque; but all most natural. There is no overstraining, no reaching after things above the writer's or the reader's measure. No startling adventures and incredible exploits levy unwilling contributions upon our faith. The actors are all human beings; no demigod, nor scarcely a hero, is found among them.

In the dress of amusing fiction, the book presents us with wholesome lessons of morality, and a most biting satire upon some of the prevailing vices and follies of the times. Good is seen everywhere predominant over evil, and virtue is always triumphant, though often cast down for a season. But this is not a peculiarity. The manner of the lesson is more remarkable. We are taught "that the heroism and self-denial needed for the duties of life, are not of the superhuman sort; that they may co-exist with many follies, with some simple weaknesses, with many harmless vanities." The indigence of the inferior clergy, and their consequent liability to indignities, are forcibly set forth in the history of the good vicar; the power of wealth, in the hands of the vicious, to corrupt and destroy, is shown in the story of young Thornton and the unfortunate Olivia; the ruinous effect of ill-judged maternal partiality (of which, probably, the writer supposed himself to be a victim) is illustrated in the blunders of the sons, and the high expectations entertained for the two daughters. But the satire assumes a deeper and severer tone, when the good vicar is dragged away to prison by a villanous creditor, and cast among felons. Even from that dark den we may trace the early dawning of that light which has since risen in such radiance upon the sons and daughters of wretchedness. A Howard, a Romilly, an Elizabeth Fry, may have taken their lessons from the Vicar of Wakefield; for he was among the first to suggest the idea that criminals might be reformed, and that the jail is not necessarily the portal to the gallows.

In Goldsmith's times the whole power of the law was called into the most sanguinary operation for the protection of property. The same loathsome prison received the unfortunate debtor and the guilty felon; while the murderer and the offender against the sacred rights of property expiated their offences upon the same gibbet. Reformation was entirely foreign to either the designs or the tendencies of penal justice; and when once the iron doors of the prison closed after the victim of the very temptations that the law had set thick through the land, he was thenceforward treated as a beast of prey, to be hunted to death with all possible celerity. The voice of the vicar, himself a victim of this legal tyranny, is raised against such

flagrant wrong-doing. At the same time, he has no sympathy with the sickly sentimentalism of some modern reformers, who would run to the opposite extreme, and reduce all crimes to a common level, and so give impunity to all. He pleads for a discriminating administration of public justice,—such as shall not confound the distinctions of right and wrong, and make the life of a man and the security of his purse of the same value. His remonstrances against the frequent and unnecessary use of sanguinary punishments for minor offences, are direct and powerful arguments in favour of severity in cases of high crimes against personal rights, and especially against human life.

But the feature that especially distinguishes this work, is its life-like reflection of the soul of its author. Nowhere else has he given so free a rein to his fancy, which always loved to revel among his own cherished remembrances. He delighted in the grotesque, the comical, the absurd. From his infancy he had been nourished among living examples of good-natured improvidence, and blind fatuity as to the common affairs of life, joined to much general shrewdness and unavailable good sense. These qualities, embodied in his leading characters, make up the material of the tale; and each of the *dramatis personæ* has its original in the Goldsmith family at Lissoy.

As to the moral tendencies of this tale, we may express our opinion in a very few words. Its primary design is to amuse; but it so mingles instruction with amusement, that many who read it only for pleasure, will not fail to be benefited. Its morality is not the most elevated, but it is very generally pure; its philosophy is deeper than its perfect transparency might lead a superficial observer to suppose; and its exhibitions of human character, though somewhat ludicrous, may challenge a comparison in truthfulness and force with those of the Rambler. The impressions that will be made upon the mind of every reader, capable of appreciating its worth, will be such as to strengthen the inclinations to virtue, and to reconcile the spirit by a genial charity to the follies and foibles of mankind, and to the vexations and disappointments of life.

To make an end of our remarks upon the works of our poet, we here add what we have to say of his last original work,—"The Deserted Village," though that poem was not published till nearly six years after the appearance of the Traveller. The latter was like the early vernal flower, a nursling of the departing blasts of winter, and the fitful sunshine of the early spring; but the former grew and bloomed in the full summer of successful enterprise. But the genius of its author was not enervated by his improved circumstances; nor

had the change alienated his affections from the oppressed and lowly. At that time the opinion prevailed to a very considerable extent, and was supported by some respectable writers, that notwithstanding the increase of trade and general commercial prosperity of the country, the population was steadily and rapidly declining. The fallacy of the opinion is now sufficiently manifest; it is known that at that very time the population of England was rapidly increasing, and the condition of the masses steadily improving. But this view of things suited Goldsmith's melancholy vein. Of the facts of the case he had very little means of forming an opinion, but his feelings rather than his judgment directed him in the matter. He had seen something of village life at Lissoy and Ballymahon, and had observed the course of dilapidation and decay at Pallas; and these furnished him the materials of heartfelt sympathy and poetic descriptions. Of these he constructed his "Auburn," both in its prosperity and its desolation. Still, false as were the assumptions, and erroneous as is the philosophy, upon which it rests, the poem contains something that commends it to the heart of every reader of true sensibility. It may do but little honour to the author's judgment, but it will ever stand as a monument of the genial tenderness of his heart.

We prefer, however, to consider the poem upon its own merits, as a work of art. In that view it is a gallery of exquisitely drawn pictures, copied evidently from the poet's imagination, where the memories of childhood still lived in the radiant sunshine of life's early morning. "Sweet Auburn," though very natural in all its characteristics, is unquestionably a fancy piece: and yet, one would almost believe, against the force of external evidence, that descriptions so like realities are veritable copies from nature. The cot, the farm, the brook, the mill, the decent church, and the hawthorn-bush, are all proper appendages of an English rural village; and the "sleights of art and feats of strength,"—the sports, tricks, and revelries of the rustic population,—are the occupations in which such communities chiefly delight. Nor is the reversed picture, though very different, less natural, when the towering lordly mansion "spurns the cottage from the green," and instead of the former homely hospitality, the surly porter "spurns imploring famine from the gate."

But these sadly pleasing fancies were too dear to the poet's heart to be hastily dismissed,—they must again pass in review before him, to receive his last fond farewell; and here the picture takes the character of an exquisite panorama. First comes the "modest mansion" of "the village preacher," suggesting the sacred duties and endearing relation of the parish vicar. This is the nearest approach to a conception of the character of a Christian anywhere to be met

with in the works of Goldsmith; and it would be proof that he had some notion of the peculiarities of that character, though he nowhere else evinces such knowledge, were it not that we may readily trace this image to another origin. Goldsmith was more accustomed to rely upon his memory than upon his invention, even when constructing his works of imagination; and it is not difficult to recognize the features of his brother Henry in the portrait of the village preacher. Next comes the "village master," ruling his "noisy mansion" with stern but pleasant authority, and Thomas Byrne appears in all the bustling consequence of pedagogical greatness. Then follows the village Inn, and here we obtain a view of the ale-house of Ballymahon, where the poet had lounged away many an idle hour, partaking with real zest of the homely and humiliating pleasures of that school of the minor vices.

At length the scene is varied. The picture presents another and later period. Auburn is changed. The former population are gone, and the humble pleasures of the poor have given place to the grandeur of wealth. But the poet's fancy remains undazzled, and he follows the outcast inhabitants in their sorrowful wanderings in search of toil and food. The unfenced common is denied them; the city's splendour may be seen, but not enjoyed; or, if a scanty subsistence is obtained, it must be at the expense of every pleasure, and at the price of unremitted toil. The last, the only hope,—sad fruit of despair,—is in voluntary exile; and fancy follows the forlorn outcast, torn from the embrace of home and kindred, as he wanders a pensive stranger upon the banks of the Altamaha,—

> "Where crouching tigers wait their hapless prey,
> And savage men, more murderous still than they."—

In what may be termed the mechanical execution of poetry, the Deserted Village has few equals in our language. It would be difficult to find other four hundred lines, in consecutive order, containing so many real beauties and so few faults. The language is pure English, with but few inversions and poetical contortions; moderately adorned, and the embellishments so arranged as to heighten rather than conceal the beauties of the thought. It has all the poetical excellences of Pope's best pieces, without their excessive refinements; and a natural, life-like freshness is retained in every part. As a work of art, we consider this the masterpiece of English poetry, and presume that its place will not be soon successfully contested.

The Deserted Village was dedicated to Reynolds. In the dedicatory letter, the author alludes to the dedication of his former poem to his brother, (now deceased,) as a tribute of pure affection, and

now craves his indulgence, that in like manner this may be inscribed to his best-loved earthly friend. Then, deprecating the severity of his judgment, the poet casts himself upon the kindness of one who needed no friendly poet's aid to add to his reputation, but yet was not unmindful of that affection which enshrined him in the poet's heart, next to his ever-loved brother. In the plenitude of public favour, Reynolds felt and appreciated so delicate, and yet so forcible an expression of real affection from one whom he admired, and *almost* loved; and, rousing his mighty genius, he painted and had engraved his "Resignation," styling it "an attempt to express a character in the Deserted Village," and inscribed it to Dr. Goldsmith.

The success of the poem was in accordance with its intrinsic worth, and the high reputation of its author. The first edition was exhausted in less than a fortnight, and before three months it had reached the fifth. "Even Goldsmith's enemies in the press were silent, and nothing interrupted the praise that greeted him on all sides." Gray was at that time at Malvern, sinking under mortal disease; but, hearing the poem spoken of, had it rehearsed before him; and having listened throughout with fixed attention, exclaimed at the end, "That man is a poet." Posterity has unanimously confirmed the judgment of the dying bard, himself the nearest competitor of the subject of his praises.

Our limits will permit us to pursue the history of Goldsmith no further. Nor need we. We have followed him through those portions of his history during which his character was taking form, and his mind developing the properties that distinguish his name. His subsequent history, though better known, presents no new views of his character. After the publication of the Traveller, he was readily admitted to the first literary circles in the metropolis. He became the intimate friend and almost constant associate of Johnson, Burke, Reynolds, and others of that class. He was chosen a member of the Gerrard-street Club, an honour sought in vain by some of the nobility, and one for which Garrick was long an unsuccessful suitor. His habits of living were conformed to his improved circumstances, and were marked by the peculiarities of his character. His rooms, near Temple Garden and at "Merry Islington," were the resort of his boon companions, as well as of his insatiable parasites; and here the hospitality of which he gave an earnest in his college days was fully realized. He became as fantastic and profuse in his apparel, as formerly his poverty compelled him to be mean. His life was a round of convivial pleasures, in the intervals of severe literary labours, and was checkered by distressing anxieties and painful embarrassments, arising from his reckless improvidence. He was

admired for his genius, and esteemed for the kindness of his heart, while his awkwardness, sensitiveness, and vanity, exposed him to many a cruel jest, and made him the sport of his inferiors. This period of Goldsmith's life extended over something less than ten years, when (April 4, 1774) his overtasked powers gave way before a slight attack of fever, and the erring, brilliant, but earthly-minded spirit of the poet was dismissed from its mortal abode.

The history of this extraordinary man presents so many inconsistencies, that some attempt at a general estimate of his character is requisite. This, Mr. Forster has not given; and our limits (were there no other hindrance) would not permit us to supply the defect. We may, however, venture a few brief suggestions. His genius is placed beyond question by his imperishable works, which at once proclaim his greatness and characterize his mind. Yet he was not a learned man. In his early life opportunities were wasted in idleness, and in his manhood they were denied him. After he came to London he had but little chance to gain knowledge from books, though constantly busied among them. None of his works give evidence of much reading; while some of them clearly betray his want of information upon the subjects that engaged his pen. He wrote books because that was his trade; and, as to the subjects, he generally accommodated himself to the wishes of his employers. His knowledge of human character was not contemptible, though he viewed it in the aggregate, rather than in its individual embodiments. Society was a principal theme of his meditations. He detected some of its evils, faithfully exposed some of its iniquities, and fondly attempted to suggest the appropriate corrections. Yet he was no politician,—probably because he knew too little of contemporary politics to make up an intelligent opinion, and was too honest to decide at random.

He was not deficient in imagination; but his imaginative powers were rather constructive than creative,—and his images are more remarkable for their exquisite finish, than for the boldness of their conception. His stock of ideas was always limited,—being little more than the remembrances of what he had observed previous to his coming to London; and these are constantly appearing and reappearing in his writings. His personal history discloses the originals of nearly all the pictures found in his works;—and the same picture, in some cases, appears several times in different places. But while we confess the poverty of his creative genius, we must admire his powers of construction. It is wonderful to observe how far his scanty materials were made available, and one is ready to declare that he had completely exhausted his means. But the same seemed to be the case before he produced his last and best poem, when it

seemed as if his powers of permutation and combination were inexhaustible.

But how can we account for the concurrence of qualities, thus securing for their possessor at once admiration and contempt? Two mental properties, apparently contradictory, yet capable of co-existence,—self-esteem and self-distrust,—distinguish his history and his character. By the combined action of these he was rendered extremely sensitive. Esteeming himself highly, he was quick to feel any seeming insult; and, conscious of a want of power to enforce respect, his spirit writhed under the tortures of unmerited contempt. Had his self-esteem been seconded by self-confidence, it would have given occasion to towering pretensions and pride of opinion,—he would have borne the patronizing air of superiority, and even his kindness would have had the appearance of the condescension of self-complacent dignity. But, in the absence of self-confidence, self-esteem is vanity, and becomes the occasion of a thousand ridiculous schemes to gain applause, and of most poignant disappointment when it is withheld. How fully all this is manifested in the life of Goldsmith, must be plain to every one acquainted with the subject.

But the influence of his self-esteem was not always evil. Its effects upon his style were highly favourable. It has often been a subject of wonder, that a style of unequalled purity was attained by one whose associations were so generally vulgar. His self-esteem affords a ready solution. In his low estate he always felt that he was wronged and degraded by his position. He esteemed himself too good to commune in sentiment with his low-minded associates, and so, although he lived among them, he never learned their language. This also kept him from the low vices of the vulgar; for higher motives would hardly have availed him, and fashionable crimes and follies had little deformity in his sight.

His self-distrust, on the other hand, which ever attended him as his evil genius, was constantly paralyzing his energies and frightening him from asserting his just claims. In childhood, among his play-fellows, it made him a cowering underling,—afraid to lift up his head and to assert his rights. In school and at college it crushed his ambition, and forced him to despair of success among his inferiors. In his painful and protracted struggles for a place in society, it constantly stood in his way, and made him falter when perseverance would have secured success. And when, at length, his genius forced him above his degradations, it followed him still, and, in innumerable instances, betrayed him into deep and painful humiliations. Respect is never given as alms,—it is seldom awarded to the claims of justice, except in view of the power to enforce those

claims. That power Goldsmith had not, and so was laughed at and bantered by his inferiors wherever he came.

Intimately connected with this distrust of self, and perhaps resulting from it, was his want of self-control;—for he was accustomed to act from momentary impulses rather than fixed principles. His beneficence, though it often robbed him of his last penny, was not charity; nor was his prodigality, at the expense of others, dishonesty. He gave from the impulse of pity merely; and, when his own wants gave the present impulse, he gratified them at any expense,—whether by pawning a borrowed suit, or by borrowing a sum that he would never attempt to pay. The immediate impulse was always his paramount law.

Without fixed purposes or decision of character, it is wonderful that he succeeded so well as he did; and the world may thank the hand of hard necessity for its property in the fame and works of Oliver Goldsmith. He wrote that he might eat; and because the demands of hunger were oft-recurring and imperious, he wrote steadily; and so his labours became habitual, not from the steadiness of his purposes, but from the unceasing demands of his necessities. Artistical skill thus came unasked to the aid of his genius, and by their united agencies, operating with the power of habits, formed most unwillingly, were produced those exquisite works that irradiate his name.

As to a religious character, he had absolutely none at all. He was nominally a Christian, because he lived in a nominally Christian community; he was a member of the established Church—as were Hume, Smollett, and Fielding—because it was fashionable, and his self-esteem led him to that course of action. As to personal religion, he declared that he left that matter to his professional spiritual counsellor; and his life answers to his declaration. The morality of his writings, though for the most part of Christian origin, is stripped of the peculiarities of that system, and somewhat depressed from its high standard; while other than Christian motives are relied on to give efficiency to his instructions. His Chinese philosopher maintains his assumed character very consistently, while acting the censor of the manners of the first Protestant country in Christendom. His want of the ennobling and sustaining power of a religious character, is especially manifest in the language and sentiments of the letter to his brother, from which we have given an extract, and in which he betrays his utter want of resources within himself upon which to rely when the world's support failed him.

But, if destitute of religious character, he had its best, though infinitely inferior, substitutes;—as to himself, his self-esteem served

instead of a conscience; and, as to others, a spirit of genial and sympathetic kindness occupied the place of charity. He felt a lively interest in the joys and sorrows of all about him. This forms a prominent object in his personal history, and has given its impress to most of his works. His associations, during the time while his character was taking its form, were with the poor. The son of a poor clergyman, he had gone through college as a sizar; and for years afterward was the constant companion of want, and of the strange associations to which want often drives its victims. His sympathies were accordingly with the poor. Hence, we have his touching views of society, his suggestions of social reforms, his pleas in behalf of the helpless debtor, and the novice in crime, who may have fallen victims to unequal laws, and capricious administrations of law. To this tendency of his mind, thus circumstantially directed, are we indebted for all that is most valuable in his writings.

In closing, we cannot but repeat the expression of our surprise, that, while many inferior productions of the English press have been promptly re-issued in this country, none of our enterprising publishers have given us an American edition of this work of Mr. Forster. Had it been a book of five hundred pages instead of seven hundred, it would no doubt have been more inviting to the *trade*, as well as more pleasing to the reader. The work has many very valuable qualities, and some defects;—among which, literary criticism chiefly condemns that just named. But a graver charge may be made against the defectiveness of its moral tone. Its morals are of the free and easy kind, that commonly prevail among the gay and wealthy in large cities. The stage is elaborately and insidiously defended and praised, as a school of morals and polite refinement. The dissipations of the vain and dissolute are recorded with seeming pleasure, and passed by unreproved. The faults of his admired subject, when they amount to more than foibles, are pleaded for as venial, or even as undeserving of censure. These are blemishes upon the fair qualities of the work, which, however, has very much to commend it; and will, doubtless, long remain a monument to both the subject and the biographer.

Art. II.—CHARLES WESLEY AND HIS POETRY.

1. *Life of Charles Wesley: comprising a Review of his Poetry, Sketches of the Rise and Progress of Methodism, with Notices of Contemporary Events and Characters.* By Rev. Thomas Jackson. With a Portrait. 8vo., pp. 797. New-York: Lane & Scott. 1848.
2. *Methodist Hymnology: comprehending Notices of the Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley. Showing the Origin of their Hymns in the Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal South, and Wesleyan Collections; also, of such other Hymns as are not Wesleyan, in the Methodist Episcopal Hymn-Book, and some Account of the Authors; with Critical and Historical Observations.* By David Creamer. 12mo., pp. 470. New-York: Published for the Author. 1848.

Nothing proves the completeness of the movement called Methodism more than the varied talents of its leaders. The legislative sagacity of John Wesley found an able auxiliary in the poetic genius of his brother Charles. Divergent from them, yet owning a common impulse, Whitefield brought to the mighty labour the aid of his stirring oratory. Coke scoured the seas, and from England, as an island centre, carried this earnest Christianity to the Western and Eastern ends of the earth. And like a spirit that dwelt apart, as if rising to a purer than mortal sphere, Fletcher shed around him the consecration of his matchless holiness. The Legislator, the Poet, the Orator, the Missionary, the Saint, toiled together to spread this religion of faith and love. From such harmonious co-working of varied powers, the movement derived *breadth*, as well as energy.

We should do injustice to the memory of these noble men, did we not remember that, however each was gifted in his peculiar sphere, they all excelled in that indispensable part of their calling—preaching. Neither the administrative power of John Wesley, nor the poetic fervour of Charles, interfered with the toil of the Evangelist. Nor were their associates less eminent in this respect. They all lived to preach; at morning dawn they rose up to preach, and the task of every day was many sermons. And such preaching, too! the drowsy hum of the parish priest, drawling out what he never felt, was not for them; they were not afraid of that word which the regular clergy dreaded—enthusiasm.* To this charge they were

* Goldsmith, no enemy of the Established Church, surely, thus speaks of its ministers in 1759:—"A great part of their ignorance" (the common people's) "may be chiefly ascribed to their teachers, who, with the most gentleman-like serenity, deliver their cool discourses, and address the reason of men, who never reasoned in their lives. They are told of cause and effect, of beings self-existent, and the universal scale of beings. They are informed of the excellence of the Pangorian con-

always ready to answer, in the language of Paul, "Whether we be beside ourselves, it is to God; or whether we be sober, it is for your cause. For the love of Christ constraineth us." Hence, their appeals were quick, pungent, sending the truth home to every man's conscience.

It would be gratifying to dwell upon the combined activity of these our fathers, and, tracing out that spirit of unity in which they laboured, to describe the part which each contributed to the great whole. They deserve to be viewed not only apart, but together. A perfect history of Methodism must *group* the chief actors, and show them in the light which they throw upon each other. At present, we have the simpler task of noticing Charles Wesley's poetry.

Charles Wesley was a poet, in all that makes the poet's soul. He was one of a family of whom nearly all were remarkably endowed with "the faculty divine;" his father, his brothers Samuel and John, as well as himself, have written hymns which men will "not willingly let die;" and his sister Mrs. Wright's "Lines to her Dying Child," have an irresistible tenderness and beauty. There is no reason to believe that Charles excelled the rest in the quality of his poetic gift, but he improved it by a more assiduous culture. In him, however, the stream of song seems to have been more copious; his mind was more entirely pervaded with the inspiring feeling; not full occasionally, but always. His were the thoughts "that voluntary move harmonious numbers;" and it was natural for him to chronicle in sweet harmonies the epochs of his life. His hymns are his biography, and need but connecting notes to form a complete history of his inward and outward being. The events of a busy life, his conversion, his preaching, his journeys and voyages, his persecutions, his family cares, his own and his brother's success in their life-long work, his love for living and departed friends, are all commemorated in his lofty verse.

In order to a full appreciation of his productions, we must first know the man; a man's work is the image of his spirit. Charles Wesley's character was eminently religious. His whole life was spent in seeking after God; he was ever reaching "forth unto those things which are before." He wrote to record his progress, and to encourage his brethren to the same earnest aims. Many of his hymns are poetic prayers. He did not look "through nature up to nature's God;" for with nature he had little to do: he could

troversy, and the absurdity of an intermediate state. The spruce preacher reads his lucubration without lifting his nose from the text, and never ventures to earn the shame of an enthusiast."—*Bee*, No. vii.

not be long delayed by the outward vesture, beautiful and varied though it be. The God he sought was the God revealed in Christ. The kingdom of heaven was the world to him. This was the nature he loved; here he ever dwelt; these visions of beauty, these groves immortal, these generous fruits, he could never cease to praise; and to dwell near them, if possible, "quite on the verge of heaven," was the only life with which he could be content.

Charles Wesley was thus emphatically the poet of religion. His eye glanced not "from heaven to earth," but "from earth to heaven." His topics are such as come home to the Christian heart; the power of faith, the joy in believing, the love of Christ, the communion with God, the hope of the resurrection, are themes which he most loves to celebrate. The *general* truths of religion are more or less included in all poetry; for poetry leads us evermore to the infinite and invisible. Never was there true bard whose thoughts did not "wander through eternity." But Charles Wesley believed the *special* verities of the Gospel. After the pain of an ascetic life, he had found that justification was by faith; his experience proved to him that they who are justified "have peace with God;" and that peace at last was his. Then commenced the career of preaching, which (save by his associates) is unparalleled in modern history. He had been led to that heart-religion, which is the best religion. His words were uttered with unction and power; there was no resisting the fervour with which the poet-preacher proclaimed the tidings of redemption. Equally wonderful was the effect of his experience on his poetry. From this time it became rapt, soaring, impassioned. Before, in his ascetic exhaustion and weariness of life, he had sung,—

"Fain would I leave this earth below,
Of pain and sin, the dark abode;
Where shadowy joy, or solid wo,
Allures or tears me from my God;
Doubtful and insecure of bliss,
Since death alone confirms me his."

"Absent from thee, my exiled soul
Deep in a fleshy dungeon groans;
Around me clouds of darkness roll,
And labouring silence speaks my moans:
Come quickly, Lord! thy face display,
And look my darkness into day."

Hymnology, p. 96.

Now, commemorating the epoch when he had found the truth, he holds quite another strain:—

"'Twas then my soul beheld from far
The glimm'ring of an orient star,
That pierced and cheer'd my nature's night:
Sweetly it dawn'd, and promised day,
Sorrow and sin it chased away,
And open'd into glorious light.

"With other eyes I now could see
The Father reconciled to me,
Jesus, the Just, had satisfied;
Jesus had made my suff'rings his,
Jesus was now my righteousness,
Jesus for *me* had lived and died."—P. 108.

From this stand-point must his poetry be judged; with the worldly mind he has nothing in common. They only who have deep religious feeling can understand what he says; for it is everywhere true, that "we receive but what we give." We can hold no converse with a poet, unless we readily sympathize with the subject which forms the staple of his song; but then, if he be truly inspired, he will give us back our own with thousand-fold beauty and power. He who has not sighed for an escape from the power of sin, may be assured that much that Charles Wesley has written is not for him. On the artistic execution, however, the coldest critics may decide; and the flexible verse of Charles Wesley will not suffer if submitted to the severest tests. The facile movement everywhere shows a conscious power over the difficulties of the art. We do not say that he never wrote badly; his brother John speaks of some of his verses as "mean;"* and the very facility with which he wrote was often fatal to his success. But what of this? The strongest pinion will sometimes weary; even Milton has written hard, crabbed lines. Wesley's verse is not all perfect; but there is in it a sweetness, a grace, an energy, which will always rank him among the most skilful "builders of the lofty rhyme."

We are not ambitious of venturing a disquisition on the question, "What constitutes true poetry?" We would not step off of *terra firma;* and this is debatable ground—rather, enchanted land, skirted here and there with golden mists. The atmosphere is sweet and soft, but *hazy* withal; we cannot see as well as is our wont, for the gay illusions blind us. Perhaps, however, we may be able to descry some of the boundaries and outlines from afar.

"Not that poem," says Coleridge, "which we have read, but that to which we return with the greatest pleasure, possesses the genuine power, and claims the name of essential poetry." The Poem may be defined; for it is known by its object, (the voluntary prolongation

* Jackson's Life of C. Wesley, p. 771.

of emotion for the sake of pleasure,) or by its means, (metre, rhythm, suitable diction, and imagery harmonizing with the prevailing feeling;) but whether it contains *poetry* can only be learned by experience. Is it not thus that the Iliad and the Paradise Lost have been found to contain "essential poetry?" Doubtless the blind Mæonides found countrymen, in his own day, to admire his noble strains; and England's blind republican, who calmly measured his strength with the immortal Greek, obtained, in his poverty and suffering, "fit audience, though few." Not in their day, however, were their rank and fame decided; but as each rising age has felt the potency of their magic verse, it has confirmed the judgment of the past. Every century increases their suffrages and assures their eternity.

In the same manner the many poets in all lands, who, though less aspiring in their aims, shine with a beauty of their own, receive their approval from the voice of general experience. "One star differeth from another star in glory;" but even the faintest beams with a divine light. The bright lamps of heaven burn undimmed from age to age; it is the meteor that sparkles and disappears.

If "poetry is the blossom and fragrance of all human thoughts, passions, language," its grace and sweetness must be perennial. Those poems, whose beauties, after the fashion of the day is past, appear stale and withered, have no sap of life; or, to use Coleridge's thought first quoted, unless men can recur to a poem again and again, with unabated fondness, the outward form may be there, but no poetry. For in this way only can assurance be given that the poet has opened some fount of pure, elemental feeling.

"Poems," says Wordsworth, "cannot read themselves." The hymn, as a lyric poem, demands, for its full effect, the help of music. All poetry is allied to music; but in the lyric they are wedded together. What in poems of other species is an undertone of song, rises, in this, to a clear, distinct melody; and by this union of the two the pleasure is doubled;

> "For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense."

The hymn, then, must be judged by its relation to music. Here is no occasion for "preamble sweet;" the feelings of the poet, already awakened, break forth at once. In his language there can be nothing tame; for the pulse of song is quick and active: the passion, though just, is full and well sustained. The images are tersely expressed, never pursued at length; for the inspiring emotion admits of no departure from itself.

The *Christian* hymn, being composed for congregational use,

must express all the varieties of emotion common to the Christian. It must include, in its wide range, the trembling of the sinner, the hope and joy of the believer; it must sound the alarm to the impenitent, and cheer the afflicted; it must summon the Church to an earnest following of her Redeemer, go down with the dying to the vale of death, and make it vocal with the notes of triumph; it must attend the Christian in every step of his life, as a heavenly melody, until that hour when

> "The redeem'd of the Lord shall return, and come with singing unto Zion,
> And everlasting joy shall be upon their head."

There can be nothing *esoteric* in the hymn.

Besides this, the hymn, skilfully linked with music, becomes the companion of a Christian's solitary hours. It is the property of a good lyric to exist in the mind as a spiritual presence; and thus, as a "hidden soul of harmony," it dwells, a soul in the soul, and rises, often unsought, into distinct consciousness. The worldly Goethe advised, as a means of making life less common-place, that one should "every day, at least, hear a little song, or read a good poem." Happier he, who, from his abundant acquaintance with Christian lyrics, has the song within him; who can follow the purer counsel of Paul, and speak to *himself* in hymns and spiritual songs, singing, and making melody *in his heart* to the Lord." Eph. v, 19.

No poems will better abide these tests than Charles Wesley's. Their praise is in all the churches. They have afforded holy pleasure to thousands upon thousands; they have become in Christian assemblies a favourite vehicle for the expression of religious emotion; they have stirred those thoughts which "do lie too deep for tears;" they have enriched the language of devotion, and added new sweetness to prayer; they have cheered the weary hours of sickness, and have gushed with new force from the lips of dying saints; for there is in these immortal effusions no dulness; they do not creep along the earth, but rise above it; "in their proper motion they ascend." Nor do they fail the Christian in the highest soarings of his joy; but carry him "singing up to heaven's gate." No poetry has such power to create a fondness for itself.

Nor is this pleasure confined to the unlearned. Genius includes taste; for what is genius but the utmost delicacy of feeling in union with the power of expression? But, genius apart, the "Poet of Methodism" was too fine a scholar to be coarse in feeling. His extensive learning was pervaded by the fire of his spirit; it was of the sort that refines and finishes. The most cultivated have felt the sweetness of his hymns; they, indeed, can best appreciate the charm of his inimitable expression.

Shall we cite, for proof, some of those Divine songs which, in our own Church at least, have become as familiar as household words? The "Wrestling Jacob," the two funeral hymns, (incomplete in our book,) commencing with—"And let this feeble body fail," and—"How happy every child of grace," the first one in our collection, originally written upon the anniversary of his conversion, and many others, are linked with a thousand tender associations. To specify here is out of the question. Mr. Creamer has frequently, in his notices of such hymns of our book as are incomplete, supplied the omitted stanzas. This is, in some cases, the restoration of a much-needed unity. We do hope that hymns of peculiar excellence which are too long for a Church collection, and some whose personal allusions unfit them for public use, together with others, which, as is evident from Mr. Creamer's work, are but little known, may be published in a separate form.

As a specimen of the extent to which these Hymns are sometimes improved by the restoration of omitted stanzas, we subjoin the 36th of our volume entire:*—

"DESIRING TO LOVE.

"O Love Divine, how sweet thou art!
When shall I find my willing heart
All taken up by thee?
I thirst, I faint, I die to prove
The greatness of redeeming love,
The love of Christ to me.

"Stronger his love than death or hell,
Its riches are unsearchable;
The first-born sons of light
Desire in vain its depths to see;
They cannot reach the mystery,
The length, the breadth, and height.

"God only knows the love of God;
O that it now were shed abroad
In this poor stony heart!
For love I sigh, for love I pine,
This only portion, Lord, be mine!
Be mine this better part!

"O that I could forever sit
With Mary at the Master's feet!
Be this my happy choice!
My only care, delight, and bliss,
My joy, my heaven on earth, be this,
To hear the Bridegroom's voice!

* We take the omitted stanzas from the Hymnology.

"O that, with humble Peter, I
Could weep, believe, and thrice reply,
My faithfulness to prove!
Thou know'st—for all to thee is known—
Thou know'st, O Lord, and thou alone,
Thou know'st that thee I love.

"O that I could, with favour'd John,
Recline my weary head upon
The dear Redeemer's breast!
From care, and sin, and sorrow free,
Give me, O Lord, to find in thee
My everlasting rest!

"Thy only love do I require,
Nothing in earth beneath desire,
Nothing in heaven above:
Let earth, and heaven, and all things go.
Give me thy only love to know,
Give me thy only love."

All the parts of this poem have a fitness for each other; they all proceed harmoniously to the climax with which it ends. The first and second stanzas express the excellence of love; the second, concluding with its unsearchableness—the angels desire in vain to see its depths; in the third, the poet despairs of knowing the mystery—God only knows the love of God—and prays that he may feel it shed abroad in his heart. In the fourth, fifth, and sixth stanzas, he glances at the most striking instances of affection for Christ recorded in the Gospels. With Mary, having chosen the better part, he would sit at the Master's feet, and hear his voice; with Peter—for love delights in repeated asseverations—he would thrice, in tears, tell his Lord that he loves him; with John, he would recline his weary head upon the Redeemer's breast. His bolder spirit now declares that this love is all he wants in earth or sky; and, carried away by his vehemence, he refuses heaven itself if he cannot otherwise enjoy this gift.

"Let earth, and heaven, and all things go,
Give me thy only love to know,
Give me thy only love."

It was Charles Wesley's nature to express himself strongly.

This hymn appears in our volume under the division—"Penitential;" it would appear better under its original name, which we placed at its head. Mr. Creamer, in his valuable work, has given the original titles of many hymns, and the texts on which others are founded. We should be glad, where it can possibly be done, to see the titles restored. No poet would thank his admirers for publish-

ing his effusions without the name belonging to each. Hymn 6th is for "New-Year's Day;" the author evidently implying that *now* every year is one of jubilee, and should be opened with that stirring proclamation. The 30th is entitled—"For one Fallen from Grace." The 39th is a "Hymn for Whitsunday," and is, of course, an invocation of the Holy Spirit; the 41st is a prayer in temptation, and is in no wise penitential; while the 56th is a "Grace before Meat."

These instances are taken at random from the beginning of the book. Under the head of "Prayer and Intercession," it might be stated for what the prayer is made; though, in truth, most of the hymns are prayers, in whatever part of the volume they occur. Thus the 105th is a prayer for the Holy Spirit; 108th, for the Fear of God; 120th, for the Light of Life; 131st, for Faith; 145th, for Grace to Pray. (See the Hymnology, part iii.)

Mr. Creamer has also brought, for the first time, before the American public, a beautiful poetic version of a passage in the Litany of the Church of England. We must, however, refer readers of the Review to the Hymnology. The book, besides the poems which adorn its pages, contains a rich fund of curious information. Mr. Creamer has shown himself, indeed, an indefatigable archæologist of Wesleyan poetry; and his work is unique in Methodist literature.

The friendship of John and Charles Wesley for each other was inviolable. Never did two brothers labour with such unity. They had together watched and prayed at Oxford; they had together crossed the deep to convert the Indians; and together they toiled for half a century to spread religion. John called his brother the heart of the work; he felt himself to be its head. Charles, towards the close of his life, said that they had continued friends for above seventy years. What a spectacle it must have been to see two old men clinging to each other with child-like simplicity! They had seen their work prosper, and were now reaping the harvest of a well-spent life. They had gone forth "bearing precious seed," and were now returning "again, with rejoicing, bringing their sheaves with them." But, alas! the feeble health of Charles depressed his spirits, and poisoned the springs of enjoyment. How touchingly, when about to move from Bristol to London, he speaks of himself!—

"What matters it to me,
When a few days are past,
Where I shall end my misery,
Where I shall breathe my last?
The meanest house or cot,
The hoary hairs may screen
Of one who would be clean forgot,
And live and die unseen."

At length, worn out with the toils of nearly fourscore years, the venerable man approaches his end. His spirit labours with his last poetic prayer. It is the last breathing of that sweet, melodious heart:—

> "In age and feebleness extreme,
> Who shall a sinful worm redeem?
> Jesus, my only hope thou art,—
> Strength of my failing flesh and heart;
> O could I catch a smile from thee,
> And drop into eternity!"

Was ever such a dying song!

Art. III.—JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

We design to present in this article such a sketch of the character and career of the Emperor Julian as may enable our readers to form a just estimate of that distinguished man, and of his influence generally upon the world, and particularly upon the interests of Christianity. The sources of information on the subject may be found in Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I., Gibbon's Decline and Fall, Vol. II., Milman's History of Christianity, and in the Church Histories generally. There is also an able article on Julian in the New Edinburgh Encyclopædia; and his history is sketched with much fulness and acumen in Neander's Church History. Dr. Neander has also written a separate monograph on "Julian and his Times," a translation of which has been announced in London. The writers named generally agree as to the chief facts of Julian's career, while they differ somewhat in minuter details, and more especially in their speculations upon the causes and motives of his course. Gibbon, who was as great an enemy to Christianity as Julian himself, and treated it with the like sneering contempt and sarcastic ridicule, has profusely praised Julian for excellences which he did not possess, and endeavoured to transmute vices into virtues, with a view to exalt the character of his hero, to pour contempt upon his adversaries, and to render Christianity ridiculous. It is but justice to observe, however, that he manifestly strives to state the facts in the history of Julian fairly and fully, without abatement or disguise, while his philosophy is most evidently at fault in endeavouring to account for their existence, and for the various motives of the conspicuous individuals who figured in the world at that time. Milman, too close an imitator of the lofty and gorgeous

style of Gibbon, has, nevertheless, presented the character of Julian in the variety of aspects it assumed, in its true light; though even he has brought the aid of human philosophy to help him out of difficulties too ponderous for the limited faculties of man to remove. The others above quoted are but short compendiums of the life of Julian, and yet they agree with Gibbon and Milman in all the main facts of the short, but eventful life of that distinguished personage.

Believing that our readers will be both pleased and profited by a succinct review of the life and times of such a man, living in such an age of the world, we shall endeavour to present all the prominent events of his remarkable career. Christianity had existed for upwards of three centuries when Julian was born. Making its appearance in the land of Palestine, in the person of its adorable Author, as a system of religion breathing peace and good-will to man, Christianity slowly but steadily won its way, amidst the turbulence of human passions, subduing the corrupt heart of man to its mild and pacific sway, gradually commending itself to the approbation of men, until it finally achieved a conquest over thrones and dominions, converting the highest dignitaries of the earth to its divine authority. Constantine the Great was the first Emperor who paid homage to the Prince of Peace; but the equivocalness of his reputed conversion may be inferred from the manner in which he administered the affairs of the empire, and more especially from his cruel treatment of the competitors for the throne of the Cæsars, and the lavish manner in which he enriched the bishops of the Church, and flattered their pride and ambition. During his eventful reign Christianity most assuredly lost much of its primitive purity and simplicity, and commended itself more to the imagination of men by its pompous ceremonial, than it did to the understanding and heart by the simplicity of its truths, the purity of its maxims, and the majesty by which its claims were urged in the name and by the authority of the God of the universe. And though its glory was not so fully tarnished as to hide all its peculiar excellences, when it was presented to the mind of Constantine for his reception, it very soon suffered much by passing through his imperial hands; for he endeavoured to mould it into a shape to suit his views of state policy, that it might be more perfectly fitted to subserve the purposes of court intrigue and worldly glory. Bishops became members of his cabinet, and were exalted to high honours throughout the empire; the churches were enriched by his beneficence, often with the spoils taken from heathen temples; and though Constantine appears to have been a sincere friend to Christianity, and to have laboured assiduously to build it up on the ruins of Paganism, yet it is most evident,

from his general conduct, that his heart felt but little of its transforming power, and that, consequently, he was incompetent to appreciate the excellence of its peculiar doctrines, or to estimate the value of its character as a spiritual religion, sent down from heaven to reform the heart and to regulate the life of mankind.

Besides, in his day the Church was torn by factions. Violent collisions between rival bishops, originating more in unholy ambition than in conscientious scruples concerning doctrines and rites, were rending the Church asunder,—creating strife and hatred, instead of that love and good-will by which the primitive Christians were distinguished. These disputes were often brought before the Emperor for his arbitrament; but such was the obstinacy of those fiery combatants, particularly the Donatists and Circumcelliones, that they would submit to no restraints. Nay, each party carried their recklessness to such a pitch as to take up arms and shed blood, with a view to demolish the faith of their adversaries. This spirit and these acts of violence had but little in them to recommend Christianity, in its pure and peaceable principles, to the mind of the conquering warrior; and though he sincerely lamented these deplorable effects of fanatical zeal, and exerted himself to quell the turbulence of human passions, he found that neither persuasions nor threats would avail. Such were the unhappy consequences of a departure from the experience and practice of piety, as inculcated in the holy gospel, and the substituting in their place external rites and ceremonies, while its disciples indulged in the natural propensities of the human heart, and strove to aggrandize themselves at the expense of justice and the love of God.

In addition to the disputes, the jealousies, the pride and ambition exhibited by the above-mentioned partisans, the Trinitarian controversy ran high, and exasperated the spirits of all who enlisted in that theological warfare. The presbyter Arius dared to question the orthodoxy of his bishop, Alexander, which so provoked the ire of the latter, that he fulminated against his presbyter the sentence of excommunication, and thus commenced a controversy which disturbed the peace of the Church for a long time, sometimes the one party and sometimes the other gaining the ascendency. The dispute rose to its height in the days of Constantine, and was brought to a close for the time by the decree of the Council of Nice, in the year 325. Constantine presided in this famous Council, and used all his authority to soften the asperities of rival disputants, to moderate the claims of the dominant party, and soothe the spirits of such as were grieved for the interests of true religion. He certainly, on this occasion, exhibited the marks of an impartial

president, and manifested much of the genuine spirit of Christianity, though he could not arrest the flood of intolerance which was sweeping over the Church. Neither the sentence of banishment, which was pronounced against Arius, nor the Nicene Creed, which was adopted by this Council, could restore peace to the agitated Church, nor stop the progress of the Arian heresy, which had infected the minds of so many, both of the clergy and laity.

This was the general state of things when Constantine died, and left the empire to be divided between his surviving sons,—Constans, who adhered to Athanasius, the firm and inflexible Trinitarian bishop, and Constantius, who extended his protection to the Arian faction. Thus the empire was divided politically and religiously, and each party carried on a relentless warfare against the other, disgracing religion, and weakening the bonds of political union. The conflict ended in the establishment of the Eastern and Western Empires, and the Greek and Latin Churches, the former having its head at Constantinople, and the latter at Rome.

It was amid these turbulent scenes, while Christianity was mixed up with the State,—its bishops contending with each other for supremacy like fierce tigers, and the civil rulers exhibiting all the bitterness of religious bigotry, and the angry passions of haughty rivals for political dominion,—that Julian appeared upon the stage. He was the younger son of Constantius, the brother of Constantine the Great; and as it was the barbarous custom of those days for the reigning monarch to slay all who might be imagined to have any rival claims to the throne, and as the first act of Constantius was signalized by murdering the father of Julian, a supposed competitor to the government, Julian and his brother Gallus were with difficulty saved from sharing the same fate. Through the kind interference of Mark, bishop of Arethusa, they were rescued from this danger, and were afterwards spared, through the more humane policy of their uncle, Constantius, who had succeeded, by the force of arms, to the undisputed government of the empire. As soon as the growing years of these unhappy youths began again to excite the jealousy of the Emperor, their friends procured for them an asylum in the strong castle of Macellum, near Cæsarea, where they were educated by the most competent teachers, and treated with all the honours of youthful princes. Their religious education was superintended by Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, who was related to his pupils on their mother's side; and until Julian was twenty years of age, his studies were prosecuted more with a view to the life of an ecclesiastic than to that of an emperor. He was, indeed, actually admitted to the inferior offices of the priesthood, and appointed to

read the sacred Scriptures in the church of Nicomedia, which was under the care of his teacher, Eusebius.

But he gave early indications of predilection for the peculiarities of Paganism. And certainly, so far as the moral influence of the two systems of religion was concerned, as exhibited in the actions of their public defenders, he had but slight motives for a choice between the two. Though we may presume that in the lower walks of life, among the humble peasants, and the inferior clergy, genuine piety was still measurably felt, yet it is manifest, from the historical records of those days, that neither the Emperors who reigned over the people, nor the higher dignitaries of the Church, with few exceptions, exemplified in life the virtues of Christianity. Julian could not but remember with abhorrence that Constantius, the reigning emperor, had imbrued his hands in the blood of his father, and many of his near relatives; and that this emperor professed the Christian religion. He saw, also, that the court was filled with Christian bishops surrounded with the trappings of worldly pomp and glory, whose counsels doubtless gave a direction to the mind, and sanctioned the acts, of their sovereign. Nor could he be ignorant of the strifes springing up between the rival sects, the animosities engendered by their metaphysical disputes, the deadly hatred manifested by their deeds of violence, by which the peace and unity of the Church were gradually undermined. All these things must have been present to the mind of Julian, and would naturally conduce to raise in him a suspicion of the truth, and certainly much to lower the excellence, of Christianity. "If these are the fruits of Christianity," he might plausibly argue, "can it be the religion of the God of love and peace?"

Moreover, his preceptor was a man most likely to instil into his youthful mind such principles of religion as would give birth to a lax morality, while they tended, at the same time, to fill his mind with gloomy thoughts of the Deity. The courtly bishop Eusebius, the intimate friend and counsellor of Constantine, but now in partial disgrace for his non-adherence to strict orthodoxy, has left no evidence behind him that he understood the pure principles of Christianity, or that he exemplified them in experimental and practical life. It seems that he adapted his mode of education to the ecclesiastical instead of the civil affairs of life,—that he designed to fit his pupil more for a priest than an emperor. This mode of education, without reaching the heart, and producing a radical change of nature, and thus leading his disciple to appreciate the loveliness of Christianity, from its bringing the soul into communion with God through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, did but impose external restraints upon passions

which were unsubdued, and attempt to curb and control a heart that was still under the power of unmortified and unsanctified propensities. The mind of Julian, therefore, could not penetrate the veil of outward things, but dwelt chiefly, if, indeed, not wholly, upon the external glory of the Church, connected as it was with the glory of the world. Not, indeed, but that the sublimer truths of the gospel were presented to his mind, but he saw them in but dim perspective, through the film of outward ceremonies and ritual observances. These things co-operated gradually to produce in the heart of Julian a loathing of Christianity, and ultimately a deadly hatred to its professed disciples.

As before said, Julian gave early indications of a precocious genius, and the lessons of instruction imparted to him gave a sober direction to his meditative mind, and thus prepared him to receive with avidity the philosophy then taught by the Pagan sophists, in a brilliant style of eloquence, and with a subtle rhetoric eminently calculated to captivate the mind of a youth of his ardent temperament. Though at first forbidden by his instructor to hear the philosophic lectures of the eloquent Libanius, a zealous adherent to the Pagan religion, Julian obtained his writings, was charmed with his glowing sentences, and eagerly embraced his doctrines. He was thus led to form an intimate acquaintance with the leaders of the Pagan philosophical school, and his mind drank in their magic doctrine with eager delight. Says Milman:—

"A magician at Nicomedia first excited his curiosity, and tempted him to enter upon the solemn mysticism of their tenets, which were impressed more deeply by significant and awful ceremonies. At Pergamus he visited the aged Ædesius; and the manner in which these philosophers passed Julian onward, from one to another, as if through successive stages of initiation in their mysterious doctrine, bears the appearance of a deliberate scheme to work him up to their purposes. The aged Ædesius addressed him as the favoured child of wisdom, declined the important charge of his instruction, but commended him to his pupils, Eusebius and Chrysanthius, who could unlock the inexhaustible source of light and wisdom. 'If you should attain the supreme felicity of being initiated in their mysteries, you will blush to have been born a man; you will no longer endure the name.' The pupils of Ædesius fed the greedy mind of the proselyte with all their stores of wisdom, and then skilfully unfolded the greater fame of Maximus. Eusebius professed to despise the vulgar arts of wonder-working, at least in comparison with the purification of the soul; but he described the power of Maximus in terms to which Julian could not listen without awe and wonder. Maximus had led them into the temple of Hecate; he had burned a few grains of incense, he had mummered a hymn, and the statue of the goddess was seen to smile. They were awe-struck; but Maximus declared that this was nothing. The lamps throughout the temple shall immediately burst into light; as he spoke, they kindled and blazed up. 'But of these mystical wonder-workers we think lightly,' proceeded the skilful speaker; 'do thou, like us, think, think only of the internal purification of the reason.' 'Keep to your book,' broke out the impatient youth; 'this

is the man I seek.' He hastened to Ephesus. The person and demeanour of Maximus were well suited to keep up the illusion. He was a venerable man, with a long white beard, with keen eyes, great activity, soft and persuasive voice, rapid and fluent eloquence."

This account is from Pagan writers. The recital of his initiation from Christian authors, though resembling the above in the main particulars, is so mixed up with fabulous incidents respecting miraculous interferences at the "sign of the cross," in accordance with the popular belief of the day, as to render it of doubtful authority. From this time, though constrained to dissemble his sentiments for a season, he became a convert to heathenism. His apostasy, however, was merely nominal. Neither his understanding nor his heart had ever fully embraced Christianity, as a system of pure doctrines, requiring of its converts holiness of heart and conduct. And those Christians who had tyrannized over him, particularly the Emperor Constantius, who had, as Julian himself declared, murdered his father, afforded him but pitiful examples of the superiority of Christianity to heathenism. His place of education had been a prison; and, in addition to his own degradation, he had reason to believe that his brother Gallus, to whom he was warmly attached, had been murdered by the jealous and implacable temper of Constantius, and consequently that his own life stood in jeopardy every hour. Nor is it probable that he would have escaped, but for the humane interference of the more enlightened Empress; and even her influence in his behalf was nearly baffled by the malignant cunning of the eunuchs who surrounded and controlled the councils of Constantius. Through their cruel advice he had been arrested and imprisoned for seven months. Spies were set over him to listen to his words, and to scrutinize his conduct; so that he was compelled to suppress the emotions of his heart, to disguise his sentiments, to impose silence upon his fluent eloquence, and thus to act the hypocrite in politics and religion, in order to escape detection, and to avoid a premature and ignominious death. He retreated to Athens, a city in which Paganism, the arts, philosophy, and rhetoric, were cultivated to a higher degree of perfection at that time than in any other part of the empire. Here, therefore, the mind of Julian was furnished with aliment calculated to feed its fires, and to unfold its energies; while his vivid imagination was likely to be captivated with the fascinations of the pompous ritual of Paganism. Here his conversion was completed, by his initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries. For the priest who presided over these time-honoured mysteries he entertained the profoundest reverence, and he contracted with him an intimate acquaintance, which finally ripened

into friendship. It is stated, that while at Athens Julian won all hearts by the beauty of his person, the modesty of his demeanour, the eloquence of his speeches, the urbanity of his manners, and the virtues of his character. The rapid progress he made in his studies commended him to the philosophers and rhetoricians, and men of letters; while the Christians looked upon him as lost to their cause, and as a dangerous aspirant to the throne of the Cæsars.

Through the strong solicitations of the reigning Empress, whose friendship for Julian had been manifested on several occasions, Constantius was persuaded to lay aside his jealousy, and exalt him to the high dignity of a colleague in the empire. When the news of this determination reached Julian at Athens, it is said that he protested against the intended honour, as imposing a burden upon him which he was unable to bear, vastly preferring his retirement amidst the peaceful pursuits of philosophy, to the cares and perplexities of government. He trembled for his fame, for his virtue, and even for his life, and called upon his friends, with tearful eyes, to bear witness to the sincerity with which he clung to his seclusion at Athens, amidst the delights of domestic and social enjoyments, and to the reluctance with which he obeyed the call of his sovereign. He suspected, with good reason, the sincerity of that sovereign who had bathed his hands in the blood of his father and other collateral heirs to the throne, and, last of all, in that of his endeared brother, Gallus; and he thought that, even if the present call might spring from sincerity, any caprice of fortune which might prevent his success in aiding to administer the government, would suddenly change the capricious but haughty mind of Constantius, and cause him to hurl the object of his secret hatred from his dignity, and deprive him of life. With such thoughts and fears he tore himself, with great apparent reluctance, from the embraces of his friends at Athens, expressing his confidence in the inspiration of the heathen goddess, Minerva, and persuading himself that he was protected by a guard of angels, sent by her from the sun and moon to execute her commands. This fact shows how strongly the superstitions of Paganism had seized upon his ardent imagination.

Doubtless some of his fears arose from a consciousness that his education, his habits of life, and his philosophical pursuits, had been more adapted to fit him for the duties of a private citizen, than for the head of an empire. On his arrival at Milan, the Empress, Eusebia, embraced him with the most cordial affection; but the ceremony of shaving his beard, and his awkward demeanour when he exchanged the cloak of the Greek philosopher for the military habit of a Roman prince, excited the merriment, for a short season, of the im-

perial court. He was, however, invested with the robe of royalty, with the utmost pomp and ceremony. In the presence of the soldiery, Constantius ascended a lofty tribunal, holding Julian by the right hand, then only twenty-five years of age, and in a speech conceived in dignity, and pronounced with gravity, he represented the necessity of naming a Cæsar for the West, to assist him in the administration of the empire, and, if agreeable to their wishes, of conferring that honour upon Julian, the nephew of Constantine the Great. To this announcement the soldiers signified their approbation; and as they gazed upon the manly countenance of the newly-appointed co-emperor, they could not but remark that the fire which flashed from his sparkling eye was tempered by the modest blush which glowed upon his cheek, while thus exposed to the view of the multitude. No sooner was the imposing ceremony of the investiture closed, than Constantius addressed his young colleague in the language of paternal authority, giving him, in the mean time, the strongest assurances of friendship and support.

With a view, most probably, to test the fidelity of this newly-appointed Cæsar, during his stay at Milan, after he received the purple from the imperial hands of his uncle, which was twenty-four days, he was kept, as it were, in captivity; his words and actions were watched with sleepless vigilance, and his correspondence intercepted; and though his table was spread with all manner of luxuries, of which he disdained to partake, preferring the homely fare on which he had been accustomed to feed during his philosophical pursuits, prudence led him to decline the visitations of his friends; nor could all the caresses of the Empress, together with the splendid manner in which he was entertained, compensate for the loss of his freedom.

These days of severe probation being ended, Julian hastened to Gaul, and presented himself to the army he was to command. Unqualified as he was, both from his education and his want of experience, to command an army, yet the dignity of his personal appearance, the strength of his intellect, his enthusiastic desire to excel in whatever enterprise he engaged, his restless activity, and his docility in receiving instruction from those veteran generals who were attached to his army, made ample amends for any defects arising from the causes which have been indicated, and soon secured him the control of himself and those intrusted to his command. Indeed, the vigour of his mind, his undaunted courage, and the rapidity of his advances in the military art, joined with the urbanity of his manners in his intercourse with his friends, tended to revive the drooping spirits of the soldiers, and made them eager to be led forth to battle

against the barbarians who had invaded the frontiers of the empire. They saw in their youthful sovereign and commander a contempt for the luxuries and delicacies of life, for he lived upon the coarsest fare, exposed his person to hardships and fatiguing duty, sleeping upon the bare carpet, rising early in the morning, and employing the hours which others devoted to sleep and recreation, in his favourite studies, or in inspecting the camp. The knowledge which he had acquired from severe study, his commanding eloquence, and the natural vigour of his understanding, all gave him an ascendency over others, and enabled him to control them in council, to command them in the field, as well as to fuse the heterogeneous mass into one common mould, and thus render it subservient to his will. The philosopher, therefore, became a statesman, the rhetorician a warrior, and the youth a veteran commander. He whose chief happiness had been derived from domestic and social enjoyments, was about to reap laurels upon the field of battle.

It is not our intention, however, to follow his footsteps on the battle-field, any farther than is necessary to connect the events of his short but eventful life together. While Constantius headed his troops in a campaign against the Persians, Julian marched his army through the provinces of Gaul, and repelled the attacks of the barbarians who attempted to surround him. Here he displayed the talents of a great commander, and the courage of a brave soldier. His acts of heroism inspired the confidence of his soldiers, who manifested a willingness to follow wheresoever he might lead. An incident is related which goes to show the loftiness of his mind, and the wise policy of his conduct towards his conquered foes. After a hard-fought battle with the Chamavians, in which he conquered an army of barbarians of twice the number of his own, though the enemy fought with the courage and ferocity of tigers, Gibbon says:—

"When the Chamavians sued for peace, Julian required the son of their king, as the only hostage in whom he could rely. A mournful silence, interrupted by tears and groans, declared the sad perplexity of the barbarians; and their aged chief lamented, in pathetic language, that his private loss was more embittered by a sense of the public calamity. While the Chamavians lay prostrate at the foot of the throne, the royal captive, whom they believed to have been slain, unexpectedly appeared before their eyes; and, as soon as the tumult of joy was hushed into attention, the Cæsar addressed the assembly in the following terms:—'Behold the son, the Prince whom you wept. You had lost him by your fault: God and the Romans have restored him to you. I shall still preserve and educate the youth, rather as a monument of my own virtue, than as a pledge of your sincerity. Should you presume to violate the faith which you have sworn, the arms of the republic will avenge the perfidy, not on the innocent, but on the guilty.' The barbarians withdrew from the presence, impressed with the warmest sentiments of gratitude and admiration."

Three successive and successful battles, in which he completely humbled the pride and chastised the insolence of his enemies, fully established his reputation as a warrior; while the manner in which he provided for the wants of his soldiers, and caused the earth, by requiring it to be cultivated, to reproduce its fruits to supply the necessities of its inhabitants, now reduced almost to famine by the exhausting effects of war, evinced his wisdom as a statesman, and his humanity as a man. The captives he had taken in war, he sent to Constantius, in proof both of his fidelity and his prowess; while he himself retired to Paris, to enjoy the fruits of his valour, during the succeeding winter, in his favourite studies, and in conversation with his friends, not forgetting, in the mean time, the discipline of his troops, and the civil regulation of the provinces intrusted to his oversight.

The rising glory of Julian aroused the latent fire of jealousy, which had been smothered for a season by the soft persuasions of the Empress, in the heart of Constantius, who heard of the brilliant achievements of his nephew with mortified pride and envy, and secretly sought his destruction. His machinations were discovered by Julian in time to prevent their execution. He immediately prepared to defend himself by arms, and actually commenced a hostile movement upon the territories of his vindictive rival. While Constantius was on the way to meet Julian, at the head of his troops, he was seized with a fever, which soon put an end to his life, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign. This event, both by the will of the people, the army, and civil magistrates, and the nomination of Constantius, exalted Julian to the dignity of sole sovereign of the empire. On receiving the news of the death of Constantius, he hastened to visit Constantinople, the place of his birth, that he might receive the homage of his subjects, and once more mingle in the society of those he loved. He was received with acclamation by all orders and ranks of the people, and hailed as their deliverer and emperor. Soon after his arrival the dead body of Constantius arrived, and Julian mingled his tears with the throng who followed it to the place of sepulture.

No sooner was Julian vested with the title and authority of universal emperor, than he publicly declared his adhesion to paganism; and the Christians feared, while their enemies hoped, that he would proscribe and persecute the one, and establish and protect the other, by law and by the sword. They were both disappointed. While he strove to reanimate the expiring cause of paganism, he declared a free toleration of Christianity. In doing this, however, he found the strong tide of popular opinion setting so strongly against him, that

notwithstanding he used all the arts of persuasion, of argument, and of sarcasm against Christianity, backed by the immense power he possessed, he could not turn back the current, though he temporarily checked the impetuosity of its flow.

The first acts of his government were to correct the many abuses which had gradually crept into the administration of the imperial household, as well as in the several departments of the government. To show the enormous height to which these abuses had risen under the preceding reign, it is stated there were a thousand barbers, a thousand cup-bearers, and a thousand cooks, attached to the royal household; an innumerable number of eunuchs drew the means of luxurious living from the imperial treasury; and this again was replenished by oppressive taxes upon the people. Soon after his entrance into the palace of Constantinople, he sent for a barber. An officer in splendid attire presented himself. "It is a barber," exclaimed the prince, with affected surprise, "that I want, and not a receiver-general of finance." And these habits of luxury had descended from the imperial court to all the officers of the government, in all the provinces of the empire. Julian applied himself with energy to remove these abuses, setting an example of plain living in his own household, denying himself the luxuries of life, and attending to business with almost unexampled diligence. And had he not stained the commencement of his reign by putting to death, without any just cause, some of the servants of his predecessor, his name might have been handed down to posterity with less censure. In the discharge of his duties he was ever active, giving himself but little time to sleep, less to gratify his appetite, and less still for recreation. seldom mingling with the crowd to attend the theatre or the circus. What is said of the flexibility of his mind, and of his power of concentrating his thoughts, seems almost incredible; namely, that "he could employ his hand to write, his ear to hear, and his voice to dictate," at one and the same time. But we have not space to pursue the narrative of his acts as a civil magistrate, nor as a military commander. Let us come to notice his religious character.

We have already seen that he embraced paganism with all the ardour of an enthusiastic admirer of its doctrines and ceremonies. He borrowed, however, some of his sublimest conceptions respecting the Deity, a future state, and the intervention of invisible spirits with the affairs of men, from that very Christianity which he professed to abjure. His religious belief, therefore, was a profane mixture of paganism, Platonism, and Christianity. He abjured Christianity, and yet held fast some of its fundamental truths. He embraced paganism, and yet renounced many of its absurdities.

Could he have beheld Christianity as it really is, in its own beautiful simplicity and divine purity, he never could have rejected it as an imposture. Seeing it, however, as it was presented in his day, he could see nothing in it that was desirable. Hence he set himself to oppose it with all the virulence and subtilty which an implacable hatred and an acute mind could devise. Even while engaged in a war with the Persian monarch, he found time to compose his treatise against Christianity, in which he attempted to undermine its foundations, by invalidating the evidence of its divine authority, derived from prophecy, from miracles, and its internal testimony. His most formidable weapons were, however, wit and ridicule, and his sarcastic sneers were unbecoming the gravity of the philosopher, and his wit sparkled ingloriously around the throne of an emperor.

That he might accomplish his diabolical design without seeming to sully the glory of his character by trespassing upon the laws of toleration which he had promulgated, he resorted to every art which a cunning sagacity could invent, not only by writing and speaking against Christianity in a tone of biting sarcasm and ridiculous irony, but by substituting Pagan for Christian magistrates, rebuilding the heathen temples, which had either gone to decay by neglect, or had been demolished under Christian princes, and by honouring and enriching the Pagan priesthood, attending with scrupulous exactness the worship of the heathen gods, and assisting, as the supreme pontiff of the empire, at the sacrifices, even tearing the bloody entrails from the expiring beasts with his own hands, that he might examine the heart and liver, to divine the secrets of the invisible world. In these practices he was but too successful. He induced many of the more wealthy Christians, both among the clergy and laity, and particularly those belonging to the army, to follow his fatal example in apostatizing from the Gospel. And when some of the Christians complained that he robbed them of their worldly goods, by converting the riches of their churches to rebuild and decorate the pagan temples, and by displacing them from offices of trust and profit in the civil or military department of the government, he replied to them in a tone of contemptuous irony, calculated to add poignancy to their grief. "I show myself," says Julian, "the true friend of the Galileans," (a name by which he chose to distinguish the Christians, by way of contempt of themselves and their leader.) "Their *admirable* law has promised the kingdom of heaven to the poor; and they will advance with more diligence in the paths of virtue and salvation, when they are relieved by my assistance from the load of temporal possessions. Take care," assuming a graver tone, "take care how

you provoke my patience and humanity. If these disorders continue, I will revenge on the magistrates the crimes of the people; and you will have reason to dread, not only confiscation and exile, but fire and sword." These words, coming from the lips of an absolute monarch, must have made the hearts of those to whom they were addressed vibrate with fear and trembling; and had he lived much longer, the probability is that he would have become so intoxicated with absolute power as to have carried his threat into execution.

This we have a right to infer from what actually came to pass soon after in Alexandria, in Egypt. He not only softens his rebuke for the disorderly manner in which the Pagans of that city had put to death George, a Christian bishop of Cappadocia, but he orders that Athanasius, who had returned to Alexandria under the protection of Julian's law of free toleration, should be banished from the city and from Egypt. Athanasius was among the ablest, the firmest, and most indefatigable Christian bishops of his day. For vindicating the Trinitarian doctrine, perhaps not always with sufficient mildness, he had been banished from Alexandria under the preceding reign, and George, the Arian bishop, a man of very doubtful character, had been substituted in his place. On the death of George, whose murder has been alluded to, the people of Alexandria had invited Athanasius to return and resume the functions of the episcopal office, and they received him with acclamations of joy. This provoked the ire of Julian. The discreet zeal of Athanasius, the extent and success of his labours, the high character he possessed for wisdom and sanctity, while they secured the confidence of the Christians, awakened the wrath of the Pagans; and Julian interposed his authority to banish the prelate from Alexandria and from Egypt. Thinking that his orders were not executed by the prefect of Egypt with sufficient alacrity, Julian awakened him to a sense of his duty by the following energetic epistle:—

"If you neglect to write to me on any other subject, at least it is your duty to inform me of your conduct towards Athanasius, the enemy of the gods. My intentions have been long since communicated to you. I swear by the great Serapis, that unless, on the calends of December, Athanasius has departed from Alexandria, nay, from Egypt, the officers of your government shall pay a fine of one hundred pounds of gold. You know my temper: I am slow to condemn, but I am still slower to forgive."

To this epistle he added the following postscript, written in his own hand:—

"The contempt that is shown for all the gods fills me with grief and indignation. There is nothing that I should see, nothing that I should hear, with

more pleasure, than the expulsion of Athanasius from all Egypt. The abominable wretch! Under my reign, the baptism of several Grecian ladies of the highest rank has been the effect of his persecutions."

The reasons for this severe edict are very manifest. The fame of Athanasius, the weight of his character, his eminent talents, and the sanctity of his manners, all conspired to give him an influence highly beneficial to the Christian cause, and which tended, in the same proportion, to weaken the authority of Paganism, and thus to frustrate the designs of Julian in prostrating the one and establishing the other. To avoid the tempest which he plainly saw gathering around him, Athanasius prudently retired to the monasteries of the desert, and, with his usual dexterity, eluded the snares of his enemies, and "lived," says Gibbon, "to triumph over the ashes of a prince, who, in words of formidable import, had declared his wish that the whole venom of the Galilean school was contained in the single person of Athanasius." Could a malicious hatred vent itself more comprehensively, or express in fewer words the merits of an individual person?

To enable him to accomplish his design of uprooting Christianity without resorting to force, Julian artfully contrived to enlist the Jews in his favour, by proposing to them the project of rebuilding the temple in Jerusalem. Could he have accomplished this object, he would, as he thought, gain an additional argument against the truth of Christianity, by nullifying the truth of prophecy, as the Christians had interpreted it, which foretold the utter annihilation of the Mosaic economy, the ritual of the temple service, and the total and irreparable destruction of the temple itself; as well as avail himself of the wealth of the Christian Church in Jerusalem, to enrich the temples of Paganism. Accordingly, he set himself to work in this hazardous enterprise. To aid him more effectually, he called from his government in Britain, Alypius, one of his most confidential ministers, and commissioned him to restore the temple of Jerusalem in all its ancient splendour. At the call of this eminent man, the Jews gathered from every province of the empire, rich men and women contributing to furnish the workmen with even silver spades and pickaxes. It is said that the rubbish was removed by persons clothed in silk and purple. Yet all these efforts to frustrate the decree of the Almighty were as vain as they were impious. It is attested by contemporary writers of undoubted credit, that an earthquake, a whirlwind, and fiery eruptions frightened the zealous workmen from their work, and the enterprise was abandoned in despair. Whether we account for these wonderful phenomena from natural causes, as the philo-

sophic Milman does, or admit the interference of a real miracle, as most of Christian writers have done, we may safely adore the hand of Omnipotence in so controlling the laws of nature—which are certainly always under his control, who can suspend, accelerate, or entirely destroy them, at pleasure—as to make them subserve his purposes; and in this event to disappoint the malevolent machinations of his enemies, and to bring to naught the artful counsels of an infidel prince. To call the accounts in question, as Gibbon has done, may serve the purpose of an infidel philosophy, by destroying the credibility of all history, and thus exclude God from the government of the world; but it betrays a strength of incredulity unworthy of a rational mind. It is unquestionably safer to believe upon credible testimony, than to indulge in fanciful speculation at the expense of all historical evidence, and thus contradict the common usages of mankind.

At any rate, we see in this awful event the development of Divine wisdom and omnipotence in defeating the impotence of his enemies in their attempts to nullify the fulfilment of prophecy, and to put the lie upon the eternal veracity of God. The artful policy of Julian was frustrated; the Christians of Jerusalem rescued from his deceitful designs; and the place where the ancient temple stood was soon after occupied by the mosque of Omar.

This defeat of his favourite project did but enrage his malice against Christians, and set him upon new devices to vex them. Contrary to his publicly pledged faith of free toleration of all religions, he admitted an odious distinction between them and his Pagan subjects, embracing the latter as friends, and repulsing the former as enemies, claiming the right in his own person of exercising the despotism of the tyrant in acting above, and in opposition to, the law which he himself had promulgated. He not only robbed them of their property, and deprived them of posts of honour and profit, but he also prohibited them from teaching grammar and rhetoric. To justify this prohibition, he in a style of contemptuous irony remarked, that men who exalted the merit of implicit faith were not qualified to appreciate and enjoy the advantages of science; and insinuated that those who refused to adore the gods of Homer and Demosthenes, ought to content themselves with expounding Matthew and Luke in the churches of the Galileans. This decree of Julian comprehended physicians and all the professors of the liberal arts, so that the Christians were excluded from the privilege of instruction entirely; and as these masters of the arts and sciences were liberally supported from the public treasury, this proscription deprived many a worthy man and competent

teacher of all means of support, while the Pagan magistrates and public teachers were basking in the beams of imperial favour. This partial policy operated also as a powerful bribe to induce those Christians, whose virtue was not sufficiently strong to resist the temptation, to apostatize from the faith for the sake of temporal emoluments. And while many stood firm amidst these alluring inducements, nobly contemning the policy of their emperor, and refusing to pay homage to the idol gods which he adored, others were taken in the deceitful coils of the tempter, wounded their own consciences, and brought a reproach upon the Christian name.

But the end of these vexations was near at hand. Julian was anxious to signalize himself in war. Constantius had made war upon the Persian king, but had been defeated in his purpose of making an inroad into his territories. The campaign had terminated, in fact, ingloriously for the Roman emperor. Julian resolved to wipe off the dishonour inflicted on the arms of his countrymen. Accordingly, he marched a large army through Assyria, enduring almost incredible hardships, besieging and taking several strong cities on his route, until he at length arrived at the Persian capital. The Persians were alarmed, and though they fought with desperate valour, they were forced to retreat before the invincible legionaries of Rome, led on as they were by Julian, one of the most consummate generals of antiquity. By some strange infatuation, just as he was, apparently, on the point of taking the city, he sounded a retreat, and prepared to return to his own dominions. This determination was considered by some the result of a prudent foresight, drawn from a knowledge of existing circumstances; by others, as an indication of Divine vengeance, to precipitate the downfall of a man that had defied its authority, and by cunning and deceit had striven to undermine God's truth and annihilate his Church. Whatever opinion may be formed as to the causes of this retrograde movement, it was certainly attended with the most disastrous results to Julian and the troops under his command. The Persians followed the retreating Romans, attacking them at every favourable opportunity: and though repeatedly repulsed with firmness, at length, while Julian was fighting at the head of his army, a javelin, thrown by a Persian soldier, after grazing the skin of his arm, transpierced his ribs, and penetrated the inferior part of his liver. He attempted to draw the deadly weapon from his side; but instead of obeying the impulse of his arm, it cut his fingers, and he fell senseless to the earth. On recovering from his swoon, the first words he uttered displayed the martial spirit by which he was actuated. He called for his horse, and was eager to

rush into the battle. His strength failed him; and the surgeons who examined the wound pronounced it fatal, and he was compelled to resign himself to death.

The reports that he exclaimed, "O thou Galilean! thou hast conquered at last!" are not well authenticated. On the contrary, it appears that he discoursed with calmness upon death, and resigned up his soul without fear or regret. The following is taken from Gibbon's account of the last moments of Julian:—

"'Friends and Fellow-Soldiers!—The seasonable period of my departure has now arrived, and I discharge, with the cheerfulness of a ready debtor, the demands of nature. I have learned from philosophy, how much the soul is more excellent than the body; and that the separation of the nobler substance should be the subject of joy, rather than of affliction. I have learned from religion, that an early death has often been the reward of piety; and I accept as a favour of the gods, the mortal stroke that secures me from the danger of disgracing a character which has hitherto been supported by virtue and fortitude. I die without remorse, as I have lived without guilt. I am pleased to reflect on the innocence of my private life; and I can affirm with confidence, that the supreme authority, that emanation of the divine Power, has been preserved in my hands pure and immaculate. Detesting the corrupt and destructive maxims of despotism, I have considered the happiness of the people as the end of government. Submitting my actions to the laws of prudence, of justice, and of moderation, I have trusted the event to the care of Providence. Peace was the object of my counsels, as long as peace was consistent with the public welfare; but when the imperious voice of my country summoned me to arms, I exposed my person to the dangers of war, with the clear foreknowledge (which I had acquired from the art of divination) that I was destined to fall by the sword. I now offer my tribute of gratitude to the eternal Being who has not suffered me to perish by the cruelty of a tyrant, by the secret dagger of conspiracy, or by the slow tortures of lingering disease. He has given me, in the midst of an honourable career, a splendid and glorious departure from this world; and I hold it equally absurd, equally base, to solicit or to decline the stroke of fate. Thus much I have attempted to say; but my strength fails me, and I feel the approach of death. I shall cautiously refrain from any word that may tend to influence your suffrages in the election of an emperor. My choice might be imprudent or injudicious; and if it should not be ratified by the consent of the army, it might be fatal to the person whom I should recommend. I shall only, as a good citizen, express my hopes, that the Romans may be blessed with the government of a virtuous sovereign.' After this discourse, which Julian pronounced in a firm and gentle tone of voice, he distributed, by a military testament, the remains of his private fortune; and making some inquiry why Anatolius was not present, he understood, from the answer of Sallust, that Anatolius was killed, and bewailed, with amiable inconsistency, the loss of his friend. At the same time he reproved the immoderate grief of the spectators, and conjured them not to disgrace, by unmanly tears, the fate of a prince, who in a few moments would be united with heaven and with the stars. The spectators were silent; and Julian entered into a metaphysical argument with the philosophers Priscus and Maximus, on the nature of the soul. The efforts which he made, of mind as well as body, most probably hastened his death. His wound began to bleed with fresh violence; his respiration was embarrassed by the swelling of the veins; he called for a draught of cold water, and as soon as he had drunk it, expired without pain, about the hour of midnight. Such was the end of that extraordinary man, in the thirty-second year of his

age, after a reign of one year and about eight months from the death of Constantius. In his last moments he displayed, perhaps, with some ostentation, the love of virtue and of fame, which had been the ruling passions of his life."

This speech, whether actually uttered as recorded, or, as is most likely, prepared for the nonce by his biographer Libanius, evinces the truth of what has been before stated, namely, that Julian borrowed from Christianity some of his sublimest conceptions respecting the divine Being, the immortality and future happiness of the soul, while he displayed all the pride of the Pharisee in his boastful professions of innocence and virtue.

In his death the Church was delivered from one of its deadliest foes, while Paganism lost its ablest protector. His short, but brilliant career, affords another striking evidence of the inefficiency of human effort to resist public sentiment, urged on by strong religious belief and feeling. When Julian came to the throne, Christianity had taken a firm hold of the public mind; and in many of the chief cities it had supplanted Paganism. The priests and the sophists were fast sinking into insignificance; and the mummeries of Pagan worship were considered, by men of rank and culture, as puerilities unworthy of belief or veneration. This expiring superstition Julian attempted to reanimate. And though by his subtilty, and his partiality, in all his administration, to the old system of religion, he gave a check to Christianity, he could not reinstate Paganism in the hearts of his subjects, nor make its gods and worship acceptable in their sight. Hence, on his demise, his successor, Jovian, proclaiming himself a Christian, found it easy to persuade the people to follow his example, to rebuild the ruined churches, and to forsake the temples of heathenism. Christianity gradually revived under the reign of Jovian and his successors, Valens and Valentinian, though Paganism still struggled for existence, until Theodosius assumed the imperial purple in 379, when he proceeded to establish it by law, and to enforce his statutes in its favour, by exacting obedience to its requisitions, and by inflicting severe penalties upon the adherents of Paganism. Thus was the work of Julian rendered of no lasting effect, and all his malicious designs against Christianity were defeated.

From the foregoing facts Julian appears to have been possessed of a strange compound of good and bad qualities; mingling the gravity of the philosopher, the acuteness of the metaphysician, the artfulness of the hypocrite, the courage of the warrior, with the superstition of the devotee, the chastity of the ascetic, and the temperance of the most abstemious of men. His life gave proof of the highest intellect and the strongest physical powers. While he gave himself up to the superstitious reveries of Paganism, bewildered his understanding

and bewitched his imagination with the belief and study of magic, and displayed the zeal of the most zealous in the worship of the gods of heathenism, he applied his mind with equal assiduity to science, delighted in the conversation of the philosophers of his age, and would mingle with the orators on the forum, or in the debates in the senate-chamber. At a moment's warning he could throw off the cloak of the philosopher, seize the sword and the helmet, and enter the field of battle with all the ardour of an Alexander, and lead his troops with the intrepidity of a hero. He affected the theologian. Here he failed. He most evidently viewed Christianity through a false medium. Instead of considering it as planting a Church, by its own internal energies, in the understanding and hearts of men, he seemed to think that Christianity owed its origin to an artful and ambitious priesthood. This erroneous view was derived from the mutilated form in which it was presented, through the medium of a corrupted church, and the misconduct of its professors and more public defenders. Hence it is but reasonable to suppose that his hatred of Christianity originated, in part at least, from the early bias he contracted against it, from beholding this inconsistency between its precepts and the practice of its professors.

How many have been thus deluded! Not duly considering that, as Burke has observed, "hypocrisy is a homage that vice pays to virtue," they hastily and erroneously conclude that these apparent inconsistencies destroy the reality of true religion. Unhappy Julian! Could he have seen Christianity in the simplicity and purity with which it came from its divine Founder, instead of beholding it as it was exemplified in his imperial uncle, or in the courtly bishops who surrounded the throne, and who, in their rival contentions, more resembled wolves in sheep's clothing than the lambs of Christ's flock, his fate might have been far different, though he could not have been a sincere Christian without sacrificing his corrupt passions upon the altar of faith, and surrendering his heart without reserve to God.

Art. IV.—JAMES MILNOR.

A Memoir of the Life of James Milnor, D. D., late Rector of Saint George's Church, New-York. By Rev. John S. Stone, D. D. 8vo., pp. 646. New-York: American Tract Society. 1848.

Rather a heavy book; cumbered with unnecessary details, and both sides of an epistolary correspondence, most of which is of little general interest. About one-fourth of it is occupied with complimentary letters to and from the subject of the memoir, written and received during a visit of a few months to England, and minute details of the civilities paid him by the magnates of the father-land, invitations to dinner, breakfast, and tea parties. Interesting, doubtless, to the good man's family during his absence,—of very little consequence to the world. He dined too, occasionally, with persons of inferior rank; once or twice, if not oftener, with Methodists; as, for instance, at a Mr. Haslope's; of which entertainment he says, in a journal intended only for his family, but which Dr. Stone spreads out for the world: "The arrangements of the house and table, and the dress of the females of the family, are somewhat beyond the style common among the members of the Methodist Society in America." He adds, however, that "Mr. Haslope bears an excellent religious character;" and, whether to account for the excellence of that character, or for the style of the dress of his wife and daughters, he informs us that they "attend in part the Established Church, having accommodations in the parish church of Islington." Would the reader like to know why the Doctor did not accept an invitation to breakfast on Friday, April 30th, 1830, with Mr. Macaulay? He shall have the information. He was invited to breakfast elsewhere at the same hour. So says his biographer.

Notwithstanding the author's lack of discrimination, he has made a readable book. It is beautifully printed, on fine paper, and, estimated by its bulk, quite cheap withal. And why should it not be cheap? It is published by a Society which makes large drafts on the community,—a benevolent institution, known as the American Tract Society; *American, par excellence*, all other associations of a kindred character, although located within the same boundaries, and sustained by members of the same commonwealth, being, by implication, not American. And this is one of their publications; a tract of six hundred and forty-six large octavo pages: an illustration of "the progressive principle of language;" or rather, perhaps, a return to first principles;—tract being, literally, some-

thing drawn out, or extended; and this is precisely that something. But it is an *American* tract; bearing a somewhat similar relation to Episcopal, Methodist, Unitarian, or other tracts, that the mighty Missouri does to the Tiber, or the Thames. It is not our business to justify or to condemn book-making, on this large scale, by a charitable institution; nor do we blame Dr. Stone for embracing so good an opportunity to circulate his opinions relative to the superiority of his own cherished forms of worship. We should have thought less of him, if his book had not leaned to the Church of which he is a minister. We may, however, express surprise that he was permitted to do so by a Society which, for fear of offending some of the denominations which contribute to its funds, had the hardihood, not long since, to suppress essential facts of history; and which claims to be, in the strongest sense of the word,—unsectarian. We will add, for (though not American tractarians) we have a little American pride, that it was rather small business to herald forth the work in the most approved style of the puffs of the trade. Individual booksellers may do what an American Society ought to be ashamed of. We endorse the sentiment of the editor of "the Independent," the organ of the Congregational churches in this city:—"Long before the Memoir of Dr. Milnor appeared, it was heralded through the press as a work of uncommon interest, to be issued in elegant style, as an appropriate New-Year's gift, &c., &c. Now this systematic puffing of its own publications is beneath the dignity of an institution sustained by Christian benevolence for charitable purposes. It excites the ire of booksellers, and it leads sober men to inquire, whether an institution, which is so ready to resort to all the arts of 'the trade,' and to enter into competition with them in the style of its publications, should not be left to sustain itself. When we take up an article in a newspaper, with a flaming caption, 'CHOLERA,' or 'CALIFORNIA,' and, after reading a few lines, find that it is a mere puff of the Tract Society, we throw it aside with something of the disgust with which we turn from a similar advertisement of 'Townsend's Sarsaparilla,' or 'Mrs. Jervis's Cold Candy.'"

But let us turn to the Memoir before us. It is the biography of a good man; a Christian, in the highest sense of the word; a faithful and devoted servant of the Lord Jesus. He was of Quaker parentage; born in the city of Philadelphia, educated at the University of Pennsylvania, which he left, however, without completing his academic course; and at the early age of sixteen commenced the study of the law. He was admitted to the Bar, and became a practising attorney before reaching his majority, and soon acquired a respectable and lucrative practice. Owing to his marriage with a

lady not a member of the Society of Friends, he was publicly read out of meeting, became a man of fashion;—"fond of the theatre," says his biographer, "and a frequent attendant at the play."

In 1810 Mr. Milnor was elected to the Congress of the United States, as a member of the House of Representatives, from his native city. He was attentive to his duties, and occasionally addressed the House. His letters from Washington to his wife show him in an amiable light, as faithful to his party, but by no means a violent partisan. He does not appear to have acquired much eminence as a legislator; and the most important item in his political life was the reception of a challenge from the Hon. Henry Clay, then Speaker of the House, and Mr. Milnor's manly refusal to accept it. The Speaker, it seems, imagined that the member from Philadelphia had written a letter to a certain newspaper, with an account of some of the proceedings of the day, including a debate in which Mr. Milnor had taken a prominent part. Mr. Clay sent him a note, requesting, or rather requiring, an avowal or disavowal of its authorship. This Mr. Milnor declined giving; and, after the passage of several notes between the parties, the challenge came, couched in the following dainty phraseology:—"Your determination leaves to my choice a single mode of reparation for an injury of which I have cause to complain, and my friend, Mr. Bibb, is authorized by me to make the requisite arrangements." That is, in plain English, let us shoot at each other. The answer of Mr. Milnor, although at this time not even a professor of religion, does honour alike to his good sense and his courage. He tells his honourable opponent that he is unconscious of having offered or intended him any injury, and that a sense of public and private duty forbids compliance with his request.

We pass, however, to the second part of his biography, which our author calls the "History of Mr. Milnor's religious change." This was brought about mainly by the agency of one who had been his early associate and playmate, and who, having himself embraced the religion of Christ, was exceedingly anxious for the conversion of his friend. His letters are full of pungent exhortation and solemn entreaty. "O," says he, "O that I could communicate to you a full sense of what I have been taught in the school of Christ. Your eyes would then be opened indeed. You will remember, and I have not forgotten, the time when we used to laugh at serious people, affecting to know something, which we, in our vain imaginations, could not believe to be of any importance. You have now an opportunity to renew the laugh at my expense. But for your own sake, not mine, beware; deceive not yourself; be assured there is a God, to whom every knee shall bow, and whom every tongue shall

confess; and no man can come unto the Father but by that Son whom I fear you have long ago disclaimed." And again:—"O, could you *know* the gratitude which I feel towards that Redeemer whom I have so long and so flagrantly offended, for having opened my eyes to see my condition, when upon the very precipice of hell, you would feel very little concerned about the trash of this world. And this change, believe me, you *must* experience, or you will be lost to *all eternity*."

Strange language this to a gay man of the world, a politician, with high aspirations after fame and fortune. Yet how faithful, and how easily imitated by every redeemed sinner in similar circumstances, and how clearly evincing true friendship. The writer loved the soul of his youthful playmate; and, at the hazard of losing his esteem, persevered in his efforts for that friend's salvation. "Once," says he, "I supposed our friendship would end in *death;* now I cannot but hope that it will be *eternal*." Through the Divine blessing, these letters were not written in vain; and there is reason to believe that they were made the instrument of awakening, and of bringing to the cross of Christ, one who had already numbered more than half his days, and the remainder of whose life was devoted faithfully and successfully to his Master's work.

It seems that at this time Mr. Milnor was skeptical in his religious sentiments. Soon afterward, he made desperate efforts to believe Universalism, but was unsuccessful. He then, for a while, attended a Presbyterian church, but Calvinism was always distasteful to him; and he speaks of his pastor as "amiable in an eminent degree in private life, yet illiberal, austere, and sour in the pulpit." His dislike of Calvinistic doctrines, says his biographer, was "evidently intense;" and, driven away by its repulsive features, with a mind ill at ease, he hired a seat in the Episcopal Church, into which he was soon afterward admitted as a member, was made a vestryman, and elected a lay delegate successively to the annual and triennial Conventions. He had not yet, however, ventured to partake of the holy communion, but appears to have been, during all the remainder of his Congressional term, an earnest seeker of salvation. We quote an extract from a letter written a day or two previous to what he calls the last of his public life:—

"At an early hour in the evening I retired to my chamber, and opened the sacred volume. It seemed to have no word of comfort for me, and I laid it aside, disposed to retire to my slumbers without this their usual prelude. Happily, however, I have not latterly dared to go to my rest without a previous prostration at the footstool of the throne of grace. I wept bitterly at the necessity of entering on this solemn exercise with icy feelings; nay, I fear, with almost a disposition to evade the duty. Our heavenly Father did not

suffer my apathy and torpor to continue long. The humble petition, that he would be pleased 'not to cast me away from his presence, nor take his Holy Spirit from me,' but that he would give me the comfort of his help again, and stablish me with his free Spirit, was not unanswered. My soul, before full of heaviness, and disquieted within me, ready to cry out to the God of my strength, Why hast thou forgotten me? received new life from the warming, animating beams of Divine love. My soul rose into rapture, and I left my requests with the God of all grace, with a renewed confidence in his unchangeable goodness and truth; exclaiming, with holy David, 'I will put my trust in God; I will yet thank him, who is the help of my countenance and my God.'"—Pp. 157–8.

A few days afterward he writes:—

"So fully do I feel a Saviour's love shed abroad in my heart, that methinks, that though a dreadful hell did *not* await my desertion of him, I could never leave or forsake him. In this view of the constraining love of Christ, the terrors of the law seem absorbed and lost, and the soul contemplates the great Jehovah only as 'the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin.' Although I would not take from this sublime description of his character the remaining essential attribute of justice, exhibited in the concluding clause, that he will by no means clear the guilty, yet the idea which I wish to convey is, that the drawings of his love, rather than the threatenings of his law, have been the means of turning my heart to God."

On the third of April, 1813, near the close of the fortieth year of his life, Mr. Milnor made his bishop acquainted with his determination to abandon the profession of the law, to renounce his political prospects, and to enter upon the study of divinity, believing himself called of God to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ.

While pursuing these studies, and engaged in the duties of a lay-reader, propositions were made to him to accept the charge of two important parishes, the one at Baltimore, the other at Richmond, in Virginia, both of which he declined, from a view of his want of proper qualifications, and from a sense of delicacy towards the authorities of the Church, as he had not yet received their sanction, nor been ordained. In his letter, declining the overture from Richmond, he adverts to his strong and unalterable aversion to the system of slavery; assigning this as one, among other reasons, why he could not assent to a residence in a State where that unmitigated curse has the sanction of the civil law.

After his ordination as deacon, on the 14th of August, 1814, he preached his first sermon in the centre of that round of fashion and gayety in which he had so long moved; and with modest boldness offered a crucified Christ to an audience composed mainly of those who had known him for years as a zealous lawyer and politician. He at once became exceedingly popular, and flattering commendations poured in upon him from all quarters. He was elected a "minister of the United Churches of Philadelphia," a kind of circuit, as we

should call it, his associates being Bishop White, Dr. Abercrombie, and Mr. Kemper. In this field of labour, assiduous and faithful, beloved and respected, he remained until his removal to the rectorship of Saint George's, in New-York, vacant by the resignation of Dr. Kewley, a disguised Jesuit, who had found his way first into the Methodist, and then into the Episcopal fold, and who had probably, by this time, finished the work assigned him by his master at Rome.* In this situation Mr. Milnor remained until his sudden and lamented death, on the 8th of April, 1844. Two days previously he preached twice; once at his own church, and in the afternoon at the Asylum for indigent females. He had presided at a meeting of the Directors of the Deaf and Dumb Institution on the same night on which he died, and at this meeting one of those present congratulated him on his apparent good health. The doctor replied, laying his hand upon his breast, "I have something *here* that warns me to expect death at any moment." Five hours afterwards he was a corpse. Thus, literally, did he cease at once to work and live.

As a public speaker, Dr. Milnor was impressive rather than eloquent. He aimed rather to do good than to gain applause. No one who ever heard him could for a moment question his earnest anxiety for the welfare of those to whom he preached. His enunciation was remarkably distinct, his appearance in the pulpit dignified, his whole deportment solemn. His sermons were carefully prepared; he uniformly commenced writing for the ensuing Sabbath on Monday morning; and it is believed that he never ventured to extemporize in the pulpit. One exception, perhaps, ought to be made to this remark. On his way to meet the Diocesan Convention of the Episcopal Church of Ohio, at Cleveland, he found, on his arrival at Batavia, where notice had been published that he would preach, that he had come away without his sermons! But we will let him tell his own troubles. In a letter to his wife he says:—

"Having caused notice to be given that I would preach in the evening, I was no sooner fixed at my lodgings with the rector than I went to my cham-

* From the Journal kept by Mr. Milnor, during his visit to England, we make the following extract:—"In the course of our conversation, a curious fact was developed in relation to Dr. Kewley, my predecessor in Saint George's. Mr. Mayer said that he had seen him in Italy, and was well acquainted with him. He passes there by the name of Father Kewley; but Mr. Mayer says he knows his true name to be Lawson, and that he has a brother of the latter name now living in Liverpool, with whom also he is acquainted. He has no doubt that Dr. Kewley was a Jesuit during the whole time of his residence in America."—P. 316. Possibly there are other Dr. Kewleys, occupying snug rectories, and preaching from Episcopal pulpits, in these United States.

ber to change my clothes; which having been accomplished, as the hour for service was at hand, I went to the bottom of my trunk, in search for my package of sermons, when, behold, it was not to be found! . . . . Under such unfortunate circumstances, I would willingly have declined all service, and have returned home; but I thought myself condemned to the mortification of addressing the congregation at Batavia wholly without preparation, for the time admitted of none. I did so; and although my young friend Bolles was pleased to solace my feelings when I had done, by saying that my loss was their gain, yet I was enough chagrined and dissatisfied with my performance to rob me of the comfort of sleep."—P. 508.

Doubtless his young friend spoke the truth; and the extemporaneous remarks at Batavia, although possibly lacking that smoothness of style for which the written sermons were distinguished, were quite as well calculated to effect the object for which Dr. Milnor laboured, —the spiritual improvement of his hearers. He, however, could not be persuaded of this, hence a sleepless night ensued; and his feelings of mortification, still increasing as he journeyed onward, reached their climax on his arrival at Cleveland, where were assembled many of his brother ministers, eagerly anticipating the pleasure of hearing the distinguished stranger from the East. "Providentially it happened," he continues, "that I had with me one sermon, that which I preached last Sunday morning at Saint George's, and which, on account of its being in the velvet cover, I threw into the top of my trunk, just before it was closed." Of course he used *that*, and declining repeated invitations to preach, confined himself to a few extemporaneous addresses, and hurried homeward.

There can be no doubt of Dr. Milnor's ability to have preached without being confined to his manuscripts; and none, we think, that he would have been more impressive, and produced greater effects upon the mass of his hearers, if he had cultivated that talent, and occasionally, at least, given them unwritten thoughts gushing warmly from the heart. His ministry was, nevertheless, far from being without fruit, and God gave him many souls for his hire. Accessions were constantly made to the Church; and one or two instances of lasting good, resulting from single discourses, are mentioned in the volume before us.

Dr. Milnor was, of course, a "low Churchman," that being the phrase by which it is customary to style the more evangelical Protestant Episcopalians. He believed and preached the necessity of faith in Christ, the doctrine of assurance, the unity of all followers of the Lamb, in whatever denominational fold, as constituting the Church of Christ on earth. He had faith in revivals, rejoicing at their appearance among Christians of every name; labouring, hoping, praying for them in his own Church, where, in defiance of his bishop,

and to the great scandal of his Puseyistic brethren, he encouraged —prayer-meetings.

"One evening, while the prayer-meeting was in session, the bishop came to his house, and, after the usual statement of objections, desired Dr. Milnor *to go and dismiss the assembly.* The answer which he returned was, in substance, this: 'Bishop, I dare not prevent my parishioners from meeting for prayer; but, if you are willing to take the responsibility of dismissing them, you have my permission.' Of course the praying members of Saint George's remained undisturbed."—P. 631.

Why should a Christian bishop object to prayer-meetings among those over whom, in God's providence, he had the chief pastoral oversight? Truly, we cannot answer that question. We find no precedent for such conduct in the history of Paul, or his son Timothy, whose legitimate and only successors these mitre-wearers claim to be. We rather regret that our author did not spread out on his paper what he calls the "usual objections." Possibly, after all, there might be something in them. But not much, else had the right reverend prelate, in the plenitude of his zeal, gone into the room and dispersed the assembly; more especially as his contumacious son in the gospel had virtually dared him to do it. To us it seems, but this may be owing to our ignorance, that the prayer-meetings on week evenings in the vestry of Saint George's were either right or wrong. If right, the bishop had certainly no right to "desire Dr. Milnor to go and dismiss the assembly." If wrong, he ought to have done it himself, when the rector refused to comply with his "desire." So, too, the bishop was very much opposed to Dr. Milnor's Friday evening lecture, which he commenced soon after his induction to the parish, and continued to the close of his life. We can bear personal testimony to the eloquence and beauty of his week-evening lectures; those being the only occasions on which we had the opportunity of hearing the rector of Saint George's. They were calculated to do good; they did good; and if any of his large congregation went away unprofited, we have no hesitation in saying the fault was their own. But the week-evening lecture did not please the bishop. He

"Made strong objections to it, *calling it an irregular meeting, and using every effort to effect its discontinuance.* But Dr. Milnor was unmoved. He had not adopted his course without prayerful consideration. He felt that he was in the path of duty, and nothing could make him swerve to the right or to the left. He finally ended the matter, after sufficient listening to objections, by telling the bishop, in that kind, but peculiarly firm and decided manner which he was capable of assuming, 'that his only proper and effectual course would be that prescribed by the canons, in case of their violation by a presbyter, specific charges and a trial; that his duty as a bishop was plain; and that, as a presbyter, whom the charges would affect, he was ready to meet them on their trial.'"—P. 631.

Here, as in the former case, the biographer leaves us to guess what were the specific objections of the diocesan. He tells us that these lectures were not contrary to any of the canons, and that consequently no charges were, or could be preferred against the lecturer. They were, indeed, always concluded by *extemporaneous* prayer, instead of the prescribed formulary of the liturgy; and possibly *that* was the *gravamen* of episcopal objection, and the reason why that functionary made "every effort to effect its discontinuance." He did not succeed, however, and multitudes, doubtless, thank God for it, as we do.

As the reader will have inferred, Dr. Milnor's position was, in many respects, far from pleasant. Intently bent on doing good, a zealous and successful servant of his Master, he had to contend, nevertheless, with the unceasing opposition of his superior in office, and to meet the frowns of a large majority of his fellow-labourers in that portion of God's vineyard in which his lot was cast. With talents of the highest order, fitting him eminently for any position in the Church, in the language of our author, he "held, virtually, *no position*" in the councils of his own diocese. The opponents of prayer-meetings and week-night lectures were an immense majority; and, with their bishop at their head, it pleased them to treat slightingly, and even contemptuously, the rector of Saint George's,—the *low* Churchman, but the *high* Christian. He bore it, however, with patient meekness; and although "they kept him," to quote the language of one of his correspondents, "out of those chief places where prudence, and wisdom, and business habits were wanted, and only put him where he would *seem* to be honoured, but where he had no chance of *being felt*," yet *he was felt;* and no man of that persuasion exerted so large an influence upon the community around him; was more respected while living, or, dying, more lamented. He had the finger of scorn pointed at him from the "*high*," but God had "respect unto the *lowly*." He was, says Dr. Stone,—

> "At the centre of conflict between the evangelical and the anti-evangelical portions of our Church. Nay, for years he was, in his own person, the one point against which the most strenuous assaults of the latter were directed; and had he fallen, many others would have been unable to stand. From sympathy, as well as from respect and veneration, there was a rallying around him, as a sort of evangelic centre. . . . : In a word, through the early training of his mind, the practical character of his pursuits, the finished amenity of his manners, the peculiar post of labour assigned him, and, above all, the eminently intelligent and elevated character of his piety, the providence of God gave him A POSITION which, during his life, was, on the whole, more commanding than that of any other evangelical clergyman of our Church."

In the discussion relative to the ordination of a young man, who boldly and honestly avowed his sympathy with the Tridentine doc-

trines of the Romish Church, Dr. Milnor, although not called upon to bear a conspicuous part, took a very deep interest. His heart and his judgment were with the dissenting presbyters, Messrs. Smith and Anthon. He grieved more at the injury inflicted upon the entire cause of Protestant Christianity, by the bishop's determination to ordain Mr. Carey, than at the convulsion arising in his own denomination, from that outrageously high-handed proceeding; —"a convulsion," says Dr. Stone, "altogether unprecedented." In a letter to Bishop Smith, a low-churchman, of course, Dr. Milnor says:—

"We live in eventful times. The changes in opinion,—in too many instances, as I think, for the worse,—that are continually occurring around us, are not a little alarming. Recent developments here afford reason to believe that, to a greater extent than we imagined, the Oxford heresy has invaded this diocese. The noxious influence of the ———* has exceedingly corrupted the minds of our younger clergy and candidates for orders; and, indeed, I am grieved to the heart to find such a tendency to Romanism as prevails among some of the more advanced in years and standing. . . . . The evangelical doctrines which some of us have supposed were plainly taught in our articles, more fully explicated in our homilies, and embodied in their life-giving spirit in our liturgy, are now to be superseded by the dogmas of the school at Oxford. The great principle of justification by faith is, by many, virtually abandoned, and that of baptismal justification adopted in its stead. God is impiously confined, in his communication of grace, to the channel of the sacraments; and a most unwarrantable denial of covenanted mercy to all but the members of a Church enjoying the Episcopal succession is insisted on. I confess I am grieved and alarmed beyond measure, and especially since our Convention, which has just adjourned, and in which the proceedings in the case of young Carey have been sustained by a large majority of the clergy, and by an unexpectedly large majority of the laity. You will, no doubt, in the secular papers of the past week, see the full details of our stormy session; particularly the melancholy exhibition of passion, on the part of our bishop, near its close."—Pp. 571–2.

Truly that was a "melancholy exhibition." The "secular papers" spread out its details with minute exactness, and many of them with commentaries well calculated to bring the religion of Christ into contempt. A scene of more painful interest soon followed; and the good rector of Saint George's passed through what was, beyond question, the deepest affliction of his ministerial life. In little more than a year after the above "melancholy exhibition," the bishop referred to was brought to trial, on charges of immorality and impurity, found guilty, and suspended. On this trial Dr. Milnor was summoned as a witness to an important transaction, in which he had borne a part. He obeyed the summons with unfeigned reluctance, whatever the friends of the accused may have insinuated to the contrary. He told his story with simple brevity. He was cross-exa-

* Qu.? Bishop? or P. E. Seminary?

mined by the lawyers, and by several of the bishops who composed the court, long and vexatiously. Attempts were made to shake his credibility as a witness, on the score of failing memory, or intentional misrepresentation. Unkind and cutting reflections were made upon the course of conduct which he felt under obligation to pursue. Two of the bench of bishops allowed themselves to indulge in sneering remarks relative to his testimony on the trial, and published opinions, in which the respect due to age and common courtesy were alike forgotten. Dr. Milnor, of course, felt these things keenly. He was strongly urged to reply publicly. He could have done so with most withering effect. He declined; and we regard it as the loveliest trait in his amiable character, that he chose to suffer in the tenderest point,—to be held up to the world as a false accuser, if not as a perjured witness, for all who testified on the trial were sworn,—rather than to be the means of prolonging a controversy which was making the Church of Christ, and more especially that denomination to which he belonged, a hissing and a by-word.

But his record is on high. He has passed away from the toils and conflicts of earth; and, without adverting to his efficient labours in the cause of the American Bible Society, the Tract Society, and other benevolent institutions, we are compelled to bring this article to a close.

"Servant of God! well done!"

Art. V.—PLAN AND STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES.

SECOND PAPER.

[Modified from the German of Vaihinger, in the "*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*" for July, 1848.]

Third Discourse.*

Theme, (chap. vi, 1,—viii, 15,)—"Inasmuch, therefore, as the faults of others, or our own, often imbitter or destroy our enjoyment of the blessings God bestows, we should strive to avoid the common folly, and seek true enjoyment of life in a higher way, by the aid of true wisdom."—In three subdivisions:—

Subdivision I., (vi, 1–12.) "Earthly blessings cannot afford the true happiness, since, for the most part, men are not even allowed to enjoy them."—In two strophes:—†

* Ewald continues the 3d Discourse up to vi, 9, commencing the third at vi, 10:—Köster begins the 3d at vi, 13.

† This subdivision, like III., (page 178,) has but two strophes.

Strophe 1. "A man may be rich, honoured, blessed with children, and may live to great age, without real enjoyment,—God preventing, as it were, his delighting in these things; and this disappointment is heightened by the want of any hope in the future," (vi, 1–6.)

(a) "The rich only gather for others," (verses 1, 2.)

1. "There is an evil which I have seen under the sun, and it is common among men:
2. A man to whom God hath given riches, wealth, and honour, so that he wanteth nothing for his soul of all that he desireth, yet God giveth him not power to eat thereof, but a stranger eateth it: this is vanity, and it is an evil disease."

(b) "All outward blessings may be preserved without inward," (verses 3–6.)

3. "If a man beget an hundred children, and live many years, so that the days of his years be many, and his soul be not filled with good, and also that he have no burial; I say, that an untimely birth is better than he.
4. For he cometh in with vanity, and departeth in darkness, and his name shall be covered with darkness.
5. Moreover he hath not seen the sun, nor known anything: this hath more rest than the other.
6. Yea, though he live a thousand years twice told, yet hath he seen no good: do not all go to one place?"

Strophe 2. "This sad experience is caused partly by insatiable cravings, and partly by unwillingness to submit to the divine order of things," (vi, 7–12.)

(a) "The divine order designs enjoyment as the reward of toil. But the fool reverses this order, and toils only to desire for more," (verses 7–9.)

7. "All the labour of man is for his mouth, and yet the appetite is not filled.
8. For what hath the wise more than the fool? what hath the poor, that knoweth to walk before the living?
9. Better is the sight of the eyes than the wandering of the desire: this is also vanity and vexation of spirit."

(b) "God knows what is best for man: but the fool, discontented, rebels against the divine order," (verses 10–12.)

10. "That which hath been is named already, and it is known that it is man: neither may he contend with him that is mightier than he.
11. Seeing there be many things that increase vanity, what is man the better?
12. For who knoweth what is good for man in this life, all the days of his vain life which he spendeth as a shadow? for who can tell a man what shall be after him under the sun?"

Subdivision II., (vii, 1–22.) "To avoid these evils, we should strive after true wisdom, and, under its guidance, seek the way to enduring happiness."—In three strophes:—

Strophe 1. "The just, knowing the emptiness of earthly pleasure, despises, in earnestness of soul and temperance of life, the joy of fools," (vii, 1–7.)

(a) "The wise, just man turns from hollow joy to that which is intrinsically valuable," (1–4.)

1. "A good name is better than precious ointment: and the day of death than the day of one's birth.*
2. It is better to go to the house of mourning, than to go to the house of feasting: for that is the end of all men; and the living will lay it to his heart.
3. Sorrow is better than laughter: for by the sadness of the countenance the heart is made better.
4. The heart of the wise is in the house of mourning; but the heart of fools is in the house of mirth."

(b) "So he abandons corrupting associations," (verses 5–7.)

5. "It is better to hear the rebuke of the wise, than for a man to hear the song of fools.
6. For as the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of the fool: this also is vanity.
7. Surely oppression maketh a wise man mad; and a gift destroyeth the heart."

Strophe 2. "Feeling his dependence on an All-wise Disposer, who will finally do all things well, the wise man secures peace of mind by acquiescing in the inscrutable arrangements of God," (vii, 8–14.)

(a) "He patiently trusts Divine Providence, and therefore has no fault to find," (verses 8–10. Cf., vi, 9–12.)

8. "Better is the end of a thing than the beginning thereof: and the patient in spirit is better than the proud in spirit.
9. Be not hasty in thy spirit to be angry: for anger resteth in the bosom of fools.
10. Say not thou, What is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this."

(b) "Wisdom, guiding him in the dark way, is a substitute for all earthly good," (verses 11–14. Cf., vi, 7–9.)

11. "Wisdom is good with an inheritance: and by it there is profit to them that see the sun.
12. For wisdom is a defence, and money is a defence: but the excellency of knowledge is, that wisdom giveth life to them that have it.
13. Consider the work of God: for who can make that straight, which he hath made crooked?
14. In the day of prosperity be joyful, but in the day of adversity consider: God also hath set the one over against the other, to the end that man should find nothing after him."

Strophe 3. "The unequal distribution of earthly goods, the disproportion between desert and enjoyment, and the sense of ill-desert in himself, produce in the wise man an humble fear of God, which makes many rough places of life smooth," (vii, 15–22.)

(a) "In the danger of exaggerating desert or ill-desert, it is best to preserve the happy *mean*," (verses 15–18.)

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* The *proverb* indicates the beginning of the subdivision.

15. "All things have I seen* in the days of my vanity; there is a just man that perisheth in his righteousness, and there is a wicked man that prolongeth his life in his wickedness.
16. Be not righteous over-much; neither make thyself over-wise: why shouldest thou destroy thyself?
17. Be not over-much wicked, neither be thou foolish: why shouldest thou die before thy time?
18. It is good that thou shouldest take hold of this: yea, also from this withdraw not thine hand: for he that feareth God shall come forth of them all."

(b) "The wise man, fearing God, may bear with the infirmities of others, and even endure insult unmoved," (verses 19–22.)

19. "Wisdom strengtheneth the wise more than ten mighty men which are in the city.
20. For there is not a just man upon earth, that doeth good, and sinneth not.
21. Also take no heed unto all words that are spoken; lest thou hear thy servant curse thee.
22. For oftentimes also thine own heart knoweth that thou thyself likewise hast cursed others."

Subdivision III., (vii, 23—viii, 15.) "We should seek to escape the snares of folly, (vii, 26,) to avoid doing evil, (viii, 5,) to fear God, (viii, 12,) and thus finally to enjoy the blessings of life in innocence and quiet, with the favour of God." The means of doing this are shown in three strophes:—

Strophe 1. "By spurning all impure seductions," (vii, 23–29.)

(a) "These seductions are dangerous, even to the wise," (verses 23–26.)

23. "All this have I proved by wisdom: I said, I will be wise; but it was far from me.
24. That which is far off, and exceeding deep, who can find it out?
25. I applied mine heart to know, and to search, and to seek out wisdom, and the reason of things, and to know the wickedness of folly, even of foolishness and madness:
26. And I find more bitter than death the woman whose heart is snares and nets, and her hands as bands: whoso pleaseth God shall escape from her; but the sinner shall be taken by her."

(b) "Few have resisted them, and thus preserved the original purity designed by God," (verses 27–29.)

27. "Behold, this have I found, saith the Preacher, counting one by one, to find out the account;
28. Which yet my soul seeketh, but I find not: one man among a thousand have I found; but a woman among all those have I not found.
29. Lo, this only have I found, that God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions."

Strophe 2. "By obeying men in authority, according to time and circumstances, inasmuch as the haughtiest rulers are as powerless against the Divine order as restless agitators," (1–8.)

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* The formula of introduction, "*I have seen*," indicates the beginning of the strophe.

(a) "The wise man avoids rebellion as the bane of peace," (verses 1–4.)

1. "Who is as the wise man? and who knoweth the interpretation of a thing? A man's wisdom maketh his face to shine, and the boldness of his face shall be changed.
2. I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God.
3. Be not hasty to go out of his sight; stand not in an evil thing; for he doeth whatsoever pleaseth him.
4. Where the word of a king is, there is power: and who may say unto him, What doest thou?"

(b) "Confident that crime will in due time meet its just desert, he submits to evils that are unavoidable," (verses 5–8.)

5. "Whoso keepeth the commandment shall feel no evil thing: and a wise man's heart discerneth both time and judgment.
6. Because to every purpose there is time and judgment, therefore the misery of man is great upon him.
7. For he knoweth not that which shall be: for who can tell him when it shall be?
8. There is no man that hath power over the spirit to retain the spirit; neither hath he power in the day of death: and there is no discharge in that war; neither shall wickedness deliver those that are given to it."

Strophe 3. "By firmly trusting the Divine justice, even in the face of its mysterious delays, knowing that piety and impiety will alike meet right rewards." (9–15).

(a) "True, rulers often rule only for evil, and the wicked dead are praised while the just are forgotten," (verses 9, 10.)

9. "All this have I seen, and applied my heart unto every work that is done under the sun: there is a time wherein one man ruleth over another to his own hurt.
10. And so I saw the wicked buried, who had come and gone from the place of the holy, and they were forgotten in the city where they had so done: this is also vanity."

(b) "Still, in spite of this apparent disproportion between desert and enjoyment, it *is well* with the good, and *not* well with the wicked," (verses 11–14.)

11. "Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil.
12. Though a sinner do evil an hundred times, and his days be prolonged, yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God, which fear before him:
13. But it shall not be well with the wicked, neither shall he prolong his days, which are as a shadow; because he feareth not before God.
14. There is a vanity which is done upon the earth; that there be just men, unto whom it happeneth according to the work of the wicked; again, there be wicked men, to whom it happeneth according to the work of the righteous: I said, that this also is vanity."

(c) Hence, as before, the conclusion is, that "an innocent enjoyment of life, amid its weary toils, is the highest earthly good," (verse 15.)

15. "Then I commended mirth, because a man hath no better thing under the sun, than to eat, and to drink, and to be merry: for that shall abide with him of his labour the days of his life, which God giveth him under the sun."

Taking the third discourse as a whole, its scheme of structure by strophes, &c., is as follows:—

Subdivision I.	6,	6,	"	= 12 verses.
Subdivision II.	7,	7,	8	= 22 verses.
Subdivision III.	7,	8,	7	= 22 verses.

In all, fifty-six verses.

In this, as in the former discourses, we find the phrase, "*this is also vanity*," repeated, (chap. vi, 2, 9; viii, 10, 14.) The question, "*what profit hath a man?*" is repeated also, (chap. vi, 8, 11.) And, like the others, this discourse ends with the exhortation *to enjoy life*, (chap. viii, 15.) And, finally, it, like them, closes without a satisfactory and complete conclusion, by proposing a new problem, (chap. viii, 14,) namely, that "*there be just men unto whom it happeneth according to the work of the wicked; and wicked men to whom it happeneth according to the work of the righteous.*" There is decided discord of thought and feeling between the 13th and 14th verses of chap. viii. But by recurring to chap iii, 16, 17, and comparing that passage with chap. viii, 12, 13, we see plainly that the sentiment is rapidly tending to its development in the doctrine, that *all these wrongs will be made right hereafter.* And this conclusion is strengthened in anticipation by the reiterated utterances of experience, declaring that they are not, and cannot be, made right *here.*

Fourth Discourse.*

Theme. "Since, therefore, we cannot fathom the Divine allotments, our minds can only find rest in wisdom and the fear of God: and our highest earthly good lies in enjoying the Good and the Beautiful which He bestows, especially in youth and manhood. And this the more, when we meditate upon the retributions of eternity, or, apart from that, upon a joyless old age." (Chap. viii, 16; xii, 8.)—In three subdivisions:—

Subdivision I., (viii, 16; ix, 16.) "The government of God in its allotments to men is inscrutable. Conclusion drawn from this."—In three strophes:—

Strophe 1. "It is undeniable, that in this life the wicked fare as well as the good; and this is 'an evil' among men," (viii, 16; ix, 3.)

(a) "Even the sage is puzzled by the mysterious workings of the Divine power," (ch. viii, 16, 17.)

16. "When I applied mine heart to know wisdom, and to see the business that is done upon the earth: (for also there is that neither day nor night seeth sleep with his eyes:)

* Ewald also begins the Fourth Discourse at this point.

17. Then I beheld all the work of God, that a man cannot find out the work that is done under the sun: because though a man labour to seek it out, yet he shall not find it: yea further; though a wise man think to know it, yet shall he not be able to find it."

(b) "As God's allotments in this life are made without regard to men's moral character, men indulge in sin and in false security." (ix, 1–3.)

1. "For all this I considered in my heart even to declare all this, that the righteous, and the wise, and their works, are in the hand of God; no man knoweth either love or hatred by all that is before them.
2. All things come alike to all: there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked; to the good and to the clean, and to the unclean; to him that sacrificeth, and to him that sacrificeth not: as is the good, so is the sinner; and he that sweareth, as he that feareth an oath.
3. This is an evil among all things that are done under the sun, that there is one event unto all: yea, also the heart of the sons of men is full of evil, and madness is in their heart while they live, and after that they go to the dead."

Thus the sentiment that was vaguely hinted at in iii, 16; iv, 1; vii, 15, and was distinctly stated in viii, 14, is now made the definite starting-point of the Fourth Discourse.

Strophe 2. "But this painful fact should not cause disgust with life: for life is better than death, which, after all, we must meet at last. It should rather stimulate us to right enjoyment and activity." (ix, 4–10.)

(a) "Death, which comes to all, is dark and dreary. Life, with all its distresses, is a precious gift,"* (verses 4–6.)

4. "For to him that is joined to all the living there is hope: for a living dog is better than a dead lion.
5. For the living know that they shall die; but the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward: for the memory of them is forgotten.
6. Also their love, and their hatred, and their envy, is now perished; neither have they any more a portion forever in anything that is done under the sun."

(b) "The social duties of life should be performed, and its pleasures enjoyed, in cheerful activity. There will soon be no place for either duty or activity," (verses 7–10.)

7. "Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart; for God now accepteth thy works.
8. Let thy garments be always white; and let thy head lack no ointment.
9. Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of the life of thy vanity, which he hath given thee under the sun, all the days of thy vanity: for that is thy portion in this life, and in thy labour which thou takest under the sun.
10. Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest."

Strophe 3. "True, the *results* of our activity and wisdom are not in our own power. But the man who seeks to do his duty

* The opposite side of the picture was presented in iv, 3.

faithfully, will not lose his labour: and its fruits are reaped even here, when time and circumstances favour." (ix, 11–16.)

(a) "The results of all our efforts depend on events. A sudden calamity may destroy all our wisest plans," (verses 11, 12.)

11. "I returned and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all.
12. For man also knoweth not his time: as the fishes that are taken in an evil net, and as the birds that are caught in the snare; so are the sons of men snared in an evil time, when it falleth suddenly upon them."

(b) "Yet wisdom is precious, and may, when God will, raise us to the highest elevations," (verses 13–16.)

13. "This wisdom have I seen also under the sun, and it seemed great unto me:
14. There was a little city, and few men within it; and there came a great king against it, and besieged it, and built great bulwarks against it:
15. Now there was found in it a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom delivered the city; yet no man remembered that same poor man.
16. Then said I, Wisdom is better than strength: nevertheless, the poor man's wisdom is despised, and his words are not heard."

Subdivision II., (chap. ix, 17—x, 20.) "The Divine allotments considered more closely. The impression that they are *arbitrary* is weakened by various lessons which practical wisdom teaches."—In three strophes:—

Strophe 1. "Wise and patient calmness is, after all, the best means of meeting the insolence of fools and wicked men." (ix, 17—x, 4.)

(a) "The power of fools often overthrows the counsels of the wise," (ix, 17—x, 1.)

17. "The words of wise men are heard in quiet more than the cry of him that ruleth among fools.
18. Wisdom is better than weapons of war: but one sinner destroyeth much good.
1. Dead flies cause the ointment of the apothecary to send forth a stinking savour; so doth a little folly him that is in reputation for wisdom and honour."

(b) "Yet the wise man, in conscious superiority, can afford to be calm when a fool holds higher place," (x, 2–4.)

2. "A wise man's heart is at his right hand; but a fool's heart is at his left.
3. Yea also, when he that is a fool walketh by the way, his wisdom faileth him, and he saith to every one that he is a fool.
4. If the spirit of the ruler rise up against thee, leave not thy place; for yielding pacifieth great offences."

Strophe 2. "Though the unworthy often hold high place, while the worthy are in obscurity, these evils are not to be rectified by force, but by wisdom." (x, 5–11.)

(a) "The ignorant are often exalted: the good abased," (verses 5–7.)

5. "There is an evil which I have seen under the sun, as an error which proceedeth from the ruler.
6. Folly is set in great dignity, and the rich sit in a low place.
7. I have seen servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth."

(b) "Yet forcible and untimely changes are dangerous: wisdom alone should undertake reforms, according to the fitness of time and events," (verses 8–11.)

8. "He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it: and whoso breaketh an hedge, a serpent shall bite him.
9. Whoso removeth stones shall be hurt therewith; and he that cleaveth wood shall be endangered thereby.
10. If the iron be blunt, and he do not whet the edge, then must he put to more strength: but wisdom is profitable to direct.
11. Surely the serpent will bite without enchantment; and a babbler is no better."

Strophe 3. "That senseless and wicked men should make the land groan with their follies and vices is indeed a bitter evil: yet the wise man will move cautiously, and bide his time." (x, 12–20.)

(a) "The wisdom of the wise contrasted with the folly of fools," (verses 12–15.)

12. "The words of a wise man's mouth are gracious; but the lips of a fool will swallow up himself.
13. The beginning of the words of his mouth is foolishness: and the end of his talk is mischievous madness.
14. A fool also is full of words: a man cannot tell what shall be; and what shall be after him who can tell him?
15. The labour of the foolish wearieth every one of them; because he knoweth not how to go to the city."

(b) "Unhappy is the land whose rulers are debauched and senseless; but such government will in due time decay: the wise man *waits*," (verses 16–20.*)

16. "Wo to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning.
17. [Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles, and thy princes eat in due season, for strength, and not for drunkenness!]
18. By much slothfulness the building decayeth; and through idleness of the hands the house droppeth through.
19. A feast is made for laughter, and wine maketh merry: but money answereth all things.
20. Curse not the king, no, not in thy thought; and curse not the rich in thy bedchamber: for a bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter."

Subdivision III., (chap. xi, 1—xii, 8.) *Final conclusion and exhortation.* "It is true, then, that all depends upon time and events; but man can pave the way to happiness, and, by wise forethought, make preparation for time and events. It is his duty, then, and

* Verse 17, which breaks the connexion of thought, is probably a later interpolation.

highest wisdom, to make good use of life before the heaviness of age comes upon him, and to prepare himself for a blessed future beyond the grave." (xi, 1—xii, 8.)

Strophe 1. "He should be benevolent, and, at the same time, active in his calling." (xi, 1–6.)

(a) "Do good while thou canst: thou knowest not what fruit it may bear thee hereafter," (verses 1–3.)

1. "Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days.
2. Give a portion to seven, and also to eight: for thou knowest not what evil shall be upon the earth.
3. If the clouds be full of rain, they empty themselves upon the earth: and if the tree fall toward the south, or toward the north, in the place where the tree falleth, there it shall be."

(b) "Be active in labour: he who sows not, cannot expect to reap," (verses 4–6.)

4. "He that observeth the wind shall not sow; and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap.
5. As thou knowest not what is the way of the spirit, nor how the bones do grow in the womb of her that is with child: even so thou knowest not the works of God who maketh all.
6. In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand: for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good."

Strophe 2. "He should enjoy life,—but yet thoughtfully and virtuously." (xi, 7–10.)

(a) "Life is sweet, and days of darkness approach: enjoy the light, therefore, in cheerfulness of heart," (verses 7, 8.)

7. "Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun:
8. But if a man live many years, and rejoice in them all; yet let him remember the days of darkness; for they shall be many. All that cometh is vanity."

(b) "Youth is the time for pleasure. Enjoy it: but remember that a retributive eternity lies beyond," (verses 9, 10.)

9. "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth; and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes: but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment.
10. Therefore remove sorrow from thy heart, and put away evil from thy flesh: for childhood and youth are vanity."

Strophe 3. "He should serve God in *youth*, and serve him sincerely." (xii, 1–7.)

(a) "Only a piety continued from youth up can console the cheerless hours of approaching age," (verses 1–5.)

1. "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them;

2. While the sun, or the light, or the moon, or the stars, be not darkened, nor the clouds return after the rain:
3. In the day when the keepers of the house shall tremble, and the strong men shall bow themselves, and the grinders cease because they are few, and those that look out of the windows be darkened,
4. And the doors shall be shut in the streets, when the sound of the grinding is low, and he shall rise up at the voice of the bird, and all the daughters of music shall be brought low;
5. Also when they shall be afraid of that which is high, and fears shall be in the way, and the almond-tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail: because man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets."

(b) "And nothing but the fear of God can help when the spirit must return to Him who gave it," (verses 6, 7.)

6. "Or ever the silver cord be loosed, or the golden bowl be broken, or the pitcher be broken at the fountain, or the wheel broken at the cistern.
7. Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it."

Taking the Fourth Discourse as a whole, its scheme of structure is as follows, namely:—

Subdivision	I.	5	, 7	, 6	=	18 verses.
Subdivision	II.	6	, 7	, 9	=	22 verses.
Subdivision	III.	6	, 4	, 7	=	17 verses.

In all, fifty-seven verses. The formula, "*this is vanity*," occurs in xi, 8, 10. The query, "*What profit?*" is answered in x, 10. The exhortation "*to enjoy life*," occurs in ix, 7, 9, and is developed fully in xi, 7–12; xii, 1, et seq.

And, as before, in the third subdivision, a thought is presented, (xi, 9,) which needs to be further unfolded. Beholding the goods of this life so mysteriously distributed, (vii, 15; viii, 14,) the Preacher had despaired of seeing rewards and punishments allotted according to merit and demerit here on earth, (iii, 16,) while gloom and darkness hung over the future life, (iii, 21; ix, 5, 10.) But now he glances beyond that dreary abode of darkness in the future, and catches a glimpse of the future judgment. This thought, however, is barely suggested, (xi, 9;) its full exhibition, which is necessary to the complete harmony of the whole book, is reserved for the

Conclusion.

The conclusion (xii, 8–14) contains three parts, of which the first (verse 8) contains the *argument* of the whole work; the second (verses 9–12) its *commendation;* the third (verses 13, 14) its whole *aim and object.*

I. *Argument.* Reviewing now the whole ground, it is summed up in the formula before used so often:—

8. "Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher: all is vanity."

II. *Commendation.* The representations of the book are true, and made by a wise teacher.

9. "And moreover, because the Preacher was wise, he still taught the people knowledge; yea, he gave good heed, and sought out, and set in order, many proverbs.
10. The Preacher sought to find out acceptable words: and that which was written was upright, even words of truth.
11. The words of the wise are as goads, and as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies, which are given from one shepherd.
12. And further, by these, my son, be admonished: of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh."

III. Its *aim and end.* The sum of all is, "Fear God, and prepare for his coming judgment."

13. "Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter; Fear God and keep his commandments: for this is the whole duty of man.
14. For God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil."

I may now express a trust that the plan here presented gives a just view of the form and structure of this remarkable book. The more closely it is compared with the text itself, the more fully it will appear, I hope, that it is developed naturally from the text, and not arbitrarily foisted upon it.

The Four Discourses all treat of one main theme, namely, that the life and labours of man are, in themselves, vain and unsatisfactory; that success and failure depend upon circumstances,—or, in other words, upon the inscrutable arrangements of God; and that resignation to his will, combining as much innocent enjoyment with as little pain as possible, and depending on wisdom, goodness, and the fear of God, is the only true aim of life. But as no man *can* secure enjoyment for himself, there must be a future retribution, when the justice so long and vainly yearned for on earth shall at length be realized. The *first* discourse begins with a plaintive lamentation, and sinks gradually into the deepest tone of despair over the fruitless efforts of the noblest men, finding all wisdom and all labour to be naught but vanity. And if this stumbling-block is removed in the *second*, so many new proofs of the vanity of man arise, that it is only after repeated struggles that the Preacher brings out the exhortation to "enjoy life." The new doubts again are resolved in the *third* discourse: but here arises the most trying and critical difficulty of all, namely, that the distribution of the goods of life among men on earth is so utterly out of harmony with their moral character. In the *fourth* discourse this difficulty is removed,—first, partially, by the thought that the most loathed life is better than death; and

second, completely, by the doctrine of a future retribution, which, in the *conclusion*, is stated in the broadest and most distinct terms. The high poetic strain which ends the poem, furnishes the key-note to its entire harmony.

Art. VI.—THE PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, A PROOF OF ITS DIVINE ORIGIN.

§ 1.—*The Relation of Christianity to the History of the World.*

In order to understand fully the world-historical importance of Christianity, and the influence which it has exerted upon humanity, it is necessary to have an idea of the external and internal condition of the time in which it made its appearance, particularly in a moral and religious point of view. Although our holy religion, like its Founder, is of divine origin,—a new creation, a miracle in history,—its appearance was nevertheless *prepared* by the previous course of events. Our Saviour could only be born in the Jewish nation, and he could only appear at the period in which he did appear. For God is a God of order; and as Christianity is destined for men, it must have, like Christ, along with its eternal, divine character, also a temporal and human nature,—and whilst heaven is its Father, earth must be its mother. As such, however, it cannot but be subject to the laws of development, and to the conditions of time. That it might fall as a good seed into the soil of history, that soil had first to be ploughed and properly prepared. All this is very plainly implied in the words of the apostle:—"When the *fulness of the time* was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law."*

This historical preparation of Christianity we must find principally, but *not exclusively*, in the chosen people, and the sacred records of its religion. For Christ is the light and star, the centre and turning-point, of the *whole* history of the world. The entire development of mankind, particularly of the religious consciousness of all nations, before His coming, was a preparation for His entrance into the world, a voice in the wilderness:—"Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God." And the entire history of mankind, after Christ's coming, is, in its

* Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθε τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, &c.: Gal. iv, 4: cf. Ephes. i, 10, and the word of the Lord, Mark i, 15: πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρός.

ultimate import, an extension of his kingdom and glorification of his name. Only from this point of view is it possible to reach a truly profound and complete understanding both of the old world, which Christianity overthrew, and of the new one, which it built upon its ruins.

In addition to the Jews, it was particularly the *classic* antiquity which paved the way for Christ's coming. There were, so to speak, three chosen nations in the old world,—the *Jews*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans;* as also three cities to which a peculiar importance was attached,—Jerusalem, Athens, and Rome. The Israelites were elected for eternal things, the Greeks and Romans for temporal; but time must serve eternity, and earth carry out the designs of heaven. "Greek cultivation," says Dr. Thomas Arnold, "and Roman polity, prepared men for Christianity." The great historian, John Von Müller, confessed, towards the end of his life,—"When I read the classics, I observed through all of them a wonderful preparation of Christianity: everything suited exactly the design of God, as proclaimed by the Apostles."

It is easy to see that this fact, if it could be fairly established, must form one of the most convincing arguments for the truth and divine origin of Christianity; and it is with this end in view that we attempt to describe in detail the intellectual, moral, and religious condition of the world at the period when "the Word became flesh."

§ 2.—*Judaism and Heathenism.*

But although both religious systems of antiquity prepared the way for Christianity, they did it in a different manner, and this difference we must first bring to view in a general way.

Judaism was the religion of positive, direct *revelation*, in word and deed,—a gradual condescension and self-manifestation of the only true God to his chosen people in law, prophecies, and types, which all bore witness to Christ. Here, therefore, the process proceeded from above; God entered into a nearer and nearer relation to man, until finally he became man himself, and assumed, in Christ, forever, our whole nature, body, soul, and spirit, into the most intimate union with his divinity. Heathenism, on the other hand, is, generally speaking, *nature left to itself*,—the development of fallen humanity in the pursuit of God, under the general guidance of providence, to be sure, but still without the special aid of revelation or of a communication of divine life. This the Apostle seems to intimate, when he says of the heathen, that God in times past suffered them "to walk in their *own* ways." (Acts xiv, 16.) The same idea he expresses more definitely in Acts xvii, 26, 27:—"God hath made of

one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; *that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him*, though he be not far from every one of us." Here, therefore, the preparation of the true religion proceeds from below. In Greece and Rome, with which we are now more particularly concerned, human strength was to show what it was able to perform in the state of depravity, and to prove, finally, that even the highest degree of natural culture cannot possibly satisfy the infinite desires of man's mind and heart, but serves rather to make them felt more sensibly, and thus to show the absolute need of a supernatural redemption. From this difference between the Jewish and the Pagan religion, it follows that the first was more a *positive*, the second more a *negative* preparation for Christianity. Judaism was the only true religion before Christ, and could therefore only be abolished in its temporal, particularistic form; while its divine contents were preserved and taken up into Christianity. The Saviour did not come to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfil them. Matt. v, 19. Heathenism, however, is in its moral and religious substance a corruption of the original consciousness of God; a deification of nature and man,—consequently, error and depravity. Christianity, therefore, is opposed to it in principle, as a specifically different system.* The Old-Testament religion, in passing over to Christianity, fulfilled only its own meaning, and followed its inmost aim; whilst heathenism had to go through a radical revolution, and to abandon itself, in order to reach the truth as it is in Jesus.

This representation, however, does not cover the whole ground. The two religious systems under consideration must be viewed also in a different and seemingly opposite aspect.

For in the first place we find that Judaism, along with the pure development of divine revelation, embodied also (particularly after the extinction of prophecy, and, in its general state at the time of Christ's birth, in the form of Pharisaism, Sadduceeism, and Essenism) more or less human error and corruption, and thus far it was also a *negative* preparation for Christianity. Against this part of Judaism we find, therefore, Christ and the Apostles just as decidedly opposed as against heathenism.

Heathenism, moreover, was not *absolutely* without God—was not mere error. It still retained, although in a darkened and corrupt form,

* Compare, for instance, Matt. vi, 7, 8, 32; Rom. i, 18–32; Ephes. ii, 11–13; where the heathen are represented as without God and without hope in this world; Ephes. iv, 17–19; Gal. iv, 8; Acts xxvi, 18; where the heathen state is declared to be a state of darkness and of the power of Satan. Acts xvii, 30; 1 Peter iv, 3–5.

some consciousness of God, which is always a manifestation, and, as far as it goes, a presence of God in the human mind. It had a religious want, and religious susceptibilities; and could, therefore, be reached by the influences of the gospel. Plutarch, himself a heathen, says beautifully and truly, "There has never been a state of Atheists. If you wander over the earth you may find cities without walls, without king, without mint, and without theatre; but you will never find a city without God, without prayer, without oracle, without sacrifice. There may be a city without foundation, rather than that a state could maintain itself without the belief in gods. This is the bond of all society, and the stronghold of all legislation." We can trace in heathenism the relics of the divine image in which man was created, an echo and certain dark recollections of the original communion of man with God, and of that general revelation preceding the calling of Abraham. The myths of the *Avatars*, of the descending of gods upon the earth, of their union and intermarriage with mortal men, of Prometheus's fall, sufferings, and ultimate deliverance, &c., are dark and fleshly anticipations of the mystery of incarnation and redemption. Instead of furnishing an objection to the truths of Christianity, they go rather strongly to confirm them, and to show that Christianity is founded in the deepest wants of human nature, as they were felt by all nations from the beginning. Especially in the religion, science, and art of the *Greeks* and *Romans* we must acknowledge scattered beams of truth; those "testimonia animæ naturaliter Christianæ," to speak with Tertullian, that is, the testimonies of the soul of man, which is destined for Christianity, a working of the Logos before his incarnation, (*λόγος ἄσαρκος*, *λόγος σπερματικός*.) Consequently, there must be there, also, elements of *positive* preparation for Christianity. For God never left himself "without witness," (Acts xiv, 16, 17;) he has revealed himself also to the heathen, partly in the works of nature, in which the reflecting mind can and ought to see his "eternal power and godhead, so that they are without excuse," (Rom. i, 19–21;) partly in the inward reason and conscience, so that the Gentiles, having not the written law of Moses, are "a law unto themselves; which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another." Rom. ii, 14, 15. Therefore St. Paul, when proclaiming to the Athenians the "unknown God," to whom they had built an altar, thus testifying their unsatisfied religious wants, did not hesitate to cite with approbation the passage of a heathen poet, Aratus, on the indwelling of God in man, and to adduce it as proof that it was possible to seek and to find God. Acts xvii, 27, 28. Ac-

cording to St. John, the Logos shone already before his incarnation, "in darkness,"—that is, in the whole of humanity lying in sin and error,—and "lighted every man that cometh into the world," (John i, 5, 9, 10.) The Lord himself acknowledges the religious susceptibility of the heathen, and holds them up sometimes to the Jews in order to put them to shame. Of the heathen centurion at Capernaum, he says:—"Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel," (Matt. viii, 10; Luke vii, 9;) and to the woman of Canaan, who cried for help so urgently, and still so humbly: "O woman, great is thy faith: be it to thee even as thou wilt." Matt. xv, 28.*

There are, therefore, in spite of the essential difference between Judaism and Heathenism, some connecting links between them, and we may understand how both religions, just at the time of Christ's coming, could amalgamate to some extent; as, for instance, in Alexandria, in the school of Philo. These efforts, however, proved a failure, of course. Only a new spiritual creation could break down the partition wall between the Jews and Heathen, change their deadly hatred into brotherly love, satisfy the deepest desire of both, and thus dig a new bed for the stream of history.

We may well compare Heathenism to the starry night, full of darkness, but also of foreboding and unsatisfied longing; Judaism, to the aurora, full of cheerful hope and fresh courage of faith; Christianity, to the clear day, before which both stars and aurora lose their light and splendour.

We have then to consider the preparation for Christianity—first, in Heathenism; secondly, in Judaism; and, thirdly, in the contact of the two.

I. Preparation for Christianity in the Heathen World.

(A.) Greece.

§ 3.—*Greek Literature in its Relation to Christianity.*

In Greece, emphatically the classic soil of antiquity, science and the fine arts first assumed an independent form, and unfolded themselves in a natural way, as far as possible, without a supernatural revelation. The living spirit of its rich and original literature survived the destruction of its national independence; vanquished by the overbearing power of Rome, it achieved a more glorious and permanent victory over its imperious foe, in the sphere of mind. Nor has its influence been in the least diminished by the lapse of ages; in all times it has been regarded as

* Compare also the parable of the merciful Samaritan, by which the Lord intended to humble the Jews, who believed themselves to be the only pious people, (Luke x, 30, ff.;) also passages like Matt. viii, 11, 12; John x, 16; xi, 52; xii, 20, 21, 32.

the necessary foundation of all higher mental culture. The chief source of this enduring power lies in the classic beauty of its forms. The language, in itself considered, is the most perfect and harmonious ever written or spoken by man. And Christianity has endowed it with imperishable honour, by making it the organ of its highest truths; the language of Hellas was destined to form the "pictures of silver," in which the Gospel's "apples of gold" should be preserved for all generations. To effect this object, Providence so ordered events, that, when the Christian element entered the life of the world, the language of the Greeks was the language of the civilized world.* It was the peculiar mission of the Greeks, imposed by Providence, to construct a beautiful body for the abode of a beautiful soul,—to clothe living thought with its most appropriate expression,—in short, to unfold the idea of the beautiful. In philosophy, history, or rhetoric, the Grecian writers are the models of expression and of style. In this respect the Church Fathers, as well as the distinguished profane writers of all times—philosophers, orators, and poets—have bowed together in reverence before the intellect of Greece. And it was because the Greek mind had reduced the operations of reason to fixed laws, lying at the foundation of language, that the Logic and Dialectic of Aristotle exerted such a vast influence upon Christian theology, particularly under its scholastic form.

But not merely in a *formal* way, by furnishing a medium of communication, did Greece assist in removing the obstacles that opposed the introduction of Christianity: by the *contents* also of its literature it was divinely appointed to demonstrate the necessity of Christianity, and to herald its approach. The very writers who make the glory of Greece, furnish a graphic picture of human nature in its natural state, unenlightened by Revelation; humanity is their standing theme;—*γνῶθι σεαυτόν*, the problem of their philosophy. Even the gods of Greece are deified men, subject to human infirmities and human passions. Hence the study of Greek literature has been aptly called the study of the Humanities. But the idea of Christianity necessarily presupposes the existence of this human element sold in slavery to sin, which it seeks not to annihilate, but to redeem and sanctify. Rightly, then, does liberal education commence with the study of the classics, inasmuch as they lead the young student into the chambers of the heart, and show him his nature as it is. The object of the several institutions appointed to prepare the way of the Lord, must be reproduced in the life of each individual. As the educational discipline of the Old Testament dispensation, the

* Thus Cicero remarks, (*pro Archia*, c. 10:) Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur.

bitterness of repentance, and joyful yearnings for a Messiah to come, constituted the necessary conditions of a *practical* religious life; so the study of the classic languages and literature is absolutely requisite to a *scientific* apprehension of Christianity. If the light of a supernatural revelation, such as is presented to us in the Bible, had not disclosed the glories of the heavenly world, or if it were possible to regard sin simply as a limitation of human powers, necessarily inherent in what is finite, no lovelier scene of beauty could be conceived or imagined than the blooming flowers of humanity which flourished so vigorously on the classic soil of Greece—its bold, speculative philosophy, and its fresh, glowing art. Its history is indeed a smiling spring, a continual renewal of youthful beauty and freshness. It may not, therefore, seem accidental that Greece *begins* its history with the mythic youth Achilles, the creation of the greatest epic poet; and *ends* it with the actual youth of history, Alexander, pupil of the great philosopher Aristotle. Its literature and art are never "sicklied o'er with the pale cast" of melancholy, nor disfigured by any hideous portraiture of sin. The anguish of intensest pain, as sculptured in Laocoon and Niobe, is relieved by the harmonious proportions of the figures; and the spectator leaves the scene more deeply impressed with the beauty of the statues than with sympathy for the sufferers. Very appropriately sings the poet Lenau:—

> Dass sie am Schmerz, den sie zu trösten
> Nicht wusste, mild vorüber führt,
> Erkenn' ich als der Zauber grossten,
> Womit uns die Antike rührt."*

But Sin, like an adder in the grass, is most terrible when its insidious approaches are unseen: there is a Death—the wages of sin—whose aspect is most fearful when a smiling Cupid extinguishes the torch of life, and hides the corruption of the tomb by decorating it with flowers. Science and art furnish no elixir to counteract its venom. Christ alone, the sinless and the holy, the Prince of Life, can break its power and destroy its virulence. Like the flowers of the field, which to-day flourish, and wither to-morrow, the loftiest attainments and richest fruits of the human mind must decay beyond hope of

* Thus in modern times Goethe was a real Grecian. He presents us nature in all its loveliness, and would be one of the most attractive characters, if sin were no reality, or a mere shadow, serving to display the diversity of existence and the varied phases of human life. He, it is true, recognized the claims of Christianity, but regarded it not as the absolute religion, but as a most remarkable natural phenomenon. His spiritual home, especially after his return from Italy, was classic Paganism;—the god to whom he paid homage was Art and natural Beauty.

resuscitation, apart from His vivifying influence. The last days of Greece and its tragic dissolution furnish a mournful but forcible attestation of this truth. Its pristine glory had departed like a dream, leaving scarce its shadow behind; and when Christ became flesh, it was not a living body of beauty, but a putrefying corpse.

§ 4.—*Dissolution of the Grecian Spirit.*

With the death of Alexander the Great, the political and military power of Greece was broken. For a short time only the semblance of a republic was maintained by the Ætolian and Achæan confederacy. Rome extended her conquests, and no Miltiades, no Leonidas, no Aristides appeared to avert the storm. Distracted by internal dissensions, Greece fell an easy prey to the world-conquering power. Perseus, the last of the Macedonian kings, (168 B. C.,) graced as a captive the triumph of Emilius; and this humiliation was quickly followed by the abolition of the Achæan League and the razing of Corinth, 146 B. C. Thus, the national independence of Greece was destroyed, its political power crushed, and its noble sons, who survived the fate of their country, sunk into grief and despair. And so, when the Greek spirit had achieved its most brilliant triumphs in science and art, and was about to enjoy the fruits of its genius, it was cast out from its abode, a homeless wanderer. The creative period of Greek literature had passed away; the productions of the later artists and rhetoricians were characterized by a perverted taste; external pomp and empty declamation were preferred to richness of thought and natural simplicity of expression. Philosophy boldly contradicted the popular religion, snapped asunder the cords of faith which bound the people to their gods, and flung them upon the ocean of doubt. As early as the age of Socrates, the Sophists ventured to ridicule the traditions of antiquity, and to divest truth of its inward power. At a later period *Euhemerus*, of the Cyrenaic school, sought to account for the origin of the Greek Theogony on purely natural principles, in precisely the same way as in our times the Rationalist, Paulus, has explained away the miracles of the evangelical narratives. Even the great historian, *Polybius*, called the popular religion a fable, cunningly devised on the part of rulers, to secure the obedience of the *commune vulgus;* and the geographer, *Strabo*, who lived during the reign of the Emperor Augustus, deemed the juggleries of superstition the only adequate means of enforcing the duties of religion upon wives and the common people.

There reigned, among the superficially educated, systems of thought which tended to suppress the religious aspirations of man, and sap

the foundations of morality. In entire accordance with the frivolous spirit of the age, the *Epicurean* philosophy proclaimed pleasure (ἡδονή, the gratification of the sensual appetites,*) to be "the highest good;" remanded Providence to the regions of chance and human caprice;† and denied the immortality of the soul. In the religious faith of the people it perceived nothing but folly; in the Theogony of Homer and Hesiod, nothing but irrational fables. Such a system must have wrought with disastrous effect upon public morals; the age which countenanced it must have been ripe for dissolution. Not much better in its tendency was the system of the *New Academy*, founded by the skeptical Arkesilaus, (244 B. C.,) who, in opposition to Stoicism, denied the possibility of ever attaining to a clear knowledge and firm conviction of truth. Skepticism, however, carried out to its legitimate consequences, invariably terminates either in Nihilianism and Infidelity or in practical Epicureanism. In the question put to Christ by Pilate, (who may be considered the representative of a system of thinking then widely prevalent,) "What is truth?" we recognize not the intense longings of an honest mind after truth, but the heartless scorn of the infidel, who regards truth as a phantom. The witty Lucian, who lived in the second century, furnishes another specimen of the trifling levity which now characterized Grecian literature. This uncompromising enemy of Christianity, justly styled the Voltaire of antiquity, aimed the piercing shafts of his wit against the popular faith, which he regarded as a conglomeration of absurdities. Justinus Martyr, (A. D. 166,) speaking of the philosophers of his age, remarks:—"Most persons never think whether there be one God, or many Gods; whether there be an overruling Providence or none;—as if knowledge of these things had nothing to do with salvation. They even attempt to convince us that the Divinity may exercise a general Providence, but never directs his attention to me or to you, or to any individual. It is not at all necessary to pray, for everything created repeats itself in an eternal circle, by a fixed necessity of fate."‡

But the gloom of Pagan darkness was faintly illumined by the disciples of the Platonic and Stoic schools, who ventured to cultivate a better morality; and, as they stand in close relation to Christianity, we must direct our attention more particularly to the influence of their philosophy.

* Metrodorus, a friend of Epicurus, is not ashamed to acknowledge that the Epicurean philosophy allowed free indulgence of the passions.—Vide the proofs in *Ritter's History of Philosophy*, Part iii, p. 455. (1831.)

† Epic. ap. Diog. Laert., Book x. 133. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τέχης, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν.

‡ Dial. cum Tryph. Jud. ad init.

§ 5.—*Platonism.*

Of all the systems of Grecian philosophy, Platonism unquestionably exercised the most commanding and salutary influence over public morals, and may be regarded as a schoolmaster to Christ, in the sphere of science. It leads us back to the most remarkable and venerable man of paganism, *Socrates*, who presents not only the most perfect pattern of a Grecian sage, but stands out, at the same time, as a prophecy reaching far beyond the narrow confines of his own age and nation. With a piercing irony he attacked the false wisdom of his contemporaries, their intellectual pride and frivolity, and humbly acknowledged the incapacity of human reason to satisfy the cravings of the soul. Instead of dwelling upon the goodness of his own nature, he looked into the supernatural world, and referred his deepest ideas to the actual operations of a good genius—the well-known *δαιμών*,—and taught his disciples to follow the impulses of the moral law divinely impressed upon the heart. The Platonic philosophy, which combined into an organic system the scattered precepts of Socratic wisdom, partook largely of an ideal character. Leading the soul from the transient phenomena of life to the mysterious depths of the enduring spirit, and unfolding the true glory of its divinely-allied nature, Plato rescued it from the prison-house of sense and sensuality, and inspired it with aspirations after the Good, the True, and the Beautiful. The "highest good" he recognized not in the gratifications of lust, but in the subordination of the appetites to reason, and in the practice of morality, which he divided into four departments, Wisdom, (*φρόνησις*,) Courage, (*ἀνδρία*,) Temperance, (*σωφροσύνη*,) Justice, (*δικαιοσύνη*.) In his view, the world held its course under the direction of a superintending Providence. Human life itself was not exposed to chance, but constituted a preparatory and purifying process for a better state of existence, in which virtue was to be rewarded and vice punished.* In such views, which may be considered prophetic of Christianity, the Christian historian must perceive palpable proofs of the effectual operations of the *λόγος* in paganism. Following the bent of his inventive genius, Plato transcended the confused sphere of the popular mythology, rejected the doctrine of a plurality of gods, and seems to have a faint presentiment of Unity in the Divine nature of the Father and Creator of the world, to know whom, he remarks, is a matter of immense difficulty, and who, when

* Compare the beautiful conclusion of the 10th Book of his Politea, and many passages in the Timæus, the last and most genial dialogue of Plato; and on the whole subject, the interesting work of *Ackermann*, "Das Christliche im Plato."

discovered, cannot be revealed to every man.* His sagacious judgment, however, induced him to shrink from the cold embrace of infidelity; his sympathy with the necessities of human nature, led him to acknowledge that the polytheistic mythology of his age sprang from the religious wants of the soul. It was not his object to annihilate the prevailing system of faith, but to disentangle its genuine import from the abuses into which it had fallen, and elevate it to a higher position. Thus Plutarch, who flourished toward the end of the first century of the Christian era, one of the most genial disciples of Plato, compares the old mythology to reflections of light upon dissimilar surfaces, or to the rainbow in relation to the sun. In accounting for its origin, he says: "We must not refer it to a superstitious reverence for the supernatural, nor, in the spirit of later infidelity, to the agency of purely natural causes, but to the harmonious co-operation of divine and human instrumentalities." Applying this principle to the explanation of the oracles, he affirms their divine authority without incurring the charge of superstitious attachment to their announcements. He does not, indeed, imagine that the poetical and prosaic contents of their revelations were verbally inspired, but that the oracles being first excited to activity by a divine impulse, they formed and proclaimed their responses in accordance with the laws of their being. In his views the innumerable gods of Greece must be regarded as various manifestations of the great original absolute Unity.

Still this dark presentiment of the divine oneness, as it meets us in the writings of Plato, though it must be allowed to be far superior to the prevalent notions of his age, cannot be compared with the doctrine of Monotheism, as revealed in the Jewish and Christian dispensations.†

We may now perceive how the Platonic philosophy, which sought to subordinate matter to spirit, by spiritualizing the common conceptions of religion, and presenting an ideal good worthy of the soul's homage, could not only prepare the way for the introduction of Christianity, but even induce its adherents to accept it, especially as the ideal they sought was converted into a fact in the person of Christ. This office it really did perform in the case of many distinguished Church Fathers, as Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Augustine; in modern times, in men like Marsiglio Ficino of the sixteenth century, and Schleiermacher and Neander, of our own age.

* Thus the well-known sentence in Timæus. 28. c, *τὸν μὲν οὖν, ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὑρεῖν τε ἔργον, καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν.*

† Compare Vogt's New Platonism and Christianity, (Berlin, 1836.) p. 47. ff.

But whilst we acknowledge the salutary influence of Platonism, we must remember that the noblest productions of this philosophy are immeasurably inferior to the truths revealed in the Bible. As it failed to discern the true cause of moral corruption, it could devise no effective means for its removal. Plato, although he once declares (in a remarkable passage of his Leges*) selfishness to be the greatest sin inherent in human nature, yet evidently confounds, upon the whole, the idea of sin with that of finiteness, assigns its locality to the body, makes it to be a matter of invincible necessity, and positively denies that an individual man can commit sin, in the exercise of free-will. Placing true piety in the power of grasping speculative truths, he draws an unwarrantable distinction between exoteric and esoteric religion, entirely opposed to the spirit of Christianity, and encourages intellectual pride, which is the very opposite of faith. In his Ideal Republic he assigns the most degraded position to the third class, in which the inferior elements of our nature (*τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν*) predominate, composed of the *profanum vulgus*, whose proper business it is to minister to the natural wants of the two higher classes, comprising the warriors, whose duty is to cultivate the virtue of courage, and the philosophers, who rule the state, and to whom alone the power of logical reasoning has been imparted. But even the higher classes he deprives of the foundation of true morality, by allowing a *communio fœminarum;* and by transferring children to the hands of government, he disfigures the beauty of family life. Thus the Platonic theory of a republic, contracted within the limits of a particular nationality, and tending to identify morality with politics, stands in direct opposition to the Christian idea of God's kingdom.

Platonism, indeed, and heathen philosophy ended in the *Neo-Platonism.* This system of thinking, represented by Plotinus and Porphyry, added to Platonism the fantastic speculations of the Orient, and sought to check the progress of Christianity by spiritualizing the old heathen religion, and renewing its youth. It was the last struggle of pagan philosophy to retain its ascendency—like the momentary flashing of the soul in the eyes of a dying man, it disappeared in the darkness of its own night. Human wisdom had exhausted its energies without discovering a remedy for the sickness of the soul—its arrogant presumption was brought to shame by the foolishness of the gospel of Christ, proclaimed by the despised fishermen of Galilee. All that can be affirmed of Platonism is, that it honestly sought the truth, but never found it.

*L. v, 731, c. ff.

(B.) ROME.

§ 6.—*Preparation for Christianity in the Universal Monarchy of Rome.*

The most ardent admirer of the Latin character must admit, that in scientific culture and artistic skill, the Grecians infinitely surpassed their conquerors. But whilst we acknowledge that Roman literature can claim no higher character than that of a successful imitation of the classic productions of Hellas, we must admit that in the cultivation of civil law, and in knowledge of government, the Romans stand pre-eminent. As the Grecian mind was naturally qualified to unfold the significance of the ideal world, so the Roman was endowed with practical powers to perfect the idea of the state, and of jurisprudence.* To the support of the state were directed all the energies of its citizens, who esteemed it an object worthy of their highest ambition. To secure the stability of government, religion and politics were closely interwoven; every trade and occupation of life was rendered sacred by the superintendence of some particular deity.† On this account, the religion of Rome has been reproachfully characterized as the religion of *utility*. The mighty empire of the seven-hilled city, consolidated by a complete system of laws, so admirably contrived that justice was equally distributed, has not only attracted the admiration of succeeding lawgivers, but has furnished all modern civilized nations with the fundamental principles of civil law.

It may be affirmed then, without exaggeration, that the Romans were naturally fitted to establish a universal empire, which, by uniting nations of diverse characters into one government, was destined, in the hands of Providence, to pave the way for the introduction of Christianity, and, when introduced, to accelerate its diffusion. For, unlike other systems of faith, which are restricted to the necessities of one or several nationalities, or of one particular period of the world's history, Christianity claims to be the absolute religion, which, overleaping the limits of a particular age or nation, labours to unite in one Christian family the entire human race. To prepare the way for the reception of this universal idea, and its realization, it was necessary that the partition walls which sundered nation from nation should be demolished, and the national vanity, which looked upon foreigners with contempt, be eradicated. Alexander, boldly pushing his triumphant march from West to East, and disseminating the literature of Greece, contributed to these ends, by uniting Asia and Europe in social and political intercourse. But the great

* In modern times, the German and English stand similarly related.

† Thus the Romans had a Dea Cloacina, a Juno Unxia, &c.

Roman empire, which, during the time of the Apostles, extended from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, and from the African desert to Northern Germany, served still more effectually to prepare the way for the spread of Christianity. Everywhere Roman laws were firmly established; at Rome, the Pantheon became the depository for the gods of all nations. In addition, it must be remembered, too, that the Greek language was as universally spoken by the learned, as, in the eighteenth century, the French in Germany, and, in our times, the English in North America.

And thus Christianity, when it came, secured the means of access to all nations, was protected by the civil law, and, in the universal character of Roman monarchy, formed a connecting point for the idea of Christian catholicity.* But the vast empire of Rome was destined to pass away. The Christian religion alone furnished the means which could dissolve the selfishness of man, and unite the human race in the bonds of faith and love.

§ 7.—*Internal Condition of the Roman Empire.*

Whilst the gigantic empire of Rome presented such an imposing appearance as a political structure, the degradation of private and public morals palpably foretokened the approach of decay and dissolution. It may be affirmed, at least of the nations of antiquity, that the period of greatest prosperity marks the beginning of decline. The canker of moral disease was already preying upon the vitals of the empire; the influence of the poison could only be checked by the intervention of a new divine element. The empire might be compared to a huge body destitute of a living soul.

The Romans, indeed, were constitutionally more religious than the Greeks. Their religion stood in the closest connexion with their morality, and constituted its foundation. In the earliest ages of the republic they were characterized not only by a rigid discharge of civil duties, by strict fidelity to the State, by adherence to promises, and obedience to the laws, but also by purity in the family relation, in the exercise of parental discipline, and the observance of connubial chastity. But the destruction of Carthage and Corinth imparted new elements of moral character. Asiatic luxuries, Greek frivolity,—in short, the vices of the whole world,—seemed to congregate at Rome. The wealth of conquered nations was transported to the capital, and the lusts of the people excited by its seductions;

* Thus, in our own age, it is of immense importance for missions in Asia and Australia, particularly in India and China, that these last mentioned countries have been subordinated to the control of the English, who may be called the Christian Romans.

whilst the provinces were drained of their resources, the lower classes were oppressed by poverty. The bravery and fame of distinguished generals were sacrificed to pleasure; the talents of eminent civilians were prostituted to invent new means and incentives to sensuality. It is no wonder that, in the midst of such degradation, Brutus, the last specimen of old Roman character, questioned the existence of morality. On the battle-field at Philippi, whilst the republic was struggling in the death-agony, he looked up at the dark sky, (for the stars refused to behold the destruction of Roman liberty,) exclaiming, "O virtue, I once supposed thou hadst a being; now I see thou art a phantom!" and bared his bosom to the sword.

Yet the rulers maintained the observance of religious ceremonies; for religion and politics were so interwoven, that the prosperity of the one depended upon the purity of the other. They feared the common people as much as they despised them; and to bridle their passions and keep them in submission, they made use of the religious faith as a cunningly contrived superstition. Cicero remarks, that the haruspices, whose duty it was to foretell future events by examining the entrails of sacrifices, could not look at each other without laughing. Roman emperors, enervated by debauchery and swollen with wine, aspired to the dignity of gods, and compelled the senate to recognize their divinity. Sold to a tyrannical caprice which obeyed no law but selfishness, and to a military despotism which effectually crushed its liberties, Rome still affected to be free, and even rejoiced in its pretended freedom. Although it had some good emperors, as Titus, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, and Antoninus Pius, their example served only to place in bolder relief the prevailing corruption,—their light, which temporarily illumined the surrounding darkness, was extinguished in the thick gloom now fast gathering upon Rome. After the death of Augustus the throne was generally disgraced by monsters in wickedness, by tyrants whose career was a tissue of prodigality, licentiousness, and cruelty, with a demoniacal misanthropy which delighted in the torments of its dying victims. And yet such emperors as Claudius, Caligula, Nero, and Heliogabalus, whose skirts were stained with blood, whose hearts were sinks of moral filth, compelled the senate to enrol their names in the number of the gods.* Thus the moral relations growing out of the constitution of things were inverted; to be enormously wicked seems to have been the best certificate of character—ridicule and contempt for religion were signs of genuine culture.

In attempting to form a just conception of the depravity prevalent

* According to Suetonius, (Domit. 13,) the emperor Domitian always commenced his letters to the senate with the preface, Dominus et *Deus noster* hoc jubet!

during the age of the emperors, imagination staggers, and we feel disposed to regard the statements of history as forgeries. But to be convinced of their absolute truth, the candid inquirer need but gaze at the pictures of vice drawn by the most celebrated and earnest-minded authors of Rome. In the satires of Persius and Juvenal, the immoralities of the age are lashed with an unsparing severity. Seneca, the philosopher, remarks, that the filthy streams of vice had flooded the country, and the purity and innocence of former days had vanished.* Tacitus, the greatest of Roman historians, begins his history, extending from the accession of Galba to the assassination of Domitian, by saying: "I enter upon a period rich in events, marked by civil wars, convulsed by dissensions, presenting a horrible appearance, even in time of peace."† In the third book he remarks:—"Besides the multiplied accidents of human agency, there were signs in heaven and upon earth—lightning flashed over the sky, various omens, lucky and unlucky, doubtful and clear, foretokened the future. The barbarous massacres of the Roman people, and the just judgments of Heaven, demonstrated, as never before, that the gods had withdrawn their protection, and were meditating our destruction." Tacitus seems to have *felt* the misery of his age; his entire writings are beclouded by a hopeless melancholy. He looks to the gods, but their faces are averted in wrath; he surveys the earth, but the blackness of night is settling upon it; in the signs of the times he discovers the approaching dissolution of a world doomed to exhaust the cup of divine indignation, and in the agony of despair he seeks comfort in a stoical resignation to fate. The elder Pliny participated in this distressing melancholy. His meditations upon the wonderful phenomena of nature, afforded no relief to his burdened soul; in the world he could perceive nothing unchangeable, and concluded that the greatest uncertainty was the surest certainty. Harassed with such feelings, he ardently desired, as the highest good, a speedy dissolution; and when we read of his painful death by the burning lava of Vesuvius, we drop a tear for his disconsolate condition, but cannot grieve at the departure of a spirit so weary of life.

* De Ira II. 8. Omnia sceleribus ac vitiis plena sunt: plus committitur, quam quod possit coërcitione sanari. Certatur ingenti quodam nequitiæ certamine, major quotidie peccandi cupiditas, minor verecundia est. Expulso melioris æquioris que respectu, quocunque visum est, libido se impingit. Nec furtiva jam scelera sunt: præter oculos eunt; adeoque in publicum missa nequitia est et in omnium pectoribus evaluit, ut innocentia non rara sed nulla sit. Numquid enim singuli aut pauci rupere legem? undique velut signo dato, ad fas nefasque miscendum coorti sunt.

† Opus adgredior opimum casibus, atrox prœliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa enim pace sævum, etc. Hist. l. 1, c. 2.

§ 8.—*Stoicism.*

Nor could the philosophers, whose very presence proclaimed the most effectual rebuke to the corruptions of the age, discover the remedy for them; in their eagerness to escape the Scylla of surrounding immorality, they plunged into the more destructive Charybdis of stoical pride. Ever after the visit of the Athenian embassy, (155 B. C.,) when the Roman mind first came into contact with the various philosophic systems of Greece, Grecian science was cultivated with enthusiastic ardour. Some, as Cicero, selected from the different systems whatever accorded with their peculiar modes of thought, and succeeded in elaborating an eclecticism, which, however, bore no distinctive character: the great majority, including several poets, as Horace and Ovid, either adhered to a frivolous Epicureanism, which clothed licentiousness in the garb of virtue, or to a comfortless skepticism, which crushed every good aspiration; whilst Cato, Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, and others, who were actuated by nobler sentiments, exemplified in their lives the principles of Stoicism. This heroic but gloomy philosophy harmonized with the sternness of the old Roman character, and served to bring out more fully its rigid features. After the destruction of republican freedom, and the establishment of a tyrannical despotism, it was to be expected that pure patriots, who had witnessed the extinction of their brightest hopes, should seek refuge in a system which, though it could not afford the prospect of political liberty, promised to restore inwardly, at least, *in the spirit*, the invincible independence and inflexible firmness of their ancestors. In opposition to the immorality and effeminacy of the age, they cultivated the pride and the self-sufficiency of moral heroism.

By reducing, after pantheistic fashion, the prevalent anthropopathic conceptions of the gods, as distinct personalities, to certain primitive elements of the universe, Stoicism transcended the superstition of the popular faith. But the Zeus of the Stoics is by no means an affectionate father, who, in his good providence, so overrules public and private events, as to accomplish the greatest good for the greatest number; like a gloomy tyrant, himself vanquished by the invincible power of Fate, he roughly remands the individual subject to the shades of oblivion. According to the Stoic theory, evil, though opposed to the good, of which it is the necessary condition, (implying its being, just as a shadow presupposes the existence of a body,) contributes to the unfolding of the harmony of the world. True wisdom consists in yielding with indifference and apathy to invincible fate. Whenever death surprises the wise man, he

must not only suppress the risings of grief, but joyfully give back his own life to the absolute Being, and sink quietly in the bosom of the great soul of the universe, like a drop in the vast ocean. The doctrine of immortality, if not resolutely denied, was at least openly questioned. Cato coincided with the sentiment of Cæsar, expressed in a speech recorded by Sallust,* "that death delivers the soul from the cares of life, destroys the power of evil, and constitutes the vanishing point of existence, beyond which there is no pain to disturb, nor pleasure to delight."† Marcus Aurelius, showing how the waves of existence flow over into the great ocean of being, remarks: "The philosopher addresses himself with feelings of reverence to nature, which gives and takes away all things. Give what thou wilt and take what thou wilt."‡ The doctrine of immortality seems to have occasioned great perplexity to the mind of Seneca. "At one time," says he, "when I depended upon the authority of others, I flattered myself with the hope of immortality. I ardently desired death, that I might enjoy the pleasures of this state; I was suddenly aroused from my lethargy, and lost forever this beautiful dream."§

There were scattered, like gems, through the writings of Seneca, beautiful sentences (often artificial, it is true, and intended for display) and moral maxims which bear some resemblance, at least in words, to passages in the New Testament. Some of the old Church Fathers endeavoured to account for this similarity by supposing a *pia fraus*—that the Stoic sage exchanged letters with the Apostle Paul. But there is no necessity to have recourse to such forced explanations. Christianity does not consist in the beauty of a few isolated moral proverbs, but in the power of a new life revealed from Heaven. Nor did the private character of Seneca accord with his maxims. On close inspection, therefore, the moral deformity of heathenism, though clothed in an apparently Christian garb, can be clearly discerned. The morality of the Stoics is based upon fundamentally erroneous principles, and stands directly opposed to the faith of the gospel.

In common with all pagan morality, it rests upon a deification of self and an exaltation of human pride, and not upon humility and love to God. On this account an eminent Church Father has not unjustly characterized the virtues of the heathen as "splendid vices."

* Catilina, c. 52. † Ib., c. 51. ‡ Monol., x. 14; comp. x, 27; II. 14; XII. 5, 23.

§ Quum subito experrectus sum et tam bellum somnium perdidi.—*Epit.* 102. Tacitus also speaks about immortality, but only hypothetically: *Si* quis piorum manibus locus, *si*, *ut sapientibus placet*, non cum corpore exstinguuntur *magnæ* animæ, (which may be referred to the immortality of human fame,) placide quiescas, etc.—*Vita Jul. Agricolæ*, c. 46. Pliny, in his Hist. Nat. II., 7, adduces as an argument against the omnipotence of God, non potest mortales æternitate donare.

The spring of their action was human applause. In the Olympic games death was crowned with glory; children from their earliest infancy were taught to regard the pursuit of fame as the sole object of life. The bravest heroes, as Miltiades, Leonidas, and Themistocles, loved their country because they loved themselves, and hoped for an immortality of fame. Under the same impulse Herodotus composed his history, Pindar sung his odes, Phidias sculptured his Zeus, and Alexander extended his conquests. The same selfishness marks the character of the Romans. Cicero, whose vanity was unbounded, in an oration before a vast concourse of people, remarked that the very best of men were governed by the love of applause;* and, in his Natura Deorum, that the virtuous are justly honoured and appreciated for their morality, since it is not a gift of the gods, but the product of human power.† This self-righteous spirit, and this deification of human nature, constitute the predominant character of Stoicism. Seneca will not acknowledge that the truly wise man is inferior to the gods, but ventures to place him upon a moral equality, because, like them, his virtue depends upon the exercise of the natural powers; nay, he makes him even superior to them, because his morality is the product of the energy of his own will, whereas theirs is necessarily grounded in their nature.‡ By fostering pride, Stoicism succeeded indeed in repressing the outbreaks of gross sensuality and other degrading vices. But it is precisely this self-righteous complacency, dangerous in proportion to its refinement, which constitutes the inmost essence of sin, and imbues men with a satanic element. Nor did the Stoic endeavour to humble his pride, for to him it was the highest good—the perfection of character. Absorbed in his self-sufficiency, he blasphemously aspired to the dignity of divinity, and enrolled his name in the catalogue of the gods.§

* Pro Archia poeta, c. 11: Trahimur omnes laudis studio et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur. In the beautiful passage concerning the existence of the soul after death, (De Senectute, 23,) he seems to have confounded the idea of *personal* immortality with that of immortality of *fame*.

† De Nat. Deorum. III., 56. Num quis, quod bonus vir esset, gratias Deis egit unquam? at quod dives, quod honoratus, quod incolumis! Propter virtutem enim jure laudamur et in ea recte gloriamur, quod non contingeret, si id donum a Deo, non a nobis haberemus.

‡ Cicero imagined that man was qualified to attain to the perfection of virtue. De fine, v, 15. Est enim natura sic generata vis hominis, ut ad omnem virtutem percipiendam facta videatur. Comp. v, 9: Secundum naturam vivere, i. e., hominis natura *undique perfecta et nihil requirente*. This is absolute Pelagianism.

§ Epist. 73. Jupiter quo antecedit virum bonum? diutius bonus est. Sapiens nihil se minoris æstimat, quod virtutes ejus spatio breviori clauduntur. Sapiens tam æquo animo omnia apud alios videt contemnitque quam Jupiter: et hoc se magis suspicit, quod Jupiter uti illis non potest, sapiens non vult. Comp. Epist. 53. Est aliquid, quo sapiens antecedit Deum; ille *naturæ* beneficio non timet, *suo* sapiens.

Stoicism, therefore, stands in direct opposition to Christianity. It would be as easy for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, as for a Stoic to become a convert to the humbling doctrines of Christ's religion.

The apathy and indifference to the nobler sensibilities, inculcated by this philosophy, is not only opposed to the spirit of the gospel, but contradicts the nature of man. For we are not taught to mortify the feelings of the heart, but to purify and sanctify them. Cato, rushing upon his sword, without an exclamation either of dismay or sorrow; or the unknown sage, who, after having consigned his wife and children to the narrow house without a tear, gave himself up to the stroke of death without a sigh; may excite our wonder, but never our respect and love. Immeasurably superior to them all is CHRIST, who wept tears of sorrow for the unbelievers of Jerusalem, and tears of love for the bereaved sisters of Lazarus; who, in the garden of Gethsemane, when oppressed with the burden of a world's sin, sweat great drops of blood, and on the cross cried out,—"My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" In the former there is nothing but the forced calmness of pride—cold as ice, gloomy as the tomb; in the latter, we behold a sinless human nature agitated with the intensest feelings, rejoicing with them that rejoice, and weeping with them that weep, seeking to embrace in its arms of love the entire human race.

Having thus reviewed the preparation for Christianity in the heathen world, we shall, in our next number, treat of *the preparation for Christianity in Judaism.*

ART. VII.—THE BAPTIST PSALMIST.

The Psalmist; a New Collection of Hymns for the Use of the Baptist Churches.

AMONG the recent hymn-books issued by different denominations, "The Psalmist" is justly entitled to a high rank. It was compiled by Rev. Baron Stow and Mr. S. F. Smith. To the pen of the latter gentleman it is indebted for several original productions; none of them of very great merit. The volume is beautifully printed, and is accompanied by a commendatory certificate, with fac-simile signatures of nine gentlemen of the Baptist Church, among whom we see the name of Rufus W. Griswold, the editor of several collections of sacred poetry. In their preface the compilers say:—

"The authorship of the hymns has been stated, where it was practicable; but in consequence of the variety and irresponsibleness," [an awkward word, and hardly legitimate,] "in this respect, of some of the sources from which they have been drawn, a few are still anonymous. In some instances a hymn has been ascribed, in various collections, to different authors; and no means exist of identifying the true one. In such cases, it is possible that errors may have occurred; but it is believed that they are very few. Any errors of this kind, which may hereafter be discovered, will be promptly corrected."

A frank acknowledgment, and a promise that we have no reason to doubt will be fulfilled. It is our purpose in the present article to assist our Baptist brethren in rendering future editions of the "Psalmist" more perfect in this respect, by pointing out some of the errors and omissions alluded to, so far as regards the poetry of the Wesleys, with which our associations and predilections have rendered us more familiar than with that of other authors. We assure the industrious compilers, and the learned gentlemen whose certificate accompanies their work, that they may depend upon the truthfulness of our statements, and the "responsibleness" of the source from which they issue.

In addition to the hymns in the volume before us that are credited to "Wesley," we notice the following:—

Hymn 57. This, which "The Psalmist" credits to Pratt's selection, is a part of C. Wesley's versification of Numbers vi, 24, 26. It is the 112th of the Methodist Collection; the only alteration being that of the pronouns from the singular to the plural number, thus:—

"Eternal Sun of righteousness,
Display thy beams divine,
And cause the glories of thy face
On *all our hearts* to shine."

Hymn 58, commencing, "Father of all, in whom alone," in which our compilers have made a few alterations, is also Charles Wesley's. The alterations are in the second verse. We place them in juxtaposition, that our readers may give full credit for the emendation:—

As written by Wesley.	*The Baptist Improvement.*
2 While in thy word we search for thee, (We search with trembling awe!) Open our eyes, and let us see The wonders of thy law.	2 While in thy word we search for thee O, fill our souls with awe; Thy light impart, that we may see The wonders of thy law.

Hymn 59 is also credited to "*Pratt's Collection*." It is a curious piece of poetical mosaic. The first and second verses are C. Wesley's, altered, and the third was written by Hart. It will amuse the reader to trace the process of its manufacture:—

59. C. M. PRATT'S COL.

Seeking a Blessing.

1 Almighty God, eternal Lord,
Thy gracious power make known;
Apply the virtue of thy word,
And melt the heart of stone.—See *Meth. Col.*, Hymn 22, v. 1.

2 Speak, with the voice that wakes the dead,
And bid the sleeper rise;
O, let his guilty conscience dread
The death that never dies.—*Ibid.*, Hymn 21, v. 5.

3 Let us receive the word we hear,
Each in an honest heart;
Lay up the precious treasure there,
And never with it part.—*Ibid.*, Hymn 475, v. 3.

Our Baptist brethren need have no hesitation in assigning their hymn 122 to C. Wesley. It is a part of the 293d of our Collection. Messrs. Stow and Smith take from it verses 1, 3, 5, 4, in this order, and thus it reads in "The Psalmist:"—

1 Father, in whom we live,
In whom we are and move,
All glory, power, and praise receive,
For thy creating love.

2 O thou incarnate Word,
Let all thy ransomed race
Unite in thanks, with one accord,
For thy redeeming grace.

3 Spirit of holiness,
Let all thy saints adore
Thy sacred gifts, and join to bless
Thy heart-renewing power.

4 The grace on man bestowed,
Ye heavenly choirs, proclaim,
And cry, "Salvation to our God!
Salvation to the Lamb!"

Let the reader compare it with 293 in the Methodist Collection, and award the compilers due credit for their ingenuity.

We are utterly at a loss to account for the blunder of our Baptist brethren in assigning their hymn 166 to Montgomery. It was written, and well known, before he was born. The bard of Sheffield does indeed give the hymn, in its integrity, in his Christian Psalmist, but does *not* claim it as his own. It is the 258th of the Methodist Collection, and was written by Charles Wesley. Messrs. Stow and

Smith cull from it verses 5, 2, 4, 6, and under their plastic hands it takes this form:—

166. C. M. MONTGOMERY.
Truth and Goodness of God.

1 Faithful, O Lord, thy mercies are,
A rock that cannot move;
A thousand promises declare
Thy constancy of love.—*Wesley's*, v. 5.

2 Thou waitest to be gracious still;
Thou dost with sinners bear,
That, saved, we may thy goodness feel,
And all thy grace declare.—*Ibid.*, v. 2.

3 Its streams the whole creation reach,
So plenteous is the store;
Enough for all, enough for each,
Enough for evermore.—*Ibid.*, v. 4.

4 Throughout the universe it reigns;
It stands forever sure;
And while *thy truth, O God*, remains,
Thy goodness shall endure.—*Ibid.*, v. 6.

Hymn 207, "Hark, the herald angels sing," is a part of a lyric originally written by C. Wesley, and altered a little by his brother John. It is ascribed, in the volume before us, to "*Rippon's Collection.*" The hymn is indeed found in Rippon's book, but that author assigns it to J. C. W.,—three letters possibly overlooked by the present compilers, or, if not overlooked, not understood. They mean J. and C. Wesley.

That well-known hymn, beginning, "Behold the Saviour of mankind," has a place in the collection before us, and is credited to "*Percy Chapel Collection.*" It was written by Samuel Wesley, Senr. "It was preserved in a singular manner when the author's parsonage was consumed by fire the second time, Aug. 24th, 1709. Among other little mementoes of this calamity, says the editor of Clarke's Wesley Family, four leaves of music may be noticed; the edges of which bear the marks of the fire, and may be handed down to posterity as a curiosity. Charles Wesley, Junr., has written on one of the leaves, 'The words by my grandfather, the Rev. Samuel Wesley.' Then follows the hymn referred to."—See *Creamer's Hymnology*, p. 284.

Hymn 229, "From whence these direful omens round," here credited to "*Episcopal Collection*," is from the pen of S. Wesley, Junr. It is No. 613 in the collection of the British Wesleyans. The first line, as originally written, reads,—"From whence these dire por-

tents around:"—but the compilers will perceive that it is the same hymn. Whether the alterations, for which they are indebted to the *Episcopal Collection*, are improvements, is a matter of taste about which we will not dispute.

To the same author, S. Wesley, Jun., belongs, and we thought every tyro in hymnology knew it, the hymn commencing, in this collection—

"The Sun of righteousness appears."

It is here assigned to "*Percy Chapel Collection*," where, doubtless, Messrs. Stow and Smith found it. They might have found it in many other places. Not having before us the collection from which it is professedly taken, we are unable to say whether the alterations were made on this or the other side of the Atlantic.

Two verses of the 317th in the Methodist collection—

"Jesus, my truth, my way,"

are here called a hymn, (281,) and "*Lyrica*" is assigned as the source whence they were derived. They are C. Wesley's.

Hymn 284, in the volume before us, contains two stanzas. They are credited by the compilers to the *English Baptist Collection*. The Methodist reader will recognize them as old acquaintances. The first is the fourth of our Hymn 406, written by Charles Wesley, a part of his paraphrase of Isaiah xliii, 2; and the second is the fifth of the second part of our 321; a translation from the German of Paul Gerhard, by his brother John. Whether there is displayed more ingenuity in the strange dovetailing of these stanzas, or in the verbal improvements they have endured, the reader may determine. The credit, in either case, is wholly due to the compilers of the English Baptist Collection.

BAPTIST COLLECTION.	METHODIST COLLECTION.
284. L. M. 6 L. Eng. Bap. Col.	HYMN 406.
A Support in Temptation.	4 Still nigh me, O my Saviour, stand!
1 STILL nigh me, O my Saviour, stand,	And guard in fierce temptation's hour;
And guard in fierce temptation's hour;	Hide in the hollow of thy hand;
Support by thy almighty hand;	Show forth in me thy saving power;
Show forth in me thy saving power;	Still be thy arms my sure defence;
Still be thine arm my sure defence;	Nor earth nor hell shall pluck me thence.
Nor earth nor hell shall pluck me thence.	HYMN 321, p. 2.
2 In suffering be thy love my peace;	5 In suff'ring be thy love my peace,
In weakness be thy love my power;	In weakness be thy love my power!
And, when the storms of life shall cease,	And when the storms of life shall cease,
O Saviour, in that trying hour,	Jesus, in that important hour,
In death, as life, be thou my Guide.	In death as life be thou my guide,
And save me, who for me hast died.	And save me, who for me hast died.

This translation from the German seems to have been highly admired by Messrs. Stow and Smith. They give it to their congre-

gations again in their Hymn 549, razeed from six lines eights, to the ordinary long metre. This time they credit it to Charles Wesley.

BAPTIST COLLECTION.	METHODIST COLLECTION.
549. L. M. C. WESLEY.	
Enjoyment of Christ's Love.	
1 JESUS, thy boundless love to me No thought can reach, no tongue declare; Unite my thankful heart to thee, And reign without a rival there.	1 JESUS, thy boundless love to me No thought can reach, no tongue declare; O knit my thankful heart to thee! And reign without a rival there! Thine wholly, thine alone I am; Be thou alone my constant flame.
2 Thy love, how cheering is its ray! All pain before its presence flies; Care, anguish, sorrow, melt away Where'er its healing beams arise.	2 O Love, how cheering is thy ray! All pain before thy presence flies; Care, anguish, sorrow, melt away, Where'er thy healing beams arise; O Jesus, nothing may I see, Nothing desire or seek, but thee!
3 O, let thy love my soul inflame, And to thy service sweetly bind; Transfuse it through my inmost frame, And mould me wholly to thy mind.	3 In suff'ring be thy love my peace, In weakness be thy love my power; And when the storms of life shall cease, Jesus, in that important hour, In death as life be thou my guide, And save me, who for me hast died.
4 Thy love, in sufferings, be my peace; Thy love, in weakness, make me strong; And, when the storms of life shall cease, Thy love shall be in heaven my song.	

Our compilers here certainly evince that they have no disposition to array themselves in borrowed plumes, else had they claimed for themselves the authorship of these lines. Indeed, had they not affixed C. Wesley to the hymn, we should have supposed that they had really made a translation from the German. There is a sad falling off, however, from the nervous Gerhard in our brethren's prosaic, common-place sentiment:—

> "*Transfuse* it *through* my inmost *frame*,
> And *mould* me *wholly* to *thy mind*!"

and in the last line,—O lame and impotent conclusion,—

> "Thy love shall be in heaven my song."

Will it be asking too great a favour to request that the name of C. Wesley be not affixed to this doggerel in subsequent editions of "The Psalmist?" We make the request with the more boldness, as he really had no hand in it, and the translation which has been parodied thus vilely, was really made by his elder brother. It might seem like an unwarrantable interference to suggest that it is hardly fair to make the public pay for the same thing in two places, and that therefore one or the other version might be cancelled hereafter. But we will not take so great a liberty.

Hymn 299 our Baptist brethren have credited to "*Urwick's Collection.*" We are not anxious to claim it, as found in their book, for C. Wesley, from whose pen it proceeded. We submit to the

compilers, however, whether, in honesty, Urwick's alterations entitle him to the authorship:—

AS FOUND IN THE BAPT. COL.	METHODIST COLLECTION.
1 JESUS, thou source of calm repose, All fulness dwells in thee divine; Our strength, to quell the proudest foes; Our light, in deepest gloom to shine; Thou art our fortress, strength, and tower, Our trust, and portion, evermore.	1 THOU hidden source of calm repose, Thou all-sufficient love divine, My help and refuge from my foes, Secure I am if thou art mine: And lo! from sin, and grief, and shame, I hide me, Jesus, in thy name.
2 Jesus, our Comforter thou art; Our rest in toil, our ease in pain; The balm to heal each broken heart; In storms our peace, in loss our gain; Our joy beneath the worldling's frown; In shame our glory and our crown;—	3 Jesus, my all in all thou art, My rest in toil, my ease in pain; The med'cine of my broken heart, In war, my peace; in loss my gain; My smile beneath the tyrant's frown, In shame, my glory and my crown:
3 In want, our plentiful supply; In weakness, our almighty power; In bonds, our perfect liberty; Our refuge in temptation's hour; Our comfort, 'midst all grief and thrall; Our life in death; our all in all.	4 In want, my plentiful supply, In weakness, my almighty power; In bonds my perfect liberty, My light, in Satan's darkest hour; In grief, my joy unspeakable, My life in death, my all in all.

The next hymn (300) in the Baptist Collection is also C. Wesley's. It is our No. 478, "*Jesus, the conqueror, reigns.*" The alterations are few and unimportant; yet it is credited to "*Campbell's Collection.*"

We are not surprised at the mistake of our compilers in assigning the hymn beginning,—

"Blow ye the trumpet, blow,"

to Toplady. It is so credited in most of the books, probably because it found its way into a collection published by that gentleman. It was written, however, by C. Wesley; and is found in a small volume entitled "Hymns for New-Year's Day," published in 1755. See *Creamer's Hymnology*, p. 185.

By the way, although it is a little foreign to our present purpose, we have in the volume before us a striking illustration of the ease with which hymn-compilers may be misled. Their 414th hymn is credited to "*Bickersteth's Collection*," where doubtless they found it. Their 489th is credited to Collyer. Unfortunately, they are the same, with variations. Had not the first line been altered by Mr. Bickersteth, our Baptist brethren would have perceived that they were again giving their people the same hymn in two places. The reader may compare a couple of verses:—

L. M. BICKERSTETH'S COL.	489	L. M. COLLYER.
The Wanderer invited.		*Returning to God.*
1 WANDERER from God, return, return, And seek an injured Father's face; Those warm desires that in thee burn, Were kindled by reclaiming grace.		1 Return, my wandering soul, return, And seek an injured Father's face; Those warm desires that in thee burn Were kindled by redeeming grace.

3 Wanderer from God, return, return;
Renounce thy fears; thy Saviour lives;
Go to his bleeding cross, and learn
How freely, fully, he forgives.

3 Return, my wandering soul, return;
Thy dying Saviour bids thee live;
Go, view his bleeding side, and learn
How freely Jesus can forgive.

But to return. Charles Wesley's beautiful poem, beginning,

"Depth of mercy!—can there be,"

a part of which forms our 91st Hymn, is credited by our Baptist brethren to "*Lutheran Collection.*" We hope that error may be corrected. Its authorship is correctly given in the Congregational Collection, (New-Haven, 1848.)

Three verses of that well-known hymn of Charles Wesley's—

"Father, I stretch my hands to thee,"

the authorship of which was never before doubted, so far as we know, are here assigned to "*Percy Chapel Collection.*" The compilers may find the entire hymn in the Methodist Collection, No. 131, and in that of the English Wesleyans, No. 666.

Hymn 675—

"Shepherd divine, our wants relieve,"

is another of C. Wesley's hymns. It is credited by our Baptist brethren to the Methodist Collection, and the line

"Till thou thy perfect love impart,"

is thus altered:—

"Till thou the Father's love impart."

Hymn 677, commencing—

"Thou fount of blessing, God of love,"

and said to be taken from "*Episcopal Collection,*" is also Charles Wesley's. It is 118 in the Methodist Collection, and begins, as written by the author—

"Being of beings, God of love."

The alterations are few and unimportant.

Hymn 730, entitled, Encouragement to Faithfulness, contains four short-metre verses, and is credited to Montgomery. But the reader shall see it.

730 S. M. MONTGOMERY.

Encouragement to Faithfulness.

1 Our Captain leads us on;
He beckons from the skies;
He reaches out a starry crown,
And bids us take the prize.

2 "Be faithful unto death,
Partake my victory,
And thou shalt wear this glorious wreath,
And thou shalt reign with me."

3 'Tis thus the righteous Lord
To every soldier saith;
Eternal life is the reward
Of all victorious faith.

4 Who conquer in his might
The victor's meed receive;
They claim a kingdom in his right,
Which God will freely give.

If the reader will now turn to the fourth stanza of the second part of Hymn 401 in the Methodist Collection, he will find the first and second verses verbatim. It is C. Wesley's hymn, written originally with the title, "For the Watch-Night." It is found in Montgomery's Selection, but not marked as his, and the affixing his name to it in the collection before us must have arisen from sheer carelessness. Nor know we how else to account for the word "*Anon.*," written over the beautiful hymn beginning—

"Spirit of power and might, behold."

This *was* written by Montgomery, and so claimed and published under his own supervision, in the Christian Psalmist.

Finally, Charles Wesley's hymn, (551 in the Methodist Collection,)—

"And am I born to die?"

is abbreviated into six short-metre verses, four from the first part, and two from the second, and the whole credited to "*Lutheran Collection,*" in the volume before us.

The edition to which our references apply, is the duodecimo of 1844; and we take our leave of it in the confident expectation that. in future issues, Messrs. Stow and Smith will fulfil their promise, and that "the errors" thus pointed out will be, in their own language, "promptly corrected."

Art. VIII.—THE PLANET LE VERRIER.

Comptes-Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Sciences.—Paris, 1846, 1847, 1848.

No discovery in science ever caused so great a sensation, among those capable of estimating its importance, as that of the Planet to which the name of Neptune has been given by some, but which will hereafter be distinguished by that of Le Verrier. The circumstances of this discovery may be briefly stated as follows:—In comparing the observed motions of the planet Herschel with the places indicated by theory, and after allowing for all the disturbances produced by the influence of the known bodies of the solar system, certain anomalies and discrepancies were detected. It required little skill to infer that these differences between the calculated ephemerides and the results of direct observation, must be caused by the action of some body or bodies as yet unknown to astronomers. In this opinion, therefore, almost all who considered the subject in a proper light concurred, and hopes were entertained that, by means of the recent improvements in the construction of the two kinds of telescope, and the systematic mapping of the heavens now going on in various observatories, some wandering body might be detected, which, after observations of sufficient duration, would be found to account for the anomalies in the motions of Herschel. No one, however, as far as we know, ventured, prior to 1845, to state that, from the consideration of these irregularities themselves, the place, the distance, and the mass of the disturbing body, might be inferred approximately. It was even farther from the hopes of the most sanguine cultivators of physical astronomy that such investigations might be pursued so successfully, that a telescope might, by their aid, be directed to the heavens, with a certainty, almost absolute, of finding the body in question within its field of view. The scientific world was therefore startled with the intelligence that a German observer, acting under the published directions of a French analyst, did, at the first trial, find the planet whose influence on Herschel had been indicated by the irregularities of which we have spoken. The surprise was even enhanced by the fact, that the same discovery had nearly been made by means of indications furnished by a mathematician of English birth. A discussion hence arose between France and England for the merit of priority; but, however hard it may be to the Englishman who was so near the prize, the honours must be awarded to the Frenchman. This is more justly his due, because he had from time to time, at the weekly sittings of the Academy of Sciences, made

public the progress of his investigations, and it was not until the fourth of his communications that he reported such progress as would serve for the guide of the practical astronomer. The earlier of these papers might have served as a guide to others; and one who had published nothing on the subject, whatever may have been his real merit, could not with propriety assert a superior claim to one who had made known every step of his investigation.

The Frenchman to whom we refer was Le Verrier. On the 31st of August, 1846, he made his fourth communication to the Academy. Referring to his preceding paper, read 1st of June, wherein he had pointed out the probable longitude of the planet, he states that delays and difficulties had attended the determination of its mass, and its periodic time. These, he states, he hopes to overcome, and will endeavour to do so as speedily as possible. With this salvo for any errors which might remain in his investigations in relation to these points, he proceeds to expose in a succinct manner the methods he was employing, and then gives his results. These two elements, from his very mode of stating them, were still doubtful, and with them must have been also in doubt the distance from the sun, the eccentricity of the orbit, and the line of the apsides. His object in publication, while his theory was yet incomplete, was obviously the risk of postponing the search for the planet for a whole year. "The opposition of the planet is now taking place," says he, "yet, happily, the researches of astronomers furnished with powerful telescopes will be possible for three months to come." After stating the mean distance, the periodic time, the longitude of the perihelion, the eccentricity of the orbit, and the mass, all obviously with the salvo we have mentioned, he goes on to give a more accurate determination of the position of the planet than he had previously been able to reach, and states that this determination, founded on more accurate and precise data, placed the body about four degrees to the east of the star δ Scorpionis. From his estimate of this mass he next inquires into the possibility of seeing the body in question, and distinguishing it by a visible diameter from a fixed star, and infers that at the time of its opposition it ought to subtend an angle of $3''.3$.

That he should have had such confidence in his methods as to venture on so positive a statement, must still strike us with astonishment. We must consider that he commenced his researches with no other known fact than that there were disturbances in the motion of Herschel that had not been explained. He was therefore compelled at first to extend his researches to every part of the zodiac, and it was not until after June 1st, 1846, that he had been able to eliminate such positions of Herschel as were of no importance to his

inquiry, and select such as must lead to a tolerable degree of accuracy. Even with these, it became necessary to employ the calculus of probabilities, for some of the observations were ancient, and made with imperfect instruments, while others were the product of the highest art and the most accomplished observers.

Let us now see the result of this publication of the paper read 31st August, 1846. It reached Berlin, in a letter from Le Verrier to Galle, 23d September. The same night that observer, directing his telescope to the place indicated, found a star, which did not appear in the maps, ascertained that it had a visible diameter, and that this diameter was 3″. On reducing the observed place, by means of Le Verrier's approximate periodic time, to the epoch of 1st June, 1847, the difference between the observed and calculated position was less than a degree, or, more accurately, 52′. Considering thus that Le Verrier had, in beginning, the whole circumference of the ecliptic to work upon, the error amounted to no more than $\frac{1}{100}$.

The new planet, thus happily discovered, became the immediate object of attention in all observatories. Its motions were carefully watched, its diameter repeatedly measured. From the first of these, probable positions at former periods were inferred, and recorded observations of stars that appeared to have vanished from the heavens were sought for, in the hopes of their being found to exhibit ancient positions of the planet. In these researches the astronomers of Cambridge, Mass., and of Washington, bore no small part, and were so well seconded by the skill in calculation of their associates, that the names of Maury and Walker, Bond and Peirce, will be necessarily associated with that of Le Verrier in this brilliant page of the history of astronomic science. In particular, Mr. Walker, by long and laborious researches, conceived that he had identified a star seen by La Lande, May 10th, 1795, with the new planet. A similar inference was made about six weeks afterwards by Mr. Petersen, of Altona, with this difference, that Mr. Walker states his inference as certain,—Mr. Petersen as a subject for further inquiry. We conceive that there was, and perhaps is still, a reason for a doubt. The star in question does not, as we shall see, correspond to the theory given by Le Verrier, and we conceive that the observations of the new planet were not yet of such a character as to authorize a conclusion in opposition to that theory. It had not, at the time of Mr. Walker's inference, been observed for more than a third of a year. During a part of the time it had been retrograde, and its whole direct motion could not have amounted to more than about two-thirds of a degree. We therefore venture to say that sufficient data had not yet been attained to infer the probable position, at a prior epoch,

distant more than fifty years. From this assumed position, and the observations of fourteen weeks, Mr. Walker then proceeded to calculate the elements of the orbit, &c. In these calculations he has exhibited his profound skill; and, admitting that he was right in conceiving the star of La Lande to have been the planet of Le Verrier, they are to be received as entitled to all the confidence to which the value of the data he had at his command will entitle them. These, however, we consider to have been totally insufficient to serve as the basis of any accurate theory of the planet's motions. Three observed geometric places of any newly observed body are indeed sufficient data on which to found the calculation of the elements of its orbit. But the results of such a calculation, however perfect, do not necessarily give these elements with absolute accuracy. They are, at best, approximations of greater or less closeness, and the approach to certainty will depend upon the relations between the two angles contained between the three observed places. Now it requires no knowledge of the method itself to be able to infer, that when one of these angles is at least one hundred times as great as the other, the chance of approximation to absolute truth, in the determination of the circumstances of an elliptical orbit, must be amongst the most remote that can well occur in such an investigation. It is only by successive approximations that the elements of the orbit of a new planet can be reached; and Mr. Walker knows this fact too well to have presented his results for more than the first of these approximations, made at the earliest period at which such an attempt was possible.

The great mass of readers, and, it would appear, many scientific men, seem not to have been aware of this fact. They have received the orbit of Mr. Walker, as if it were definitely fixed as the true path of the planet; and remarking great differences between it and the predicted orbit of Le Verrier, have been almost led to conclude that the discovery of a planet so near the place indicated by Le Verrier, was rather the result of a singularly happy chance, than the legitimate consequence of his analytic investigations. Going a step farther, a scientific rival ventured to assert, at a meeting of the Academy of Sciences, that "the identity of Neptune with the theoretic planet is no longer admitted by any one."

We consider it due to Le Verrier that this impression, which we fear is very prevalent, should be removed, and his merit exhibited in a full and just light.

Before entering into the discussion, we think it proper to state, for the information of those who have not entered deeply into the history of astronomy, that all the facts which we now possess have been reached by slow and laborious steps. In fact, theory and the

methods of observation have kept up a march almost exactly corresponding to each other; and it may even be suspected that, if our present instruments had been invented at an earlier epoch in the history of the theory, they might have retarded, rather than accelerated, the progress of astronomical knowledge.

Thus, in early ages, it was found sufficient for all purposes to consider the planets as moving in circular orbits. The introduction of instrumental observation by Hipparchus showed the errors of such an hypothesis, and led to the introduction of the epicycle, in which it was supposed that the planet moved on the circumference of one circle whose centre was carried around upon another. When Tycho planned instruments by which observations could be made to minutes of a degree, the hypothesis of the epicycle was shown to be erroneous; and Kepler, by the collation of Tycho's observations, discovered the elliptical form of the orbits, and the law of areas by which they were described. But, had this discovery been announced at the present day for the first time, the disturbances in the elliptic motion would have appeared so enormous to our instruments, that we much doubt whether Kepler's theory would not have been rejected, if the resources of the celestial mechanics had not been at hand to explain them. In the history of that last-named and sublime science, all can learn how observation and analysis have mutually aided each other, and in what manner our existing knowledge has been gradually reached, through steps each of themselves erroneous, but each approaching more and more nearly to truth. Even in the body nearest to us, the moon, absolute certainty has not yet been attained, and the further correction of the lunar tables is still desirable. We may, even in advance of our discussion, state here, that the errors in the prediction of an eclipse, or of the distance of the moon from a star, were, not half a century back, greater than the differences between the elements of the orbit of Neptune, as derived from observation, and those inferred from the analysis of Le Verrier. The difference in the two cases, however, is great; for all the errors of the lunar tables were included and compensated within the space of a single lunation, while the differences in the case of the planet go on during the whole of its long revolution.

Le Verrier inferred the position of Neptune by a method the converse of those employed in relation to bodies which had been the subject of observation. The data for his calculations were irregularities very small in themselves, and it is allowing their determination a greater degree of accuracy than it is entitled to, to admit their possible error to be no more than one-tenth of their assumed amount. If, then, the difference between the results of actual observation, and

those obtained by Le Verrier from the perturbations of Herschel, do not amount to one-tenth of the several elements, he has reached as great a degree of accuracy as the data at his command would admit of. Now an error of such an amount, nay, even far greater, is nothing new in the history of astronomy, and of this we will cite a very familiar instance.

The distance between the sun and earth, and thence the dimensions of the solar system, were inferred, up to the middle of the last century, from observations of the parallax of the planet Mars. By this method it was concluded that this distance was about eighty millions of miles. It is unnecessary to enter into a description of the methods employed in determining this parallax. We need only state that the possible errors of observation bore so large a proportion to the whole parallax, as to render the inferred distance doubtful, to those who really understood the subject. A better method was suggested in the determination of the parallax of Venus, from observations of its transit over the sun's disk. Such transits are rare phenomena. One of them, however, occurred in 1761, and another in 1769. Both were observed. In the observations of the first date, some of the observers committed the error of recording the minute wrong, while the seconds and fractions were right. By this error of record the distance of the sun and earth, when calculated, was still eighty millions of miles. The greater part of the observers, who had correctly written the minute within which their observation occurred, were induced, by the correspondence of the new and old results, to fancy and admit that the error had been committed by them. It was not, therefore, until the observations of 1769 had been calculated, that it was admitted that the distance between the sun and earth amounted to ninety-six millions of miles. Here, then, we have an error in the first approximation amounting to one-fifth of the whole.

The data, whence alone Le Verrier could possibly have deduced his theory of the new planet, are, in the first place, the observed positions of Herschel; and, in the second, the positions predicted from the best tables. Even with the best modern instruments, the uncertainty in the observed positions may amount to 2″. The tables are calculated from the general laws of planetary motion in an ellipse whose dimensions are given, and the places thus obtained are corrected for the disturbances produced by the action of other bodies. Of the bodies which act upon Herschel, Saturn has the greatest influence, and his action depends upon the relation of his mass to that of Herschel, and their ever-varying distance. The latter is well known; but in respect to the mass of Herschel,

the two methods which have been employed for determining it give results which differ from each other in the proportion of $\frac{7}{100}$. Herschel has been carefully observed for more than sixty years, and while this uncertainty remains as to his mass, we must not be surprised that the attempts which have been made to determine the mass of Le Verrier's planet should make it no more than $\frac{65}{100}$, or even $\frac{52}{100}$ of that predicted by him. Herschel may also be acted upon by a planet still unknown, and superior to Neptune, and the two united may leave an uncertainty in the predicted place of the former, which may amount to 10″ or 12″. That no question may remain in relation to Le Verrier's claims, he had himself pointed out the possible errors of his data, in papers read before the actual discovery of the planet, and had explained the method by which he proposed to limit the uncertainty thereby caused in his theory. He had, also, before the publication of the calculated orbit of Walker, inserted a complete memoir, in which these limits were pointed out, in the *Connaissance des Temps*. It is sufficient for our conviction that Neptune, as discovered by Galle, is the planet whose existence was inferred by Le Verrier, that we should find all the calculated elements of Walker within the limits assigned in these papers. Every one of them is in truth thus included, and no doubt can possibly remain of the soundness of his claims, and still more of the extraordinary sagacity he had exhibited in selecting that position within his possible limits, in which the planet was so exactly found. It is not to be forgotten, that after pointing out this more probable position as 5° from the star we have named above, he had stated that it might possibly be necessary to extend the exploration to a distance of 5° on each side, and that the research should not be considered as having totally failed until it had been made to cover 18°.

The elements of the first orbit computed by Walker, if written side by side with those predicted by Le Verrier, are as follows:—

	Le Verrier.	Walker.
Mean distance	36·154	30·250
Periodic time	217 yrs. 387	166 yrs. 381
Eccentricity	0·10761	0·00884
Longitude of perihelion	284°·45	0°·207
		Struve.
Mass	$\frac{1}{9300}$	$\frac{1}{19504}$.

Walker, however, some months later, re-calculated the orbit from a longer series of observations. Although the results differ in some respects from those we have cited, they are, upon the whole, even farther removed from the predictions of Le Verrier. We might

have compared the theoretic orbit with either of them without changing our conclusions.

The table we have given would seem to present enormous differences. But when we compare them within the limits to which his data restricted Le Verrier, the discrepancy becomes as small as could be possibly hoped.

1. The mean distance is by Walker, in terms of the mean distance of the earth, 30·25; while by Le Verrier it was predicted to be 36·15. The difference is one-fifth of the former. But the actual distance of the planet from the sun at the epoch of the discovery was, by the first, 30·026; while by the second, it was no more than 32·8,—the difference falling to one-fifteenth, or far within the possible limits of uncertainty.

2. The mass was predicted by Le Verrier to be probably $\frac{1}{9300}$. By Struve's calculation it is no more than $\frac{1}{14494}$. But, besides the possibility of error in the data for an investigation of so much delicacy, it is to be seen that the difference bears an obvious relation to the difference in the distances. If Le Verrier's distance turn out to be correct, the mass will become larger than that given by Struve.

3. The position is the element in relation to which the investigation promises the greatest degree of accuracy; for when the direction of an attractive body is known, its action may remain the same if its distance is increased, provided the mass be augmented correspondingly. The discovery of the planet in conformity with Le Verrier's directions shows how closely he had approached the truth; and here the comparison is not with a calculated orbit, but with the actual position in the heavens. If, however, we have recourse to Walker's orbit, we find that in 1812 the difference of the planet in longitude in Le Verrier's own orbit from that calculated by Walker is only 3°·7; while in 1842 it is less than one-fifth of a degree. It so happens, that the action of this planet upon Herschel only began to be sensible in 1812, and ceased to be sensible in 1842. In 1812, when the disturbances were only beginning, the error, although far from large, is the greatest, and diminishes as the action becomes more sensible; while in 1842, when Le Verrier was enabled to bring all the disturbances during thirty years to bear upon the question, the assigned position is so near that calculated by Walker, that the approximation appears marvellous. We may now, therefore, infer,—1. That the planet discovered by Galle is the very body whose action on Herschel was investigated by Le Verrier, and whose existence was inferred from the disturbances it produced. 2. The direction which Le Verrier assigned to the planet, is nearer the truth than could possibly have been hoped for. 3. That the error in the

distance from the sun in Le Verrier's orbit does not differ enormously from that calculated by Le Verrier, and was at the time of the discovery far from being great. 4. That if Struve's calculation of the mass be admitted to be correct, the difference between his result and the prediction of Le Verrier is little greater than the doubt which still exists in relation to the mass of Herschel.

We have already expressed our doubts whether the orbit of Walker is yet founded on sufficient data. We now say, further, that this hesitation to receive his results is not founded upon any denial of the accuracy of his observations, and far less upon any want of skill on his part in making the calculations. The observations at Washington are not only satisfactory in themselves, but are thoroughly confirmed at many other observatories; while his skill and accuracy as a calculator are perhaps unrivalled. We think, however, that if his calculations were translated into ordinary language, it would present an argument that would be not only metaphorically, but literally, *reasoning in a circle*. Searching the probable path of the observed planet, a star is found wanting, which, upon the hypothesis of uniform motion, of course in a circle, is considered to represent a former place of the body. From that place, and those whence the rate of the motion is derived, an orbit is calculated which differs but little from a circle. Can it be doubted for a moment, that the original proposition has been again reached in the course of the argument? From this orbit, the periodic time, the mean distance, and the elliptical elements are no more than inferences. That an arc as great as that between the star of La Lande, and the observed places of the planet, will not give the true orbit of a planet, may be shown by an instance which happens to lie before us. If the planet Mars had been seen for the first time on the 23d of July, and again on the 16th of December, 1807, he would have been found to have described in the interval one-fourth part of his path among the stars. In the absence of other data, it might have been inferred that his periodic time was 580 days, with a corresponding mean distance. Mars, however, would not have described half his apparent path until the 21st of May, 1808, increasing the resulting periodic time to 604 days. Again, Mars did not return to the place in which we have supposed him to have been first observed, until the 8th of June, 1809; and now the periodic time can be determined to be actually within a few hours of 687 days. The relative difference between the first and last of these numbers is only less than that between the periodic times given by Le Verrier and Walker, in the ratio of $\frac{5}{6}\frac{8}{8}\frac{0}{7} : \frac{1}{2}\frac{6}{0}\frac{6}{7}$.

In conclusion, we remain of opinion, that, as far as any direct

proof has yet been given, the orbit of Le Verrier may be as near the truth as the orbit of Walker. Nothing can decide between them but observations continued for five or six years to come. If these should confirm the orbit of Walker, Le Verrier will lose nothing except the reputation of having made a good choice of the observations to be combined in the calculation of the most probable elements, for the orbit of Walker falls within his previously announced limits. But he must forever retain the glory of having inferred the most probable direction of the disturbing body, and of having, if only in this one point, solved a problem believed to be impracticable.

Art. IX.—CHEEVER'S LECTURES ON "THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS."

Lectures on the Pilgrim's Progress, and on the Life and Times of John Bunyan. By Rev. George B. Cheever, D. D. Seventh Edition. New-York: Edward Walker, 114 Fulton-street. 1847.

Just after reading Southey's Life of Bunyan, we sat down to the perusal of the work which forms the subject of this article. The transition was peculiarly gratifying. It was as if the fog of a dull morning had suddenly cleared away, revealing a beautiful landscape. Southey's work is an ignorant misrepresentation of Bunyan's character, and a burlesque on true religion. It is sadly deficient in moral principle, and is, in fact, an apology for intolerance and persecution. Dr. Cheever, on the contrary, has done Bunyan's religious experience and feelings ample justice, especially in his frequent comparisons of Bunyan's autobiography, in his "Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners," with his "Pilgrim's Progress."

"As you read the Grace Abounding you are ready to say, at every step, Here is the future author of the Pilgrim's Progress. It is as if you stood beside some great sculptor, and watched every movement with his chisel, having had his design described to you beforehand, so that at every blow some new trait of beauty in the future statue comes clearly into view. In the Grace Abounding you see at every step the work of the Divine Artist on one of the most precious living stones that ever his wisdom and mercy selected in this world to shine in the glory of his living temple. Nay, to lay aside every figure but that employed by the Holy Spirit, you see the refiner's fire, and the crucible, and the gold in it, and the heavenly Refiner himself sitting by it, and bending over it, and carefully removing the dross, and tempering the heat, and watching and waiting for his own perfect image. How beautiful, how sacred, how solemn, how interesting, how thrilling the process!" Pp. 13, 14.

Of the same book he writes:—

"You follow with intense interest the movements of Bunyan's soul. You seem to see a lonely bark driving across the ocean in a hurricane. By the flashes of the lightning you can just discern her through the darkness, plunging and labouring fearfully in the midnight tempest, and you think that all is lost: but there again you behold her in the quiet sunshine; or the moon and the stars look down upon her, as the wind breathes softly; or in a fresh and favourable gale she flies across the flying waters. Now it is clouds, and rain, and hail, and rattling thunder; storms coming down as sudden, almost, as the lightning; and now again her white sails glitter in heaven's light, like an albatross in the spotless horizon. The last glimpse you catch of her she is gloriously entering the harbour, the haven of eternal rest; yea, you see her like a star, that in the morning of eternity dies into the light of heaven." Pp. 29, 30.

The beautiful images of the last part of this quotation may be applied to Cheever's own book. But Bunyan is followed with intense interest, because he is the representative of a true Christian, journeying to Mount Zion. It is on this account that the Pilgrim's Progress possesses such a charm for the reader. Bunyan exhibits the details of his own religious experience; and, as the experience of all Christians is mainly similar, the book attracts Christian hearts by the bond of sympathy, as well as by its poetic beauty and power. What Christian has not been in the Slough of Despond, or felt not the fiery darts of the wicked one at the entrance of the way? Who has not toiled in the ascent of the hill Difficulty, or slipped in going down to the Valley of Humiliation, or been immured in Doubting Castle, because of walking in by-paths? How beautifully does the scene at the Cross represent the joys of conversion? And the Delectable Mountains and the land Beulah,—are they not vivid pictures of the pleasures of piety? Now, in all this allegory there is nothing like sectarianism. No flood of water is interposed as a barrier, either at the Wicket Gate or the palace Beautiful. Though Bunyan was a Baptist, he had too much good sense, and too much real religion, to exclude his brethren of other denominations from the path of salvation, or from the visible Church of Christ. Cheever remarks, on this point:—

"You cannot say, from a perusal of that work,"—the Pilgrim's Progress,—"whether its author was a Presbyterian, or a Baptist, or a Congregationalist, or a Methodist, or an Episcopalian, or a Calvinist, or a Lutheran, only that he did not mean, in drawing his own portrait of a true Christian, that he should belong to any of these parties exclusively; or, if there were any one of these that approached nearest to the Bible, in its comprehensive, Christ-like, gentle, and forbearing spirit, it should be that. The portraiture was a compound of what was excellent in them all; for what was truly excellent they all drew from the Bible, and the Pilgrim's Progress was drawn from the Bible, and from no sect, from nothing at second-hand. There is no *ite*, nor *ian*, nor *ist*, that you dare put to Christian's name; no lisping, halting Shibboleth of a party; for he came from the mint of the Holy Scriptures, where no party names

disgrace the glory of Christianity; where men are neither of Paul, nor Apollos, nor Cephas, but of Christ; and so, blessed be God, under his guidance Bunyan made Christian no church-man, but Christ's-man." Pp. 197–8.

If the catholicity of Bunyan's work be a proof of its superior excellence, what a lesson it conveys to his commentators! When we read the foregoing passage from the "Lectures," we fondly hoped the whole work would be found in harmony with the spirit of the "Pilgrim's Progress;" but some of its subsequent passages greeted us as unexpectedly as snow in harvest. We were surprised to find them in a book otherwise so attractive; and grieved at their evident misrepresentation of the belief of a large number of professing Christians. We refer to those passages which speak of the doctrine of Christian perfection. The known reputation and ability of the author preclude the supposition that they were written through ignorance of the real doctrine itself; and the only alternative to our minds is, that they betray a lack of Christian charity,—a want of that catholicity of feeling which, in this age of progress and evangelical alliances, becomes every true minister of Christ.

Respecting the character of the Flatterer, in the Allegory, our author remarks:—

"There is also in our day a flattering delusion, by which this black man in white may be represented, which is the doctrine of perfection attained by saints in this world, which doctrine, by its fostering of pride and self-righteousness, has set many a man with his face from instead of towards the Celestial City. A man eager after spiritual attainments does certainly seem to be in the high road to heaven; but if he makes those attainments, instead of Christ, his Saviour, then certainly his face is turned, and his feet are tending the other way. So we need to be upon our watch against anything, and everything, though it should come to us in the shape of an angel of light, which would turn us from a sole reliance upon Christ, or tempt us to a high opinion of ourselves. A broken heart and a contrite spirit are, in the sight of God, of great price; but if any man thinks himself to have attained perfection, he is not very likely to be in the exercise of a broken heart, or of a contrite spirit, nor, indeed, in the exercise of true faith in Christ for justification." Pp. 433–4.

Again, in treating of the Enchanted Ground, he says:—

"Can anything be more plainly indicated by this than that pretence to sinless perfection, by which so many have been flattered and allured, and which, in so many cases, has led directly, in the end, to the deepest pollution? What seems the cleanest path leads to the pit; it leads pilgrims thither by pride, self-righteousness, and the pretence of a holiness superior to God's law, and releasing them from its obligations. It is not the way of Christ's righteousness, nor of reliance upon him; and so, though it may seem, at first, to be a morality and sanctification of the highest tone, it ends in licentiousness. The men that devised this path, and that lead unwary souls in it, are described by Peter:—'For when they speak great swelling words of vanity, they allure through the lusts of the flesh, through much wantonness, those that were clean escaped from them, who live in error. While they promise them liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption; for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought into bondage.'" Pp. 499, 500.

Now there happens to be "in our day" a large denomination of Christian believers, (and there are many in other denominations,) who hold fast to the doctrine of Christian perfection,—who teach, in other words, that believers may and ought to live without sin. They believe that the beloved disciple meant what he said, was inspired by the Holy Ghost, and was consistent with the whole tenor of Scripture teaching, when he wrote, "Little children, let no man deceive you; he that doeth righteousness is righteous even as he is righteous. He that committeth sin is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning. For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil. Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God. In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil; whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother." 1 John iii, 7–10. It is even thought that Bunyan knew something of this state of grace,—or, if our author pleases, of "sinless perfection;" a term, however, which is not used by those who believe this doctrine, for fear of being misunderstood, or suspected of teaching a perfection which is independent of Christ or the atonement, or from which they cannot fall. In the land Beulah, which the pilgrims reached *before* they crossed the river, we are told "all the inhabitants of the country called them 'the *holy people*, the redeemed of the Lord, sought out,'" &c.

But the remarks of Dr. Cheever are based upon a most evident perversion of the doctrine. We believe in "the doctrine of perfection attained by saints in this world;" but it is the perfection of "*saints*," and of saintly principles, emphatically so. Not a state which makes "attainments, instead of Christ," a man's "Saviour;" which fills him with "pride and self-righteousness;" but a state of child-like, humble love, and of perfect dependence upon Christ. The evils alluded to in the passages above quoted are more frequently found to spring from the doctrine of the final perseverance of the saints, than from that which teaches "holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord."

But our author, we think, condemns himself. In the chapter on the land Beulah and the river of Death, he uses and quotes language descriptive of bliss, which seems inconsistent with any other than a state of Christian perfection:—

"Nothing in the English language can be compared with this whole closing part of the Pilgrim's Progress, for its entrancing splendour, yet serene and simple loveliness. The colouring is that of heaven in the soul, and Bunyan has poured his own heaven-entranced soul into it. With all its depth and power, there is nothing exaggerated, and it is made up of the simplest and

most Scriptural materials and images. We seem to stand in a flood of light, poured on us from the open gates of paradise. It falls on every leaf and shrub by the way-side; it is reflected from the crystal streams that between grassy banks wind amidst groves of fruit-trees into vineyards and flower-gardens. These fields of Beulah are just below the gate of heaven; and with the light of heaven there come floating down the melodies of heaven, so that here there is almost an open revelation of the things which God hath prepared for them that love him."

During the last days of that eminent man of God, Dr. Payson, he once said, "When I formerly read Bunyan's description of the land Beulah, where the sun shines and the birds sing day and night, I used to doubt whether there was such a place; but now my own experience has convinced me of it, and it infinitely transcends all my previous conceptions." The best possible commentary on the glowing descriptions in Bunyan is to be found in that very remarkable letter, dictated by Dr. Payson to his sister a few weeks before his death:—

"Were I to adopt the figurative language of Bunyan, I might date this letter from the land Beulah, of which I have been for some weeks a happy inhabitant. The Celestial City is full in my view. Its glories have been upon me, its breezes fan me, its odours are wafted to me, its sounds strike upon my ears, and its spirit is breathed into my heart. Nothing separates me from it but the river of Death, which now appears but as an insignificant rill, that may be crossed at a single step, whenever God shall give permission. The Sun of Righteousness has been gradually drawing nearer and nearer, appearing larger and brighter as he approached, and now he fills the whole hemisphere, pouring forth a flood of glory, in which I seem to float like an insect in the beams of the sun, exulting, yet almost trembling, while I gaze on this excessive brightness, and wondering, with unutterable wonder, why God should deign thus to shine upon a sinful worm."

What beauty is contained in the above extract! It is the "beauty of holiness!" Yet "there is nothing exaggerated." It is a true description of the humble rapture of a perfect Christian, waiting in the improvement of all his talents and graces, until his change shall come. "Mark the *perfect* man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace!" Dr. Payson was not the only person who "used to doubt whether there was such a place" as the land Beulah, but who could afterwards say, "Now my own experience has convinced me of it." Such may yet be the case with Dr. Cheever.*

Apart from these exceptionable passages, Dr. Cheever's Lectures may be commended to our readers, without qualification. No commentator, or critic, to our knowledge, has more fully appreciated Bunyan, or written of him more in his own spirit.

* Does not the following passage, from Dr. Cheever's "Hill Difficulty," indicate some advance of religious experience, or at least some change in his views of the possibility of holiness upon earth? "The time of trial *must* be encountered. We

Art. X.—THE PHILOSOPHICAL STUDY OF LANGUAGE.

Second Paper.

In political matters, it has been often said, the multitude are always in extremes. The imputation is no less applicable, in other subjects, to the learned, who are of the multitude in things they do not comprehend. It is an infirmity of our poor human nature, so aptly likened, by Luther, to a drunken man on horseback, who is lifted upright on the one side only to topple headlong on the other. We had, in our former article, a signal case of this principle, in the aversion of the English to the verbal philosophy of Aristotle. We have now to note another, directly the opposite—thus exhibiting (the party and subject still the same) the intellectual infirmity alluded to, in its utmost breadth of vagary. From denouncing as worse than futile all employment of words as a means to philosophy, these authorities of our literature seem to have passed without recantation, either by avowal or amendment, to the adoption of a system which seeks not merely the means, but the very matter, of philosophy, in absolutely nothing else than vocabularies and alphabets. The former has long since been disposed of by time; which would soon put a similar end to the latter, if it were not inconvenient to await its award. It is only to remove presumptions from *authority* in its support that we here allude to the inconsistencies, either of individuals or of nations. The question, then, to be considered, is twofold. 1st. Whether the mode of verbal investigation, now termed Comparative Philology,—but which we shall distinguish as the *etymological method*,—be an adequate means of arriving at the scientific principles of language? And, 2d. Whether it does not proceed upon an utter misconception of the proper object, as well as the method, of philology?

Etymology, as an instrument of philological inquiry, is sometimes distinguished into Grammatical and Comparative; with the view, apparently, of separating the latter from the equivocal reputation of

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will not say whether it lasts the life long, or precisely at what point the *habits* become *wings;* whether the cars at the top of the Hill are those which receive the soul at death, and cause it to glide through the air to the abodes of the blessed, or whether the movement begins this side of the grave, by the top of the Hill being reached before death, and the airy flight of the soul beginning even in the body, through the great celestial power of peace with God, and a love and joy unspeakable and full of glory. We think Paul stepped into those winged cars before he put off his mortal tabernacle. And every Christian *may* do so, for God has made it possible."

its precursor. But evidently the distinction is merely one of mode or degree; the Comparative method includes the other, of which in fact it is but a more extended development and application. Each professes to trace the derivation of words, by means of the analysis and comparison of their physical elements: the former confining itself mainly to a single language, the latter considering together several collateral dialects of the same language, or kindred languages of the same family, or even several families themselves. Still, in the logical aspect, the procedures are essentially one.

Now, with regard to the Grammatical form,—to which the name Etymology is specifically appropriated,—so far is it at present from being accounted a scientific method, that it is hardly allowed to be a serious occupation at all. As commonly cultivated, it has not been ill characterized by the French wit, as a "science wherein the vowels go for nothing, and the consonants for much the same." It had, in fact, until a very recent period, almost fallen into the puerile category of riddles and conundrums; a result, doubtless, due, not more to the defects, or rather the incapabilities, of the instrument, than to the necessary incompetency of those who then employed it. In justice to the Comparative method, it must be noted that it has rescued the subject from the discredit thus entailed upon it. And here, by the by, we may imagine how much the relief of such a contrast must have contributed to exaggerate the real importance of the new organ.

But, having thus recognized the incidental benefits of this method, we must also observe, in order to a more discriminative conception of its proper province and powers, that not only the efficiency vaguely ascribed to it in the late enormous and sudden progress of philology in Europe, but even its present existence, perhaps, in a systematic condition, is owing, in great part, to a circumstance purely adventitious.

The event alluded to is the promulgation to Europe, about a century ago, of the Sanscrit language; which awoke throughout the literary world an enthusiasm perhaps unprecedented, in its degree or its consequences, in the annals of science, except by the recovery of the famous Amalfi MSS. of the Codes Justinian. We cannot forbear to mention, that our own language has the glory of having been the foremost vehicle of this grand communication, through that accomplished scholar, Sir William Jones. It is gratifying, also, to reflect, that Englishmen,—Colebrooke, Halshed, and others,—have subsequently maintained a respectable position in the new field of research, though rather in the national manner of statistical accumulation. But what is more to the present purpose to remark, than the

immediate consequence of the resemblance, obvious and almost complete, of the Hindu language to the classical dialects of the Romans and Greeks, and especially the Teutonic idioms, was the spontaneous and indispensable establishment of the Comparative method. The magnificent result is well known in the connexion of the Indian Ocean with the Atlantic, by a line of affiliated languages.

But, after all, it may be permitted to ask, What has this effected for the *philosophy* of speech? Evidently the unquestionable importance of this discovery is historical, rather than linguistic. It has established the probability of *derivation* among a family of languages. But it leaves untouched, we believe, the logical laws of the Formation and the Origin of language itself. Nor would the case be otherwise, though the six or eight thousand dialects of the globe were reduced in like manner to a single stock. The laws in question are something exterior, or more properly *interior*, as it were, to all this. And *here* lies the deep distinction between the etymological and the scientific methods of philology.

We are aware that certain etymologists, who aspire to a higher than this merely historical purpose, pretend that their researches afford the indispensable materials of the science; that they proceed according to the inductive mode of philosophizing; that they deal in facts, and eschew theories, &c. According to this philosophical cant of our day, it seems to be thought impossible to deal in nonsense, while one keeps to what are called facts. But, in truth, nonsense can assume no more mischievous disguise; as the condition of most departments of research amongst us, the moral and social especially, but too deplorably attests. In this way science is degraded, in the popular sentiment, as being a mere matter of statistics; within the competence of every man endowed with the five natural senses, and the four rules of arithmetic; and the progress of its principles is retarded, or effectually suspended, by accumulated masses of incoherent and unmeaning particulars. Such is signally the case already in the subject before us. For, where are its materials of *science*, notwithstanding the multitudes of grammars and vocabularies which the prevailing mode of philologizing has been spawning for the past half century? Empirical uniformities indeed there are; and of great importance, not only ethnographically, as just remarked, but as further capable (in the way indicated in our former article) of elucidating the usages, national characters, and mental history generally, of the most interesting portion of mankind. But, with reference to a scientific theory of language, their value, on the whole, is more than doubtful. Even the most celebrated of them, known as Grimm's

Law, respecting the transitional permutation of certain of the consonants,—and so stolidly paraded by recent English philologers, as if it were nothing less than the discovery of the primitive tongue itself,—even this seems of much account towards the end in question, merely as ascertaining, and that not with entire certitude, the relative antiquity of the dialects considered. This inefficiency of etymology, the comparative as well as the grammatical, is, in fine, betrayed in the significant declaration of its very votaries, that, in proportion as their pretended "materials" multiply apace, does any consistent theory of language appear to them more and more chimerical.

But what they do, in consequence, is to resort, blindfold, to tradition, and wrap themselves in the fancied merit of a pedantic practicalism; instead of questioning the soundness, or at least the sufficiency, of a method of investigation which leads to conclusions so unscientific, if not even absurd. The latter course would, there is no doubt, lead to an explication, quite natural, of this philosophical anomaly of the Comparative philologers. It would discover to them, that what are commonly called facts in etymology, or elsewhere, may be but fragments of facts; from which it would be just as irrational to attempt deducing the logical laws of language, as if one should seek, for example, to extract a system of phonology from the consonants alone.

We cannot be misapprehended as meaning to depreciate the investigation of facts, when combined with that which alone gives them value or significance, namely, a suitable theory. For without theory of some sort, it is impossible, speaking strictly, to enunciate, or even perhaps to conceive, a single fact in nature. The difference is, that the theories of most people are their private impressions. But impressions are individual, universally various; the fact occasioning them is objective, is always one. By none of those conceptions, therefore, is it represented faithfully: they give (as we have said) but fragments of it, or caricatures. On the contrary, a fact can, in general, be accounted genuine only in so far as the individual impressions of it all agree: in other words, as it would *appear to all minds*, whether of the country, the age, or (more conclusive still) of the species. It is this sifting of the irrelevancies of *impression* from the essentials of *fact*,—not the piling up pell-mell of the former,—that constitutes the process of Induction, properly understood. The legitimate result is the characterization of the fact in question: which thus, in turn, establishes at once the natural law by which it took place, and the scientific theory through which it was investigated. For Law, Theory, and even Science itself, differ

in truth from Fact, but as a point does from a line, and a line from a surface; that is to say, they are aliquot parts, or multiples of one another. So that, in fine, the famous dispute between the sticklers for Facts and the vindicators of Theory comes, it seems, to this: That the former, while professing to repudiate all theory whatever, are apt to proceed, *sans s'en douter*, upon a crowd of hypotheses and miscellaneous analogies, suggested by their personal experiences; whereas the latter are enabled, under the guidance of one grand conception, both to direct the course of their inquiries, and to select, as well as to systematize, the results, with constant and consistent reference to a uniform principle of classification, a scientific centre of convergency.*

Our course of remark may seem, to some of our readers, to bear too hardly upon the laborious school of modern German philologers. But we trust it will not be deemed presumption to speak with critical freedom of men whose undoubted genius and solid services in this, as in most other departments of philosophy and letters, none can esteem more highly than ourselves. Their preference for the course arraigned will appear far from incredible to any who have carefully observed the historical conditions or the mental characteristics of the German nation. In such matters, moreover, much depends upon the first direction and impulse. We have seen the blind exclusiveness with which the logical method attributed to Bacon is still persisted in from this cause. We are disposed to ascribe much of the deviation in question to the following words of a man whose influence has been perhaps still greater than even Bacon's, upon the world at large, and who may be said to be the father of the German intellect: "Ainsi, (said Leibnitz, awaking his countrymen to the career which has become their glory,) ainsi c'est dans l'antiquité Allemande, et surtout dans *l'ancienne langue Teutonique*, où aucun ancien livre, ni Grec ni Latin, n'a jamais atteint, *qu'il faut chercher l'origine des peuples et des langues de l'Europe.*"†

But our English philologists are without any such extenuations

* These observations, too general, perhaps, for the exigence of the subject, will be rendered more appreciable by and by. For the present, it may be well to add, by way of confirmation, the testimony of the first living authority, upon a question of method—the authority of the learned, upon which alone seems to rest the opposite opinion, being perhaps best rebutted, before the popular tribunal, by an argument in kind. M. Comte observes, on the subject of hypothesis: "On a beau maintenant vanter outre mesure *l'absence total de prédispositions* et *d'intentions quelconques*; il n'y a certainement d'efficacité durable, pour le progrès de nos vrais connaissances, que dans les *observations instituées avec un but déterminé, dut-il être essentiellement chimérique*, à défaut d'une sage impulsion théorique."—*Phil. Posit.*, tom. v, p. 134.

† Collectanea Etymologica, vol. vi.

or compensations. It is, doubtless, easier to compile vocabularies than to construct even an inadequate theory of language. Moreover, in taking this subaltern course, it would have been also more becoming to speak with reserve of those who, like the French, have had the spirit to attempt at least the theoretic road. We have a characteristic sample of this pedantic insolence in one of the latest publications on this subject,* and which has passed, we believe, as a class-book into the English universities. This alone would justify a very low estimate of the national proficiency in the subject. But a better intelligence and spirit have appeared occasionally in some of the articles on language in the Reviews,—especially the London and the Foreign Quarterlies: essays, it seems to us, giving a national promise which is by no means fulfilled in the book publications. From one of those papers,—remarkable, however, for solidity, rather than for breadth of view,—we take pleasure in citing a passage, containing indications of what we conceive to be the soundest practical view of both the end and mode to be observed in prosecuting the real science of language. After criticising, with merited contempt, the attempt of the systems which we have been discussing, to gather the laws of language from the analogies of sound between the various dialects,—far the greater number of which, being savage, and therefore only *spoken*, are transmitted to us according to the ear and orthography of the reporter, both as various, again, as his education and country,—this writer concludes: "The more we reflect on the subject, the stronger is our conviction that all attempts to classify such scanty, imperfect, and erroneous materials, or to make them the basis upon which to establish an affinity or consanguinity between nations, is a mere waste of time." . . . . . "*Language is not yet perfect. Men made* it, as *they established government*, long before they inquired into the principles on which it *ought* to be made. *These principles must be the same*, or nearly the same, for *every language;* but nothing can be more different (?) than those which have been adopted. We *would recommend philosophers, therefore, to keep those languages in view which are most likely to predominate;* to ascertain, not so much the principles on which our ignorant forefathers constructed them, as *those on which they ought to be constructed;* and, proceeding on with the great current of civilization, to endeavour to lead mankind, *when they change* [modify] *their language, to make every change an improvement.*"†

* Winning's Manual of Comparative Philology. 1838.

† For. Quart. Rev., vol. i, on Balbe's Atlas. We have some reason to believe this able writer to have been the celebrated Dr. Young, of mathematical renown, and of hieroglyphic notoriety. Nothing could, in fact, be better fitted than the latter of

Long as this profoundly judicious counsel has lain before the British public,—it is now some thirty years,—yet our language (and indeed every other, as far as we know) remains still without even an attempt to proceed systematically on the principles thus suggested. It will be perceived, however, that we should not at all concur with the reviewer, in neglecting what has been done, though done crudely. On the contrary, we regard the history of language, up to its rudest attainable beginnings, as the surest index, as well as the necessary basis, of what ought to be, and how. It is, accordingly, as the best means of prosecuting at once this double inquiry, under its scientific conditions, not for the practical purpose intimated, *à l'Anglais*, by this writer, that we too have inculcated attention, at the same time, to the most forward languages, living or dead. First among these, in a scientific respect, are the Greek, in antiquity, and the French among modern dialects. We have alluded, in our preceding article, to the superiority of the French idiom, in point of logical construction, referring to the sequel for a fuller explication. The remarks we now submit to this end are matter of easy observation, or of uncontested history.

In the first place, all the world acknowledges that there is none among the more cultivated of the modern dialects, wherein so little appears that is utterly unmeaning or obscure as the French. This is loosely attributed to national sprightliness, or some other subaltern quality, from an unwillingness, more natural than liberal, to admit a serious superiority in a foreign tongue. It is, however, an evasion merely; not an argument, nor even a denial. The language being a reflex of the national mind, and presenting in all stages an exact measure of its capacity and culture, the qualities of precision, neatness, and method, which may be habitually exhibited in its literature, belong, of course, essentially to its normal structure. They are also the same, logically, in small things and great. Indeed, their reality and efficacy are better recognized in the small, where there must be merit of form to compensate for levity of matter. A language thus constituted will not admit of the opposite defects. Accordingly, the French affords no such resources to mediocrity as are found, for instance, in the greater invertibility, the mongrel origin, and dialectical imprecision of the English. There is nothing so dull as a stupid writer in French; and this is the immediate reason why such are, in fact, comparatively so few. Even social revolution, that great debaser of language, has left but a transient impression upon its well-compacted frame. Amongst the other properties of this

these studies, to open the secrets of the history and formation, and thus of the science, of language.

language, it effectually suppresses all tendency to those verbal transcendentalisms of style, which are seen of late to infest and disfigure our own literature. There, quaintness of expression will not pass for originality, contortion for energy, or disorder for depth, of thought. If the reader would see the qualities and contrast in question more precisely tested, we would recommend, for example, one of the hieroglyphic pages of Mr. Carlyle turned into literal French. We guarantee it to prove a curiosity worthy a place in the British Museum.

What is it renders the Frenchman avowedly the most exact reasoner, the most sagacious generalizer, the most expert book-maker, the most adroit diplomatist,—down to the most agreeable story-teller, as well as the most systematic, if not always successful, inquirer of the age? Simply that he is the best *interpreter;* that is, the best comprehends* the powers and capabilities of words, the logical significance of language as the universal cipher to the mystical record of nature. Not so much that physical nature of which Bacon speaks; which (simple and uniform comparatively) presents us to-day the same objects and phenomena which were offered to the earliest observer; but the still wider, deeper, and more diversified nature of the human heart, as developed in the accumulated experience, opinions, and institutions of our race, and of the spirit of which language involves the sole authentic, the only unlying, history, because the only one written by the facts themselves as they occurred, because written by savage as well as sage, by nature as by man. The German may theorize more transcendentally, the Englishman think more profoundly. But the interposition of the Frenchman and his "universal language" has been generally found requisite to reduce the theories of the one from the clouds of metaphysics, and to rescue the thoughts of the other from the confusion of empiricism, before ordinarily they could be made available to the purposes of life, to the progress of science. The abstractions of Kant, the reveries of Fichte,† and the rest, have been generally rendered intelligible by the French eclectics. So, too, it was a Frenchman who accomplished the perhaps still greater feat of interpreting the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The discoveries of Newton were first demonstrated or systematized by Frenchmen.‡ The rescue of Chemistry

* A term aptly exemplifying the philosophical superiority in question, if its French acceptation, even popular, be compared with the English equivalent, to *understand.*

† Who once announced to his class that, in his next lecture, he would *create God.*

‡ La Place and La Grange. See the reluctant admission of Sir John Herschel. Dis. Nat. Phil., 303–4.

from the quackery of alchemy and natural magic, and its unexampled rapidity of progress to the dignity and utility of a science, are due entirely to Frenchmen,* who invented for it one of the most perfect, perhaps, as yet, of our scientific terminologies. So, also, of Botany. The science of Comparative Anatomy,—that intellectual miracle of combination and arrangement,—may be said to have been both conceived and completed by a single Frenchman.† It was a Frenchman who first among the moderns reduced the art of government to the definite conditions of a problem;‡ and another who established the representative theory on a basis of rigorous demonstration.§ In fine, (to cut short an enumeration that might be endless,) it is French mind,—probably, however, impregnated by the sublime conception of the neglected Vico,—which has illustrated the present age with the most important, and the ultimately controlling, science of all, the science of human nature,—the Philosophy of History.

It may be added, as perhaps more obviously illustrative of the exegetical talent in question, that French writers have not only been the received authorities‖ upon the governments of antiquity, especially Greece and Rome, where they have been the skeptical predecessors of Niebuhr and his school, but are also the best expositors of the most complex of existing systems. The most systematic (though an inaccurate) account of the British constitution has been given by a Frenchman.¶ And in this country, we suppose, few would be found, of competent intelligence and impartiality in the matter, to deny that we also have learned more both of the theory and operation of our own institutions from a Frenchman** than from all our other teachers, native and foreign. Nor is it merely in regard to particular systems, and special theories of government, that Frenchmen have taken the lead. It is remarkable that the three grand forms which society itself has assumed successively in the aggregate evolution of the human mind, have been first conceived, or characterized, by French writers. The primitive or theocratic phase, by Bossuet;†† the metaphysical, or Rights of Man form, by

* Lavoisier, et al. † Cuvier. ‡ Montesquieu. § Rousseau.

‖ See Gibbon, (*passim.*) who hardly ever quotes his own countrymen, unless to season a sarcasm.

¶ De Lolme was, we believe, a Genevese by birth; but it is the same thing.

** De Tocqueville.

†† Histoire Universelle. A work deserving the title, by the logical merits of its method, notwithstanding the sneer of Voltaire, that it was a *Universal* History... of the Jews. But Voltaire was not very deep in the methodology of history; though he felt its want, and made, with his usual sagacity, a respectable contribution to supply it.

Rousseau;* while the scientific, or (in the technical phraseology of English philosophers) the Inductive period, indicated by Montesquieu,† and sketched by Condorcet,‡ has been finally constituted and co-ordinated with the other sciences by the incomparable Comte, in the treatise to which we have already referred.§

We may further observe, that in France a larger proportion, than elsewhere, of discoveries and inventions seem the effect of premeditation; to proceed from the wants of the head,‖ rather than those of that less dignified part of the body natural, which is made "the mother of inventions," by an English proverb.¶ Finally, in France, theories precede and introduce reforms or revolutions. Whereas, in England, as elsewhere, such things are operated rather through the purse-strings; and political theories merely follow the impulse given by pecuniary tribute, ship-money, or tea-tax,—that is, when they come at all.

Now this scientific superiority, so decided and universal, is, we think, to be explained only by a higher logical and interpretative capacity in the French language, and, consequently, mind; or in the French mind, and, consequently, language, if this be preferred. For it is indifferent, as we have shown, to our purpose of exemplification, whether the philological qualities in question be viewed as cause or as consequence, or as partly the one and partly the other, which is more strictly the case; there being between the mind and language of a people a constant mutuality, progressive or otherwise, of action and re-action. The proper influence of the language, however, is separately appreciable, as when in the hands of a foreign writer. With regard to the French we need add, out of several, but a single instance of this kind. Hugo, the celebrated German professor, is well known as the founder of the historical school of jurisprudence; a school

* Contrat Social.

† Esprit des Lois, liv. i, ch. 1. ‡ Sur le Progrès des Connaissances Humaines.

§ Philosophie Positive. Tom. 4–5, Physique Social.

‖ A most apt example of this remark has just been announced to the learned world in the immortal discovery of Le Verrier. Although astronomers had for years been familiar with the requisite data, both facts and principle, in the perturbations of the planet Uranus and the law of gravitation, yet a Frenchman only has had the confidence, holding one of these chains in either hand, to, as it were, launch himself off into immensity, with what we shall term the *scientific faith*, that he was to find footing, in a world unknown, invisible, undreamed of, which should form the connecting link of his premises in the abysses of space.

¶ But borrowed, perhaps, from the parasite, in one of the Comedies of Machiavel, who winds up a vindication of his trencher philosophy in these words:

. . . perchè solo il ventre,
(Come dice il tuo satiro) è il maestro
Che insegna ogni arte, e fa l'ingegno destro.

chiefly characterized by the introduction of perspicuity and method into the chaos of his compatriot commentators. But this circumstance is probably owing, as is well remarked by an intelligent English writer,* to the fact that the reformer's education was less German than French,—in which idiom he preferred, in fact, to write. Savigny in the same line, and Lessing in criticism, are also examples. And in our own literature, a similar predilection—with which he has often been patriotically reproached—is betrayed unmistakably in the lucid pages of Gibbon.

We have dwelt thus fully on a particular tongue, in order, we repeat, to enforce by example both the influence of language upon the destiny of science, and the proper object to be had in view in its investigation and improvement. Not that we think the French a perfect model, and would propose it, though it were, (or indeed any other,) for direct imitation. This would be to misconceive the whole subject fundamentally. Language must be *re*-formed, as it has been formed, *ab intra:* external influence can be brought to bear upon its organization, only by undergoing a process of assimilation in the nation's mind, as represented by its principal writers. Besides, we must here expressly disclaim the presumption of a design so ambitious as the reformation of language. Whatever may be the result, the purpose of these pages is much more humble. And, as it will furnish an occasion of placing the importance and the urgency of such a reformation in a point of view perhaps still more impressive than any of the preceding, we may be permitted to say a word respecting the origin of our undertaking.

In meditating an attempt to supply one of the most seriously felt defects in the Law literature of our language, by a complete and systematic treatise on Interpretation, the writer was not long in finding the want of solidity in the ordinary foundation,—resulting not alone from the large mixture of popular phraseology with the special, and far the greater, portion of English jurisprudence; but also from the antiquated and incoherent character of much of even the technical vocabulary. This fundamental difficulty was not honestly to be eluded. Nor was it to be encountered, we thought, thoroughly, but by a philosophical survey (such as we nowhere knew of) both of the principles and properties, the science and the art, of language in general. In this way we hoped to prepare an unshifting groundwork in the universal laws of the subject, grammatical and logical; whereupon to proceed at once and without philological preamble, first to constitute scientifically the juridical canons of Construction, and, as a preliminary, of Composition generally, and then to apply

* Irving, Introduction to the Civil Law.

them systematically to the explication or improvement of the rules and terminology of our Jurisprudence and laws.* Hence the present lucubrations. And that even in this respect—though affecting only the language of a special but most important science—they regard an object of no mean consequence, will be evident from the following reflections, which would be here out of place perhaps. except as an incitement additional to the general cultivation of Language.

Of human laws, (and the same is true of the Divine,) above most things, it may be said, that they live, move, and have their being in language. This is plain enough of what are termed positive, or Statute, laws; which are always enunciated in general propositions, and whose essence or meaning, therefore, is wholly contained in the expression. That the cases of particular application, the decisions of the Courts of Justice, form no real exception, is perhaps not so commonly clear. But in fact what the Judge decides is always a principle, expressed (if at all) of course in a general proposition. It is merely the use he makes of it that is, or seems to be, particular; and in this, he but avails himself of an option quite logical, to deduce from universal premises a conclusion merely particular, or even only singular, according to the immediate purpose:—De personis *judicatur*, sed de *rebus* contenditur.†

It follows, that every possible assertion or question of Law must be purely a matter of interpretation. It inquires whether a certain attribute or relation was included, expressly or intentionally, in a certain term or form of words; whether the principle or analogy under which the advocate would class his case is indeed to be found in the verbal packet wherein the legislature has wrapped and labelled the sovereign will? The only point of fact that could at all be involved relates to the action of the legislature; that is to say, the *existence* of the particular law. But this is usually prevented by official authentication. There is, no doubt, in the propositions of Law—as there is, for that matter, in those of even the mathematical sciences—an assumption of the *fact*, that the subject-matter has, or may have, a real existence. But this is not implied in the terms of the law, nor does it form any part of its import; and, accordingly, had its subject no positive existence *in rerum natura*, such a law would indeed be inoperative, but not a whit, on that account, the less significant or complete.

These few considerations serve to show how vitally the principal

* To retain the ancient *terms*, but alter the *uses* and definitions, was Bacon's prescription on the very subject.—De *Augm. Scien.*, div. 3, ch. 4.

† Quinctilian.

interest and object of society—*the administration of justice, public and private*—is involved in the condition of the language. Le droit, (says a standard writer on criminal legislation,) le droit est une langue, une langue qui a de nombreuses et profondes ressemblances avec la langue parlée.* Such is the essential dependence of law upon language, in even its most favourable conditions, where the terms have been defined, and under well-constituted codes. But in a jurisprudence like ours, almost utterly destitute of both these requisites, the consideration of language assumes a *remedial* importance, in addition to the regular and instrumental. In other words, besides the grammatical and the logical functions simply, which are ordinarily sufficient under written laws, Interpretation here acquires an historic and systematizing efficiency, indispensable to supply, in some degree, the want of a code: for a code is but a classification, and classification (of moral objects) is but a system of terms. The interpreter of the Common Law, instead of at once proceeding to infer synthetically from a defined term or rule, is ordinarily met on the threshold by a pair of previous questions, ("previous," too often, in the parliamentary sense,) namely, whether there be at all a rule appropriate to the category; and if there be, then what it is precisely. In this consists what was called of old, "the glorious uncertainty of the law." The present salvo, no less characteristic, is to pretend it to be the "Inductive Method" applied to Jurisprudence. There is a difference, however, between experimental philosophizing and interpreting the Common Law; and it is this circumstance, exactly, which renders the scientific amelioration of language of peculiar concernment to a country blessed or cursed with such a legislation. The difference is, that in the physical investigation the interrogatory is addressed to veracious nature; in the juridical, to equivocating words, still words.

While, however, our immediate design was thus suitably moderate, it is also true that the practical speciality of the object has not been suffered to affect the philosophical generality of the survey. Nor would there, indeed, have been any rational tendency to this effect. So that, should these essays be found of value on the score of reformative applicability, we are quite willing to renounce the credit, as we have just disclaimed the presumption, of so ambitious a purpose. In truth, it is a spontaneous consequence of our manner of conceiving the subject, and which necessarily renders the exposition alike, though not equally, available to all branches of the entire system of dependent arts. Accordingly, while it may be the writer's to employ its principles in the comparatively limited, however important,

* Rossi, Traité de Droit Pénal.—*Liv.* iv, ch. 3.

application just specified, others would, we doubt not, find them no less accessible or essential in other equally important departments, whether of practice or speculation, of reform or inquiry. The philosopher (for example) who, adequately up to the demands of his mission and the age, would counteract the empirical tendency of our day to render the sciences at once inaccessible by multiplicity, and barren by minuteness, might find his most popularly impressive argument in the pattern, faint perhaps but faithful, of their mutual dependence and fundamental unity, which would be furnished by the historical analysis we endeavour to describe, of the laws, the logical laws, of language. And for educational purposes—in this country more urgent, perhaps, and intelligible than the abstract exigences of science—this source would, we believe, prove still more usefully as more directly suggestive towards re-organizing, in conformity with the advancing condition of science and the increasing necessities of systematization, our semi-scholastic, shallow, and quack-patched compilations of Grammar, Rhetoric, and of Logic above all. But as a method of treatment pretending with any right to results such as these, must needs be something new in philology, and is, moreover, of a nature (like everything else that is truly scientific) not to be followed advantageously in detail without a previous conception of its general character and course—for these, among other reasons, an outline, but brief as possible, will properly occupy the next and closing article of this series.

Art. XI.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF CHRISTIAN PERFECTION.

The Philosophy of Christian Perfection; embracing a Psychological Statement of the Principles of Christianity on which this Doctrine rests: together with a Practical Examination of the Peculiar Views of several Recent Writers on this Subject. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball. 1848.

The doctrine of holiness, or Christian perfection, has not, until a comparatively recent period in the history of the Church, been a subject of much controversy. But while many other doctrines, once controverted with great zeal, have fallen into neglect, this new topic has been brought forward and discussed with various success by various writers, but we trust not without some real advantage to religion. So far as the discussion is wisely conducted, it must have a beneficial tendency, because it familiarizes the human mind with the most elevated practical truths of the gospel; the introduction, how-

ever, of a dogmatic and intolerant spirit is to be guarded against as an evil, and an evil especially pernicious in matters of faith. We are not aware that unusual bitterness has marked the progress of this controversy, or that the advocates of perfection have shown themselves less perfect than the common run of religious disputants. On the contrary, we believe the dispute has generally been conducted with eminent candour, and as became men who believed that Christianity, sooner or later, would restore them to perfect holiness. If some exceptions occur, it is no more than might have been expected, and no more than will occur again, if the question continues to be mooted.

All idea of absolute agreement in things merely speculative, on this or any other subject, should at once be abandoned. After eighteen centuries of controversy, the Church is no nearer one, in matters of this kind, than it was at the beginning. This fact suggests the propriety of great forbearance on the part of those engaged in theological disputes; they may prove their doctrines ever so clearly, but it will be labour lost except within a particular circle. The results of controversy have been meagre enough. Indeed, the peculiar barrenness of this method of propagating truth ought long since to have pointed out the better way. That better way is to follow the order of Providence, and respect, rather than extirpate, that variety which exists everywhere in the intellectual, as well as in the physical world. Men of equal goodness and of equal intellect have in all ages differed on abstract questions, nor has it been possible for them to do otherwise than differ. In proportion as they have receded from speculation, and confined themselves to points which can at all be considered fundamental, this difference has become less. And if we could fall back upon what are strictly essentials, and cease to attach such disproportioned importance to other points, unity of faith might at last be attained. No truth, no principle, need be sacrificed; nothing need be done but to repress that spirit of theorizing and dogmatizing, the indulgence of which has filled the world with fancies disguised as the sacred truths of religion. Religious dogmatism is a despicable vice; it is not simply ridiculous, like some other vices, but is malignant to a degree not easily conceived: it strikes at the very constitution of religion, and would banish all piety, by banishing all freedom of soul. Against this fearful evil it is the duty of good men to make whatever resistance they can, though the hope is hardly to be entertained that it will speedily be removed. In the mean time, every effort to harmonize conflicting views, and to soften the asperity of feeling which has been engendered by doctrinal antagonisms, ought

to be favoured, rather than discouraged. If the evil of contention cannot be entirely cured, it must be borne with the best possible grace, and no means left untried which are likely to mitigate its dire effects. An effort of this kind produced the "Philosophy of Christian Perfection."

This work is now known to have been written by the late Professor Caldwell. The author, after adorning for many years an important station in one of our literary institutions, was called to his reward just after the publication of this volume. On its first appearance it was severely reviewed, and pronounced heretical,—thus securing to its author, while he lived, what Dr. Johnson calls the second degree of good fortune. He said the first thing to be desired by an author was, to have his work approved, the second, to have it censured, and the worst of all was, to have it fall dead from the press, attracting neither praise nor blame. The general object of the work is thus stated by the author:—

"In the treatise upon which we now enter we propose to interrogate our psychology, that we may see whether science, as the handmaid of revelation, can be made to aid in giving us any clearer views of the moral constitution of man, or any more definite ideas of the moral perfections made attainable by him. Instead of propounding any new theory of Christian perfection, our object will be, in the first few chapters, to discuss some general principles, and, so far as we are able, to render intelligible to those acquainted with the modern terms of metaphysical science, the great system of Bible truth, as we suppose it to be understood and interpreted by evangelical Christian writers generally; and then, by the aid of the light we may thus obtain, to see how far this will tend to reconcile the conflicting views of those who have, from time to time, engaged in the discussion of the subject now immediately before us. The disuse, therefore, of all technical language, even though it may be the language of Scripture, so far as it has been employed in different senses, will not be deemed affectation. It will, indeed, be readily seen, that the employment of such language would entirely countervail the object we have in view, which is, not to support, nor indeed to overturn, any existing theory; but rather to see to what extent the various theories may be reconciled with each other." P. 11.

The design is certainly commendable; and the only question that can be raised is in reference to the method adopted. Can a psychological investigation throw any light upon a doctrine of Scripture? Many will, no doubt, take the negative of this position; but we cannot see how they are to maintain their ground without excluding every branch of natural science from the investigations of religion. It is now pretty generally admitted, that the study of nature has a tendency to illustrate and confirm the doctrines of revelation. With this view Paley wrote his Natural Theology,—a work of acknowledged utility, and of unanswerable argument. Butler's Analogy is based upon the same general principle, "the Constitution and Course

of Nature," proving in the latter work the divinity of the whole Bible, and in the former work the principal doctrine of the Bible,—the existence of God. Now, if observations on nature have contributed, in these instances, to establish important Biblical truths, it is sufficiently evident that similar observations may contribute to establish other truths of like character. We readily admit that much will depend upon the manner in which such investigations are conducted, but we can see no defect in the method itself.

> "Philosophy, baptized
> In the pure fountain of eternal love,
> Has eyes indeed; and, viewing all she sees
> As meant to indicate a God to man,
> Gives *him* his praise, and forfeits not her own."—*Task.*

But the term philosophy is justly objectionable, if we do not make a wide distinction between what is now understood by that term, and what was once understood by it. The only philosophy of any acknowledged authority in modern times is but a collection of facts, whereas the philosophy of the ancients was mostly mere speculation. It is true that ingenious men, even in our times, have fabricated theories, and rashly given them to the world as science; but such theories have no weight, except with a credulous few, and are no more recognized as a part of philosophy than is the Arabian Nights Entertainments. It is also true that no inconsiderable share of these vagaries has existed in connexion with the science of mind. In this, as in many other sciences, our actual knowledge is confined to a few cardinal truths; but of these we are as well assured as we are of the first principles of any other science. For instance, we know that man is a rational being, possessed of consciousness, and capable of thinking; of these facts, which are the basis of psychology, we have the same knowledge that we have of the elements of physics,—of matter, its modifications and laws. Now, there can be no more impropriety in using what we do know of mental philosophy for the support of religion, than there is in using the facts of physical science for this purpose. Our author does not propose to give any weight to the speculative part of metaphysics; he has not once referred to anything of the kind, nor does he make the least use of such materials. His whole system, whether correct or not, is based upon a few plain facts in human psychology. While the Bible everywhere accords with fact, it rarely if ever accords with mere hypothesis; the former may, therefore, be allowed great weight in the interpretation of Scripture, while the latter can be allowed none at all. Throughout the natural world there is a marked fitness of means to ends, of creatures to their circumstances, of laws to what-

ever is subjected to law; and all analogy leads us to expect in a revealed religion the same precise adaptation to the constitution and condition of human beings. Light is not more adapted to the eye of man than the law of God is to his soul. If God has given a law, that law must be the very best for man,—it must be infinitely preferable to all others, because infinite wisdom ordained it. Such a law will not only be perfect in itself, but perfect in its adaptation to us. The correspondence, therefore, of our intellectual system to the rules which are prescribed in the word of God for its government, is a most fruitful source of instruction, and one fraught only with beneficial tendencies.

It has been said that this work is a resort to philosophy to supply the defects of revelation. Such a charge, to say the least, is unjust; no defect is imputed to revelation, nor is there any attempt to modify its principles by means of the truths of intellectual philosophy. A ray of light is indeed borrowed from our mental constitution to aid in the interpretation of Scripture; and if this may be condemned, then we may also condemn the man who appeals to the visible universe to illustrate the Scriptural doctrine of Divine omnipotence. We need not, however, rest this argument wholly upon analogy, for the Scriptures themselves affirm the fact. "That which may be known of God is manifest in them, for God hath shown it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." This shows, beyond controversy, that such a mode of inquiry is legitimate; and we might even go further, by affirming that it renders it obligatory. Unless there is something more weighty and more sacred in the doctrine of Christian perfection than there is in the nature of God, it is susceptible of confirmation and illustration by means of psychological truths.

We must now turn our attention to the philosophical principles which the author has employed in the elucidation of his subject. They are but few. There are no wire-drawn theories, no bold and sweeping conclusions, no extensive collection of facts. We find only a simple reference to some very obvious facts in intellectual philosophy. The following is his view of the mental condition of man before the fall:—

"Without attempting, at this point, anything like a full detail of man's original constitution, we think the following positions so obvious as not to admit of controversy:

"1. That he was imperfect in knowledge. 'The woman being deceived, was in the transgression.' 2 Tim. ii, 14. If deceived, her knowledge must have been imperfect.

"2. He was endowed with physical appetites. These were doubtless intended as sources of enjoyment, as well as for other important purposes. The appetite for food was directly appealed to in the fatal temptation which led to ruin.

"3. He was endowed with propensities and affections not in their nature unlike those which now belong to the human mind. The principle of curiosity, or the desire to know, was but too successfully addressed by Satan, when he said to the woman, 'In the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened; and ye shall be as gods, knowing good from evil.' And Adam himself seems to have been seduced to sin by his affection for his companion.*

"4. This suggests the other element in his constitution, to which we wish to refer, which is, that he was endowed with a susceptibility of being addressed by invisible malignant spirits. We believe 'the serpent' is universally supposed to have been only the mediate agent of Satan in working out the ruin of our race." P. 14.

This extract contains everything of importance in the author's psychological system. The only point of consequence involved in these positions is the close correspondence of the human mind, so far as it regards the extent of its faculties, before and after the fall. He makes what may be called Adamic perfection less considerable than many have done. Having established this conclusion, he proceeds to maintain the doctrine of Christian perfection in conformity with the present and the original state of the human mind. It was not his purpose to introduce a new theory, but to find some common ground on which the views of all parties might be united. Instead of resorting to Biblical criticism to effect this object, he founds his argument on acknowledged traits of intellectual nature. We cannot say that all his conclusions are sound, but in the main we think them correct. But whatever may be thought of some of his inferences from psychological truths, the grand doctrine,—that of entire holiness,—for which he contends, is a cardinal principle of Christianity. The merest child in religion knows, or ought to know, that the whole purpose of the gospel is to make men holy, and thus fit them for heaven. It is not a doctrine which depends upon any critical exposition of Scripture; it is the spirit and design of all Scripture,—the one great object of all religion.

We shall not follow the writer through this work to trace the application of his principles to the subject of perfection. All we designed was, to point out the method of argumentation pursued, together with the doctrinal position assumed by the author. This

* In this and the preceding paragraph the author's theory of temptation is involved. It is the same that was maintained by him in the Methodist Quarterly Review some years since. His theory is, that as the various natural powers, appetites, and propensities of mankind, existed in a state of innocence, their existence now cannot be sinful, and that they become sinful only by being unduly excited, or improperly indulged. How this position can be controverted, without running into some extravagance, we have yet to learn.

we have done, though very imperfectly, and we have only to add, that whether the doctrine of perfection can or cannot derive aid from psychology, it is abundantly capable of support from other sources. If metaphysics fail in this argument, the Bible will not. The following considerations establish the doctrine beyond successful contradiction:—

1. Wherever holiness is required, it is required without abatement. No command can be found exacting only a limited sanctity. No one is taught to be partly holy, and to rest in this with the expectation of ultimate salvation. Hence, he who is not holy is not what he should be.

2. There is no intimation in the Scriptures that the means of grace are not of sovereign efficacy. The effect which they have at all, they have immediately. He that believes is made holy as soon as he believes. At least, if this be not the case, we are without all knowledge of the time in which faith takes effect.

3. If any of God's laws are to be kept, then all are to be kept; for we cannot distinguish between those which it is possible to obey, and those which it is not possible to obey. There is the same obligation, and the same ability, to obey one law, that there is to obey another, and to obey all that there is to obey one. But are there no laws, the violation of which is necessitated through ignorance? Let it be remembered that God is the Christian's wisdom and his strength; he cannot, therefore, plead either ignorance or infirmity. The sin of ignorance is sin, but men are required to live without sin. "Awake to righteousness, and sin not." "Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not." "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin." Now, if every Christian is under the necessity of sinning through ignorance, all these must receive an important qualification; and where in the Bible shall we find that qualification? Certainly not in the fact that the sin of ignorance was once winked at, nor in the atonement required of the priests for the iniquity of their holy things. These belonged to a former dispensation,—to the first covenant which God, finding fault, removed, that he might establish a better one. Under this new dispensation the law is written, not upon tables of stone, but upon the fleshly tables of the heart; and the sin which once could not but exist is now unnecessary, and therefore prohibited.

4. Holiness is conditional. Where the condition is performed, the purification of the heart must follow. If the condition is possible, then holiness is possible, for the promises of God cannot fail. Pardon, regeneration, and sanctification, are the work of God, to be done when the condition on which they are dependent is performed.

The entireness of the work can make no difference, as all things are possible to the author of this work.

5. Holiness is rendered necessary by the circumstances of men. The probationary state is always liable to an instant termination, and therefore demands an instant readiness for such a termination. He that may die now, should now be prepared to die. If entire holiness is a necessary preparation for death, then entire holiness is possible now, is necessary now, or it is not now necessary for men to be prepared for death. We cannot speak of the future,—with every probationer all is confined to the passing moment. Each ought to be this moment fitted for the eternal world, unless death is to complete the work of sanctification. But death cannot sanctify, it can only hand us over to the destiny for which grace, or the want of grace, has fitted us.

6. This leads us to observe that religion must be taken as a whole. Its whole effect—salvation—is demanded instantly; the whole effect being thus necessary every moment, it is equally necessary to have the whole of religion every moment, unless a part can produce the same effect as the whole. But this is not pretended, and hence it has been charitably supposed that those who live below their privileges, and yet retain their justification, will be sanctified in the hour of death. This idea makes religion consist of several parts, some of which may be possessed, while others are not; whereas the Scriptures, by imposing on us an instant need of the whole, have obviously indicated that the whole will instantly be given. There may be distinctions, as faith, repentance, regeneration, justification, sanctification; but of how many parts soever religion may consist, they are all equally within reach of us, and all to be had this moment. There may be successive stages, but they must all be passed through in the same moment, or they are not all necessary to salvation. Divines have introduced various technical distinctions;—they have divided religion into departments, of which justification and sanctification are the two most prominent; but these distinctions, if actually found in the Bible, are not there made a matter of importance. Whatever is included in religion we have offered at once,—the whole is pressed upon us for immediate acceptance. There may be parts, but it matters nothing, for we must have the whole. No one part is there offered as sufficient till we can obtain the rest, and hence we should not attempt to substitute a part for the whole, nor ought we to wait for one part more than for another. We want all, and want it now.

7. Salvation in all its extent is by faith. In order to full salvation, nothing is necessary but full faith. If we cannot fully believe, neither can we be fully saved. But who doubts the possibility of

believing? No one. And yet many doubt the possibility of holiness, as though God would not, or could not, give this blessing to the believer. They dare not believe faith impossible, nor holiness possible.

8. God requires nothing impossible. The fact that he requires a thing proves that such thing, whatever it may be, is possible. He commands us to be holy, and therefore we can be holy; he commands it now, and therefore we can be holy now. There is not the slightest intimation that he would have obedience delayed a moment.

9. All the Divine requirements have relation to the present time, and to no other. God does not command us to repent, or believe, or do anything else, to-morrow. The holiness which he requires at all he requires to-day. It could not be otherwise, considering the tenure of life. It follows, therefore, that if perfect holiness is ever attainable, it is now attainable.

10. The subject of entire sanctification has been much mixed up with needless speculations about the Divine law. What is this but to seek salvation by the works of the law,—the very way in which the Jews sought it? It is not by keeping the law that we are made holy, but we are made holy that we might keep the law. The sinner is never saved by his own exact obedience; his righteousness is always the righteousness of God. This he is to seek, this he is to retain by obedience, but his obedience is not holiness; his obedience will bring upon him the holiness which he needs,—it will connect him with the promise,—it will identify him with Christ, and thus secure to him what never could result simply from his own acts. Whether we can or cannot keep the law entirely, we can be holy, because we can be so united with Christ as to have him of God made unto us "wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

11. The tenor of Scripture very clearly establishes the necessity of entire holiness. Not only is the Christian bound to abstain from sin, but he must avoid even the appearance of evil. He is to "adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things;"—not barely to keep the law, but to keep it in a manner creditable to the law itself. He has entered into a covenant to do the will of God, and receives Divine assistance for every part of this covenant engagement. To say that he cannot keep this engagement, is to say that God cannot enable him to keep it.

In conclusion, we have only to say, that the notions, that if once made holy we could no longer live in this world,—that we must always sin, in order to be always able to pray for the pardon of sin, —that the law of God may be kept in some points, and not in others, are kindred absurdities, alike unfounded in Scripture, and in the constitution and circumstances of our nature.

Art. XII.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) We stated, in our January number, that Dr. Dixon had been prevented, in some way, from giving, at the last British Conference, an account of his American journey. Perhaps we have reason to be thankful that it was so, if, as we surmise, the fact has given rise to the publication (or at least to an *earlier* publication) of "*Methodism in America; with the Personal Narrative of the Author, during a Tour through a part of the United States and Canada*," by James Dixon, D. D. (London, 1849: 12mo., pp. 498.) The work is divided into five parts: I. Personal Narrative: II. Historical Notices of Methodism in America: III. Institutions of the Methodist Episcopal Church: IV. Territorial Progress of the American Methodist Episcopal Church: V. Measures adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Church on the subject of Slavery. As might naturally be expected, the first part is that in which American readers will be most interested. The narrative is clear, pleasant, and animated: the style throughout is that of a sensible, well-informed man,—always direct, perspicuous, and easy. The spirit of the book is excellent. Almost for the first time we have had an Englishman among us, looking at our country and our institutions with that feeling of kinship which one would think Englishmen and Americans should, of all people in the world, cherish for each other. He remarks, in his preface, that "his impressions of the true greatness of his own country were never so strong as during his visit to the States. America is the offspring of England. England has been reproduced in America." Unnatural, indeed, is abuse of the child by the parent, or of the parent by the child. Let us hope that the day for caricatures of American life by Englishmen, or of British life by Americans, has passed away.

As the work will be immediately reprinted, in whole or in part, by Messrs. Lane & Scott, we shall reserve fuller notice of it for our next number. In the mean time, we cannot withhold from our readers a few choice specimens of the kindly spirit, and the manly good sense, of the late Representative from the British Conference.

The following is Dr. Dixon's account of his visit to the President of the United States:—

"On our arrival we met with a black man, the only servant of the President we saw; and, on asking whether it would be possible to obtain an interview, he said he saw no difficulty in the case, but would inquire. He went, with Mr. Slicer's compliments, and soon returned with a message that the President would be very happy to see us. We were ushered, not into a drawing-room, or state-apartment, but into a business-office, with desks, tables, pens and ink, bundles of state-papers, and books on business. And there stood to receive us, to shake us by the hand, to bid us welcome, the chief of the greatest republic, if not the greatest state, in the world. He accosted us very kindly and bade us be seated, at the same time resuming his own chair.

"My embarrassment left me in a moment. I had felt some little trepidation at the idea of being brought into contact with a man so high in station. His demeanour, however, soon dissipated this feeling. There was no state etiquette observed, no ceremonies but such as common courtesy demanded, and might be performed by the plainest person; no court-dress, no cocked hat, no sword and sash, no bowing the knee, no kissing of hands, and, moreover, no peer of the realm, or officer of the

court, necessary to gain an introduction: a black boy, to obtain his master's assent, and to show us the way, seemed all that was expected. With our European notions, this did not really look like an introduction to the head of a mighty nation. Truly this American republicanism must either be considered as a great retrogression into the ages of social simplicity, when shepherds and farmers left their flocks and ploughs to command armies and govern states, and then returned to their avocations; or else it must be considered as a vast stretch into the future, the anticipation of something to come, the model of a perfectly new order of things. It is most assuredly not identical with what has been, and continues to be, in the Old World. Is this simplicity agreeable to nature, to common sense, to the truth of things? I confess, these questions puzzled me at the time, and continue still to puzzle me. There is a fascination, a charm, about royalty, greatness, courts, presentations, and all the embroidery connected with these things, which make it difficult for one to think that there is no reality in them,—that they can be done without. So much of power, of influence, of government, have stood connected with the old names, and insignia of thrones and courts, that many of us cannot dispossess our minds of the idea that there is great use, though we may not know how, in these external accompaniments of states.

"Here, then, we were, four Methodist preachers, and one merchant, snugly ensconced in a government office, a sort of counting-house, with President Polk, one of the greatest men, by position, in the world! Who could forget some of the documents which had issued from this centre of power, this heart of American diplomacy? Decrees had been framed here which had thrilled through the body politic in every part of the world, producing mighty palpitations of heart, and convulsive throes! The policy and messages of this very President have produced strange emotions. They once filled Great Britain, if not with consternation, yet, at any rate, with indignation; they put the Parliament of England into a ferment, and called forth the impassioned eloquence of men of all parties; they made it expedient to employ the diplomatic skill of Lord Ashburton, esteemed, at the time, one of the most sagacious peers of the realm; they led to treaties but little relished, and much condemned by some of the best sons of the British empire; and they resulted in the political exaltation, strength, and aggrandizement of America. Some of these messages, moreover, moved the military forces of the republic, by land and sea, to the invasion of Mexico; to the victories of Taylor and Scott; to the spoiling of a feeble people; and led to the annexation to the States of a territory, but little, if at all, inferior to the whole of Europe. These are some of the effects produced by the decrees sent forth from this place, with the signature of this plain little man. Things are not then to be estimated by the appearance. The room is common, but it is the centre of mighty forces; the President appears destitute of the forms of majesty, but possesses its reality; the missiles lying about are not artillery, swords, and helmets, but they move, they shake the world."

His introduction to the General Conference at Pittsburgh is thus related:—

"When I had delivered my credentials, Bishop Hedding introduced me to the Conference, making such observations as occurred to him. In the few remarks I made, the official short-hand writer entirely misreported me in one particular. He represented me as saying that we, the English Methodists, were 'all on one side;' whilst the fact is, I said, 'We were all on the side of liberty, of emancipation.' By this interpretation of my remarks, I was made to assume the position of a partisan in the great dispute between the North and the South; whereas nothing could by possibility be farther from my thoughts or meaning. Were it not that I considered myself, not as a private person, but as the representative of the British Conference, and that they have an interest in the spirit and manner in which the person representing them was received, propriety would dictate that I should be silent on many things which occurred at this first meeting, and on many subsequent occasions. But seeing that the Methodist body in England in some sort stood in my person, in the presence of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, in fraternal relations, undoubtedly those who sent me have a right to know how their greetings were received. They may, then, be assured that they were hailed in the most cordial, affectionate, and Christian spirit and manner. When the British Conference (for so the matter is to be understood) was introduced to the American body, as a mark of respect and good-will, every minister present spontaneously, not by order of the chair,

stood up, and paid the parent body the most profound and hearty respect. This was done in a manner not to be mistaken. Nothing trifling, formal, diplomatic, marked the movement. It was not the expression of mere courtesy to a stranger; it was the manly burst of affectionate regard for a body to whom, I am perfectly sure, they feel the most devout attachment. After these introductory greetings were finished, one of the brethren offered a resolution, to the effect, that the British representative should be incorporated amongst themselves as a member of Conference, and should be invited to take part in their proceedings and debates, as he might find it convenient, and be so disposed. This resolution was unanimously carried.

"Not content with a public recognition, the five bishops came that evening to my lodgings to pay their respects; not to me, let it always be kept in mind, but to the Methodist Church in this country. This they did in the most handsome and hearty manner. The conversation turned, as might be expected, on the affairs of Methodism in both countries. I found the bishops, on this and all subsequent occasions, deeply interested in our affairs."

He was particularly struck, at the General Conference, with the "Bench of Bishops:"—

"The spirit and demeanour of the bishops could not but excite attention. 'How do they conduct themselves in their high office?' was a natural question. It was soon answered. The bearing of these men of God was perfectly uniform: there was no deviation. It is difficult to describe it; just as what is pre-eminently beautiful, excellent, and morally sublime, refuses to submit to the touch of the most perfect artist. It is not enough to say that it was dignified, grave, judicious, impartial, commanding. It was all this; but all this with much more combined. There is always in mental and religious excellence an intangible, an impalpable power, glory, of the soul, which cannot be described. It is this inward and spiritual force which gives to the several faculties their strength and elevation; and when these faculties are so balanced as to receive the hidden impulse equably, and transmit it to practical and useful purposes, then greatness is produced. This was manifest in these eminent officers: and it was never the writer's good fortune to behold a class of men who gave him such an ideal of what bishops ought to be, as in these American ἐπίσκοποι.

"It is not customary for the bishops to take part in the debates, or in any way to interfere with the proceedings of Conference, except on questions of law and order. Two or three occasions arose in connexion with points of law, when one of the bishops expounded its meaning with great clearness and logical precision. The bishops seem to be perfect masters of all constitutional questions, and also of the complicated details of business. When they had occasion to interpret any matter of order, being appealed to for that purpose, all parties invariably acquiesced; not an objection was ever raised, or any infringement attempted. Some persons may imagine that all this must reduce these officers to mere ciphers. Not so. They possess great influence, and are treated with undeviating reverence and respect. Their moderation, in fact, is their power. By not attempting to do too much, they possess the means of doing everything which their station requires from them."

And of the preachers he says:—

"Their Methodism is a belief, a truth, a principle. They as much believe in the soundness of Methodistic doctrines, the excellency of their ecclesiastical polity, and the religion of their system, as in the truth of the word of God itself. Republicans though they may be, they are not revolutionists. And the same is the case regarding their religious convictions. In a free and easy intercourse with these men for a fortnight, I did not hear one word which savoured of disaffection to their ecclesiastical institutions. This was the case respecting their bishops: not a murmur was heard. They were perfectly loyal to the church. This, as will be seen, must give the church great power and force. Every man is prepared to take his place, and do his best. None of his strength is frittered away in wrangling disputes, in projects of reform, in tinkering and mending the system. On the other hand, he occupies his sphere of labour with the undoubted persuasion that he is serving the cause of God; that he is connected with a form of religion which must prevail, because di-

vine; and that his business is not to mend the rules, but to keep them. We cannot be surprised at the amazing success of a system of religion so supported, and so worked. Every man is possessed of an idea, a truth, which he feels himself bound to propagate. He does this without hesitation, puts his whole soul into his mission, and it is done unto him according to his faith."

The eleventh chapter sums up the writer's views of America and the American people. We can only give one passage:—

"It is, then, an undoubted fact, that the American people do pay great regard to religion; and as this, like everything else, is with them a personal and not a conventional concern, it is all the more energetically promoted. It seems a principle of Americanism, that the obligations of our nature are untransferable. An American never dreams of putting his social or religious obligations into commission. He never considers himself as having denuded himself of his responsibilities, when he has given his vote for a President, and taken his share in constructing a government. Even his political duties are not, in his own estimation, put in abeyance by these transactions, much less his moral and religious. He does not expect the government to serve God for him, or to take into its hands the task of publicly providing for that conservation of morality and religion which he knows can only be secured by personal exertions.

"According to American ideas, the state does not consist of public functionaries, whether civil or ecclesiastical, but of the people. The souls and bodies of the population, unitedly, constitute the state: not a function, not an office. In the state making provision for this or the other, the American would include himself. He has no notion of public men taking his place, and relieving him of the burden of his own intelligence, conscience, humanity.

"This is a living power. It is refreshing even to look upon a true and real American, with his swinging gait, in the full consciousness of his manhood. There is something even in his appearance different from other people. It is not recklessness, not rudeness, not isolation, not misanthropy. Nothing of this sort is seen. And yet there is an air of perfect independence and freedom, consciousness of strength and power, repose in the midst of activity, calmness and dignity with profound emotions. An American, more than any character it was ever my happiness to study, looks like a man who is sensible that he carries his own destinies about him; that he is complete in himself; that he is a self-acting, self-moving intelligence; that he has to shape his own course, and become the architect of his own fortune. He does not seem to be looking without to catch the chances of some stray events by which to fashion his life: his thoughts are steadily fixed upon strengthening his own resources, and he is always laying in a stock for the voyage he is upon. The effect of this is to produce (I hardly know what to call it) a rotundity,—a fulness,—a completeness of manhood,—not seen in other societies; and to those who do not comprehend him, or who have only been accustomed to the fawning flatteries —and as false as they are fawning—of other nations, all this is extremely offensive."

In that part of the work which treats of the history and institutions of American Methodism, Dr. Dixon shows that he has studied these topics with great industry and care. It is, indeed, matter of surprise that in so short a time he has been able to obtain so large and just a view of the subject. At the same time, it is not to be wondered at that, in matters of detail, he has fallen into occasional mistakes. The chapters on the "Measures adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Church" on the subject of Slavery, are the least satisfactory and accurate of any in the book. It appears to us that Dr. Dixon has not succeeded in obtaining any clear view of the subject in his own mind; he has certainly failed to present it in his book. But here, as everywhere, the spirit in which he writes is excellent: he never dogmatizes, never looks for bad motives, or thinks that men who differ from him must, *therefore*, be in the wrong. In our more extended review of the work we shall, if it appears to be neces-

sary, show wherein we think his views are erroneous, and his statements inaccurate; in the mean time, we assure our readers that in the book itself a great feast is in preparation for them.

(2.) Dr. Vaughan (Editor of the British Quarterly) delivered a course of Lectures in London, last year, on some of the aspects of the times, as affecting Christianity, which have now been collected into a volume under the title, "*The Age and Christianity.*" (London, Jackson & Walford, 1849: 12mo., pp. 323.) The aim of the book is, to characterize the age, not (as Fichte has done in his "Characteristics") on *à priori* grounds, but by a careful survey of its phenomena as they present themselves,—and these he classes as Skepticism, Materialism, and Contempt for the Past,—together with the strong Reactions which these tendencies have severally called forth. These characteristics are then illustrated, first, in their relation to the *proofs* of Christianity; second, in their relation to the *truths* of Christianity; and thirdly, in their relation to the Christian religion as a whole. Under this last head, Pantheism, Mysticism, Formalism, and Naturalism,—the four tendencies away from true religion to which thoughtful minds of this age seem most inclined,—are set forth very aptly, both as to their origin and workings. Dr. Vaughan has a clear, strong, thoroughly English mind; he grapples well and vigorously with every subject that he handles,—and there are few of the great questions of the day that he has not handled. We hope this book will be republished. Its healthy tone of thought is needed just now, as much in this country as in England—perhaps more.

(3.) Dr. Bushnell's "Three Discourses" have called out a number of replies, reviews, &c., among the best of which is a "*Review of Dr. Bushnell's Theories of the Incarnation and Atonement*, (a Supplement to 'Theophany,') by Robert Turnbull, Pastor of the First Baptist Church, Hartford, Conn." (Hartford, Brockett, Fuller & Co., 1849. Pp. 77.) It is a natural supposition that Mr. Turnbull, as a neighbour and friend of Dr. Bushnell, has had better opportunities than most other men of understanding Dr. B's opinions, and of appreciating his motives and feelings. Accordingly, this Review is tender and kind in its tone, while it is thorough in its treatment of the subject; exposing the inconsistencies of Dr. B.'s book unsparingly, and yet admitting all that is good in it, and assuring mankind that the *man* is better than his dogmas. We need not dwell on the subject now, as the review which we have promised our readers will probably appear in our next number.

(4.) There is no kind of writing so easy as Allegory, to one born with a genius for it, as Bunyan was; and none so difficult to other people. A good specimen is afforded in "The Hill Difficulty" of Dr. Cheever, lately published in a fine volume, along with a collection of various pieces, fugitive and other, of that versatile writer. The volume is entitled, "*The Hill Difficulty, and some Experiences of Life in the Plains of Ease, with other Miscellanies,*" by George B. Cheever, D. D. (New-York, John Wiley, 1849: 12mo., pp. 388.) The

work has three parts: first, Allegorical and Imaginative, containing, besides "The Hill Difficulty," the well-known "Deacon Giles' Distillery," and several other apologues, &c.: second, Descriptive and Meditative passages; some of them hardly worth preserving, and others worthy of the author: third, Critical and Speculative; embracing "Characteristics of the Christian Philosopher," (Discourse on Dr. Marsh,) "the Life and Writings of John Foster," (reprinted from the Repository,) and "the Religion of Experience and that of Imitation," (Address at Amherst College, 1843.) The volume is a rich one, and deserves to be widely circulated.

(5.) MANY travellers of late years have visited Egypt, and many have told us their experience in the desert between Cairo, Sinai, and Jerusalem. But the *Libyan* desert has been almost untrodden by Europeans; and so we welcome, as a novelty, "*Adventures in the Libyan Desert, and the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon*," by BAYLE ST. JOHN: (New-York, G. P. Putnam, 1849: 12mo., pp. 244.) Besides a very pleasant narrative of the journey from Alexandria to the Oasis, the work contains a full description of the remains upon the site of the Temple of Ammon, now identified near Siwah, a curious city on the central green spot of the desert; together with a well-digested chapter on the history of the spot, in which the fragments of existing information on the subject are very well connected. The book is not only attractive, but adds positively to our stock of knowledge, which is more than can be said of most books of the kind.

(6.) "*The Incarnation; or, Pictures of the Virgin and her Son*, by CHARLES BEECHER, with an Introductory Essay, by Harriet Beecher Stowe." (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1849: 18mo., pp. 227.) This book is the fruit of a well-meant attempt to reproduce a part of the sacred narrative of the New Testament, "under the aspects in which it presents itself to an imaginative mind, with the appliances of geographical, historical, and critical knowledge." As such, it will doubtless attract, especially, imaginative minds.

(7.) The American Tract Society has just issued a small but stirring book, entitled, "*Home Evangelization; a View of the Wants and Prospects of our Country, based on the Facts and Relations of Colportage*," by one of the Secretaries of the American Tract Society. (18mo., pp. 174.) It sets forth the extent and character of the *home* field of Christian effort with minute fidelity. And what a field does this American home of ours present! The book treats, further, of the aims and results of Colportage, and of the need of extending that admirable auxiliary system of evangelization. There are a few exceptionable passages in the treatise, but it has left so profound an impression of *duty* on our minds, that we will not find fault with them.

(8.) THE "Boy's Own Library" has just been enriched by a very beautiful book, entitled "*A History of Wonderful Inventions*," illustrated with numerous engravings on wood. (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1849.) There

are two parts, of which the first comprises the Mariners' Compass, Light-houses, Gun-powder and Gun-cotton, Clocks, Printing, Thermometer, Barometer, Telescope and Microscope. The second treats of the Steam-Engine, Cotton Manufacture, Steam Navigation, Railways, Gas-light, and the Electric Telegraph. The chapters on Steam Navigation and the Electric Telegraph should have been re-written for the American edition, as they do no justice to American invention and enterprise. With this drawback, the work is an admirable one for boys,—or even for children of a larger growth, who wish to find condensed information on the subjects of which it treats.

(9.) We noticed, some time since, a new edition of "*Sherlock on Divine Providence*," as having been issued by Mr. Ball, of Philadelphia. We now learn that it is published by J. L. Read, of Pittsburgh, who will always keep the work on hand. In making this correction, we take occasion again to commend this excellent work to our readers.

(10.) Mr. Read has also sent us a neat volume, entitled "*Poems on Methodism; embracing the Conference, or Sketches of Wesleyan Methodism*, by Rev. J. Marsden; and *American Methodism, a Plea for Unity*, by *an American Methodist.*" (1 vol. 12mo., pp. 156.) We do not know that we are telling any secret, when we say, that the Plea for Unity is the work of Rev. W. Hunter, Editor of the Pittsburgh Christian Advocate, who is well known to possess no small share of the "vision and the faculty divine." In point of unity of plan and execution, and especially in point of poetic excellence, his part of this volume is immeasurably superior to Marsden's. Indeed, we regret that it has not been separately published. The best *poetry* in the book is that which has least bearing upon the general topic, viz., Stanzas LII. to LXXXIII., in which the extent and grandeur of our American home are sung of in a high strain of poetic fervour. Regretting that we have no space for quotations, we recommend our friends to buy this book, not only for its poetry, but for its sweet spirit of Christian love and kindness. Would that this spirit were universal among us.

(11.) Messrs. Lane & Scott have just published, in a neat 12mo. volume, "*A History of the Vaudois Church from its Origin, and of the Vaudois of Piedmont to the Present Day*, by Antoine Monastier, formerly Pastor in the Canton de Vaud, and a native of the Vaudois Valleys of Piedmont." Translated from the French, and revised from the London edition. (Pp. 396.) The Vaudois have been preserved, from age to age, amid the fastnesses of the Alps, and the Valleys of Piedmont,—a perpetual testimony, at once, to the providence of God, and to the persecuting cruelty of that ecclesiastical power which for centuries has "exalted itself against God." The history of their trials, sufferings, and deliverances, forms a record full of thrilling interest. Our readers who are unacquainted with the history will find in the present volume the fullest, and, as we think, the most trust-worthy account that has yet been given to the public.

(12.) Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. have issued a "*Manual of Ancient Geography and History*, by Wilhelm Pütz, principal Tutor at the Gymnasium of Düren," translated from the German. (12mo., pp. 396.) The English edition was edited by Rev. T. K. Arnold, and the reprint is brought out under the direction of Professor Greene, of Brown University, who has furnished a very sensible introduction. The plan of the work is excellent, the geography of each region being given before its history, and the sources of information fully stated. Unlike most German compends, it takes the history of the Bible as its ground-work, in treating of the most ancient nations. A full set of questions is given at the end of the book, adding greatly to its value as a practical working-book for schools.

(13.) "*The Philosophy of Religion*," by J. D. Morell, A. M., author of the History of Modern Philosophy. (New-York, D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway, 1849: 18mo., pp. 359.) In a preface, deprecatory and objurgatory, Mr. Morell anticipates various objections to his book, and to its subject. He repudiates the charge of Germanism, Rationalism, Mysticism, &c., and even retorts these epithets as more applicable to what is called Orthodoxy than to his own views. The whole introduction strikes us as being in bad taste, and worse spirit. Theologians are not such fools, or bigots, as Mr. Morell's indiscriminate insinuations seem to imply. The book itself begins with an outline of the faculties of the mind,—the main feature of which, so far as the purpose of the work is concerned, is the distinction between the *logical* and the *intuitional* consciousness. Under this last title, as applied to religion, Mr. Morell means just about what simple people call Christian experience. His views of the essence of religion, and of Christianity, are those of Schleiermacher, almost without modification. His whole theology, indeed, appears to be on about the same plane as that of Schleiermacher twenty years ago,—a plane above which that eminent man himself certainly rose before his death. That theology did service in its day, doubtless, in *Germany;* but the evangelical minds of that country now breathe a far purer atmosphere. It seems strange to see an English mind voluntarily going back so far, from his love to a foreign system, now passed by in its own home. The more we read of Mr. Morell's writings, the more we are satisfied that he lacks breadth, and, above all, healthiness of mind, to grasp the high themes to which he aspires. He was out of his depth in the "History of Speculative Philosophy;" his "Philosophical Tendencies of the Age" is anything but a profound book; and now, his "Philosophy of Religion," a still higher flight, more abundantly proves that his ambition transcends his ability.

(14.) Most of our readers are perhaps aware that Mr. H. G. Bohn, of London, is now engaged upon one of the greatest enterprises of the age in cheap book publishing. He is printing four different series of works, called the "Standard," the "Scientific," the "Classical," and the "Antiquarian" libraries, comprising none but works of sterling value, printed in a neat and convenient form, on good paper, and well bound. Messrs. Bangs, Platt, & Co. are agents

for the publisher in this country, and keep a constant supply of the different works on hand. The "Standard Library" now numbers about fifty volumes, including Robert Hall's Miscellaneous Works, Schiller's Works, Ranke's History of the Popes, Miller's Philosophy of History, and many other works of permanent value. Of the "Scientific Library" four volumes are published, among which is a new translation of that world-renowned book, Humboldt's Cosmos. The "Antiquarian Library" is especially valuable. It furnishes a series of books, heretofore very costly, at an almost nominal price. Here, for instance, in one volume, for a little more than a dollar, are collected the "Early Travels in Palestine of Arculf, Bernard, Benjamin of Tudela, Sir John Maundeville, Maundrell," and others. The series includes also "Brand's Popular Antiquities of England, Scotland, and Ireland," 2 vols., Roger of Wendover's "Flowers of History," Bede's "Ecclesiastical History of England," and others. We know no better way of forming or increasing a useful and interesting private library, than by the purchase of these series,—and certainly no cheaper way is extant.

(15.) DURING the last winter a course of Lectures on Physical Geography was delivered at Boston, in the French Language, by Professor Guyot, formerly the associate of Agassiz, in the University at Neuchatel, Switzerland. The lectures were so valuable and interesting, that Professor Felton translated them for the Boston Traveller, and they are now collected into a volume, entitled, "*The Earth and Man; Lectures on Comparative Physical Geography, in its relation to the History of Mankind*, by ARNOLD GUYOT, Professor, &c., *translated from the French* by C. C. FELTON, Professor in Harvard University." (Boston, Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln: 12mo., pp. 310.) We do not exaggerate in saying, that a more acceptable service has not been rendered for many years to the cause of real science in America, than by all concerned in bringing before the *popular* mind of this country this most clear, attractive, and simple introduction to one of the most useful and grand studies to which the human mind can be devoted. Of this science, which is comparatively of recent growth, very little is known among us,—almost nothing taught in the schools. We should gladly give a full analysis of the work, did our space afford it. One feature we cannot help referring to specially, viz., the truly *religious*, as well as philosophical spirit of the lectures. How mean do the grovelling views of a certain class of so-called philosophers, who deify *nature*, appear in comparison with the simple, yet sublime recognition of the great truth, that Nature is made for man, and both for God. Says Prof. Guyot,—

"It is, in fact, the universal law of all that exists in finite nature, not to have, in itself, either the reason or the entire aim of its own existence. Every being exists, not only for itself, but forms necessarily a portion of a great whole, of which the plan and the idea go infinitely beyond it, and in which it is destined to play a part. It is thus that inorganic nature exists, not only for itself, but to serve as a basis for the life of the plant and the animal; and in their service it performs functions of a kind greatly superior to those assigned to it by the laws which are purely physical and chemical. In the same manner, all nature, our globe, admirable as is its arrangement, is not the final end of creation: but it is the condition of the existence of man. It serves as an instrument by which his education is accomplished, and performs in his service functions more exalted and more noble than its own nature, and for which it was made. It is, then, the superior being that solicits, so to speak, the

creation of the inferior being, and associates it to his own functions; and it is correct to say, that inorganic nature is made for organized nature, and the whole globe for man. as both are made for God, the origin and end of all things."

We commend the work especially to all preachers of the Gospel, and to all teachers of youth.

(16.) The author of "Mammon," and "The Great Commission," has gained a wide fame by his eloquent and glowing style as a writer on practical religion. He has lately undertaken a task of a different, if not of higher order,—viz., the exhibition, in a series of treatises, entitled, "Contributions to Theological Science," of the manifestations of God in the creation of the earth, its adaptation to man, and the constitution of man himself as its inhabitant. The first of these treatises, the "Pre-Adamite Earth," appeared some time since; and in its preface Dr. Harris stated, that its principles would be exhibited in their historical development in relation to "individual man, to the family, to the nation, to the Son of God, to the Church which he has founded, to the Revelation which he has completed, and to the future prospects of humanity." The first of these (the *individual* man) is now taken up in "*Man Primeval; or, the Constitution and Primitive Condition of the Human Being.*" (Boston, Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 1849: 12mo., pp. 459.) In this massive volume a vast variety of subjects is treated. Dr. Harris interprets the Mosaic history of the creation as an accommodated, and not a literal narrative. His view of the mental constitution of man is nearly that of Coleridge. His chapter on the Will is directly in opposition to Edwards. The whole work is worthy of attentive study,—in spite of its prolixity, which is, indeed, almost unreasonable.

(17.) We have received from Rev. John Early (Book Agent of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South) a small volume of "*Letters on the Call and Qualifications of Ministers of the Gospel; and on the Apostolic Character and superior Advantages of the Itinerant Ministry,*" by Rev. William Beauchamp, with a Preface by Rev. Joshua Soule, D. D. (Charleston, J. Early, 1849: 18mo., pp. 132.) Mr. Beauchamp is well remembered as an able minister by our older Methodists. In a neat and well-written preface, Bishop Soule gives a brief account of the life and character of the author of the work, which we have read with much interest. The Letters contain some very acute and ingenious remarks upon the Constitutional Principles of Methodism, and a vigorous defence of the Itinerant system. Mr. Beauchamp's style is easy and forcible;—there are a few inaccuracies, (e. g., to *lower down*, which occurs frequently,) that should, we think, have been corrected by the Editor. We thank our brethren of the Church South for rescuing these remains of an eminent and faithful minister from oblivion, and recommend the work to the people of our own Church most freely and cordially.

(18.) Mr. Early has also sent us another work, by the same author, entitled "*Letters on the Eternal Sonship of Christ, in which the Opinions of Rev. A.*

Clarke are reviewed and refuted." (18mo., pp. 162.) The preface to this volume (written, we judge, by Dr. Lee) contains also an account of Mr. Beauchamp's life. The biography really deserves to be written at large. Are the materials extant? As for the present volume, we have not had time to read it carefully, and can barely announce it to our readers. We take the occasion, however, to express a hearty wish that the publications of the Church South may find their way among our people, as well as ours among them.

(19.) "*Remains of William S. Graham, with a Memoir,*" edited by GEORGE ALLEN, Professor of Languages in the University of Pennsylvania. (Philad., J. W. Moore, 1849: 12mo., pp. 278.) A genial memorial of a fine spirit, by one (his wife) who shared his inmost thoughts. The Memoir, evidently the rapid utterance of a loving heart, is, even as a work of art, highly creditable; and as a tender, touching narrative,—a revelation, almost, of the inner depths of a noble mind,—we have had nothing like it for long. The Remains, though small in bulk, and not weighty in matter, yet show that there was abundant promise in Mr. Graham's youth. Alas! that promise should be all!

(20.) THOSE who wish to read Shakspeare expurgated may find an edition to their mind in "*The Family Shakspeare,*" edited by THOMAS BOWDLER, Esq. (New-York, John Wiley, and Philadelphia, J. W. Moore, 1849: 8vo., pp. 910.) The editor states that nothing is added to the original text, but that those words and expressions are omitted which cannot with propriety be read in a family. We quote from his preface:—

"Many words and expressions occur in Shakspeare, which are of so indecent a nature as to render it highly desirable that they should be erased. Moreover, there are, in some of his plays, allusions to Scripture, which are adduced so unnecessarily, and on such trifling occasions, and are expressed with so much levity, as to call, imperiously, for their erasement."

(21.) MR. WILEY has recently issued a very neat edition, in 16mo., of the "*Poetical Works of M. F. Tupper,*" including Proverbial Philosophy, A Thousand Lines, Hactenus, Geraldine, and other Poems. (Pp. 382 and 257.) The two volumes are also sold separately,—very neatly printed and bound.

(22.) A GOOD book of Homiletics is one of the urgent wants of the times. A modest and yet most meritorious attempt to meet this want is made in "*Sacred Rhetoric; or, Composition and Delivery of Sermons,*" by HENRY J. RIPLEY, Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Duties in Newton Theological Institution: (Boston, Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln, 1849: 12mo., pp. 259.) Professor Ripley mentions, in his Preface, two particulars in which existing books appear to be deficient. 1. That they contemplate a sermon, as *composed;* not the man, as preparing to compose, or as actually composing, a sermon. 2. That they generally fail to exhibit a proper view, and proper specimens of *textual* sermons. The body of the work is taken up with the Composition of sermons; that of Delivery being treated in a concluding chapter. Sermons are

divided into Subject sermons and Text sermons; each class of which is clearly elucidated and illustrated. The chapter on Delivery is less elaborate and valuable than the rest; but this defect is supplied to a great extent by Ware's excellent "Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching," which are appended to the volume. The work as a whole, though not a complete and scientific treatise of Homiletics, which, indeed, it does not pretend to be, will form a very valuable hand-book for young preachers.

(23.) "*Adventures of Capt. Bonneville, U. S. A., in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West,*" by WASHINGTON IRVING. (Putnam, 1849: 12mo., pp. 428.) Another volume of the new and beautiful edition of Irving's works, now issuing by Mr. Putnam. This volume appears most opportunely, at a time when all eyes are turned towards the "far west." We can vouch, from personal knowledge, for all that is said of Capt. Bonneville's character and enterprise in this work. It is full of interest.

(24.) MESSRS. LANE & SCOTT have lately issued a new edition of the "*Letters of the Rev. John Fletcher, Vicar of Madeley,*" originally edited by Rev. MELVILL HORNE: (12mo., pp. 334.) The volume contains the "Six Letters on the Spiritual Manifestation of the Son of God," together with one hundred and sixty-four "Pastoral and Familiar Letters." Letters are next in interest to biography: indeed they *are* biography, when they are the free, natural utterances of friend to friend. And Fletcher's Letters are the transcript of his holy life,—a life fully consecrated to God and bathed in the love of Christ. "No age or country," says Southey, "has ever produced a man of more fervent piety or more perfect charity; no church has ever possessed a more apostolic minister." If any doubt the eulogium, let them read these letters and be convinced. We trust that this edition, which is neat, portable, and even tasteful, will find its way into every family in our Church,—and into many out of it.

(25.) MESSRS. HARPERS have just published the "*History of Maria Antoinette,*" of France, by J. S. C. ABBOTT; a volume uniform, in size and appearance, with the others of Abbott's series of Histories, which we have heretofore so strongly commended. We repeat, that these "Histories" have all the interest of novels, with none of their dangers; and in that light, especially, are worthy the attention of all Christian parents who desire to put good, and, at the same time, attractive reading into the hands of their children.

(26.) "*Republican Christianity, or True Liberty, as exhibited in the Life, Precepts, and Early Disciples of the Great Redeemer,*" by E. L. MAGOON: (Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln, 1849: 12mo., pp. 422.) In three parts: first, the Republican Character of Jesus Christ: second, the Republican Constitution of the Primitive Church: third, the Republican Influence of Christian Doctrine. The author looks at Christ, the Church, and Christianity, from the

republican stand-point exclusively; and sees there nothing but the sources and the proofs of republicanism. It is well. Christianity has too long been forced to strengthen tyrants and tyrannical systems. Its spirit abhors them all. This work has the faults and merits characteristic of the author, which we have heretofore alluded to in this journal.

(27.) "*Dahcotah; or, Life and Legends of the Sioux around Fort Snelling*," by Mrs. M. D. EASTMAN: (New-York, John Wiley, 1849: 12mo., pp. 268.) Mrs. Kirkland contributes a preface to this volume, in which she states that "Mrs. Eastman's aim has been to preserve from destruction such legends and traits of Indian character as had come to her knowledge during long familiarity with the Dahcotahs; and nothing can be fresher or more authentic than her records, taken down from the very lips of the red people as they sat around her fire and opened their hearts to her kindness." Mrs. Eastman herself expresses the further aim of awakening a higher degree of interest than yet exists among American Christians for the moral and spiritual condition of these unfortunate sons of the forest. Both worthy aims,—and the volume, we think, will tend to fulfil them. The narration is easy: the descriptions clear and graphic.

(28.) WE have received from Messrs. Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia, a "*Grammar of the Latin Language*," by LEONARD SCHMITZ, Ph. d., Rector of the High School, Edinburgh: (18mo., pp. 318.) The work is carefully worked out, and gives a very full view of the language for an elementary book. It follows Madvig in making a division of the third declension founded upon the formation of the nominative; but fails to apply this division to the distinction of gender, for which purpose it is so obviously available. To those who deem Zumpt's mode of exhibiting the Latin language the *ne plus ultra*, this book will be very acceptable.

(29.) THOSE who believe in the water-cure, and those who wish to know what it is, may be interested in knowing that the latest book on the subject is "*The Hand-book of Hydropathy, for Professional and Domestic Use*," by D. J. WEISS. From the second London edition: (Philadelphia, J. W. Moore, 1849: 12mo., pp. 411.) We are utterly incompetent to express an opinion upon the merits either of the system or of the book.

(30.) HARDLY any denomination of Christians has been so zealous and so successful in the work of Missions as the Baptist Church. The record of their labours may be found in "*A History of American Baptist Missions in Asia, Africa, Europe, and North America*," by WILLIAM GAMMELL, A. M., Professor in Brown University. (Boston, Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln: 12mo., pp. 360.) The work was undertaken at the request of the American Baptist Missionary Union, and contains detailed accounts of the Missions in Burmah, Siam, Assam, China, Western Africa, France, Germany, Denmark, Greece,

and among the Indians of North America. As a repertory of facts and illustrations in regard to the missionary enterprise, the book is worthy of circulation among all Christian churches.

(31.) We have received several numbers of "*The Collegian*," a monthly magazine, published by the two Literary Societies of Dickinson College. Among the articles in these numbers are several papers of value,—especially the translations from the Greek Tragic Poets. We wish the journal great success,—though we hardly *hope* it, as such enterprises are never very largely fostered.

(32.) The question of Capital Punishment has come to be one of the problems of the times. A new work, in defence of it, is "*Punishment by Death, its Authority and Expediency*," by George B. Cheever, D. D. (New-York, J. Wiley, 1849: 12mo., pp. 332.) The work takes up, first, the argument from Scripture, setting forth the Old Testament law, and asserting, that instead of being abrogated, it is confirmed, by the New. Additional arguments are drawn from Divine Providence, from Conscience, and from the true Ends of Punishment. The second part of the work contains the author's argument in reply to J. L. O'Sullivan, Esq., during the debate in the Broadway Tabernacle, in 1843. There can be no question but that Dr. Cheever presents the arguments in favour of capital punishment more ably than any other writer of the times. On the general question we are not prepared to express an opinion.

(33.) A very beautiful book for ladies is "*The Rose, its History, Poetry, Culture, and Classification*," by S. B. Parsons. (New-York, John Wiley, 1849: 8vo., pp. 280.) The title indicates the wide scope of the book, which contains, along with historical notices and poetical illustrations, full directions for the culture of the rose, with copious descriptive lists of the various classes.

(34.) "*The Genius of Italy; being Sketches of Italian Life, Literature, and Religion*," by Rev. Robert Turnbull, author of "The Genius of Scotland," &c. (New-York, G. P. Putnam, 1849: pp. 332.) The title of this book hardly does justice to its rich and varied contents. It gives genial sketches of the literature and literary men of Italy, past and present, taking up city after city, describing each place in order, and then noticing both its political and literary history. It contains, moreover, an account of Pius IX., with two very judicious chapters upon the present condition and prospects of the Papacy, and of Italian liberty. It is not only a very pleasant book, but a useful and instructive one.

(35.) Of the new edition of Irving's works now issuing by Mr. Putnam, we have received two additional volumes,—"*The Crayon Miscellany*" and "*Astoria.*" The interest of the latter work will be greatly enhanced by the pre-

sent movement of emigration to the regions beyond the Rocky Mountains. And the "Tour on the Prairies," which forms the greater part of the Crayon Miscellany, has the same additional charm. This beautiful edition is very widely circulated, and deserves to be.

(36.) "*Life in the Far West*," by GEORGE FREDERICK RUXTON, author of Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains: (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1849: pp. 232.) The free, spirited, and graphic letters of Lieut. Ruxton formed one of the greatest attractions of Blackwood during the last year. His lamented death gives the present volume a higher interest—it is the last word of a noble spirit.

(37.) MESSRS. HARPERS have just issued "*Dante's Divine Comedy: the Inferno. A literal Prose Translation, with the Text of the Original, collated from the best Editions*," by JOHN A. CARLYLE, M. D.: (12mo., pp. 375.) We have only space now to chronicle the appearance of this new translation: an article on Dante will appear, we trust, in our next number.

(36.) THE Water-cure seems to be making way, if the multiplication of books on the subject is any evidence. We have received "*Outlines of a New Theory of Disease, applied to Hydropathy, with a Critique on Priessnitz's Mode of Treatment*," by the late H. FRANCKE, translated from the German, by ROBERT BAIKIE, M. D.: (New-York, J. Wiley, 1849: 12mo., pp. 270.) The writer states his pathology and therapeutics with great positiveness. He is nearly as severe upon Priessnitz as upon the regular medical faculty. We know nothing of the matter; but the book is far more scientific in *form* than any other treatise on the subject which has come under our notice.

(39.) "*The Complete Works of* JOHN M. MASON, D. D.," edited by his son, EBENEZER MASON: (New-York, Baker & Scribner, 1849: 4 vols., 8vo.) It is generally admitted that Dr. Mason was *facile princeps* of the eloquent divines of his time. To this day the tradition of his remarkable powers of oratory remains in every place where he preached the Gospel. His published writings are to the American theology what Robert Hall's are to that of England; and there is, perhaps, as little danger of the great Presbyterian's home reputation becoming obsolete here, as of the great Baptist's there. The present edition of his work is got up in beautiful style, and deserves a place in every minister's library.

(40.) THE sixth volume of the "*Posthumous Works* of Rev. THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D., LL. D.," edited by Rev. W. HANNA, has just been issued by Messrs. Harper & Brothers: (12mo., pp. 517.) It contains a series of sermons illustrative of different stages in the author's ministry, from 1798 to 1847; and it is mainly, the editor says, "with a hope that, in the form given to it, this

volume may serve as a contribution to the religious biography of Dr. Chalmers, that it is put into the reader's hands." The sudden change in his religious life at Kilmany, and its gradual growth year after year, are here shown in the course of his own pulpit ministrations. The world will thank the editor for this volume, perhaps, as much as for any other of the noble series he has been able to put forth.

(41.) We have received (too late, however, for anything more than a mere announcement) the first volume of "*The History of the United States of North America*," by Richard Hildreth: (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1849: 8vo., pp. 570.) The entire history will cover the whole extent of time between the discovery of the continent and the organization of the Government under the Federal Constitution. This first volume comes down to 1684; a careful examination of the work will be necessary before we pronounce fully upon it: in the mean time, we may remark that, as the author says, truly, in his preface, "no other work on American history, except mere compends and abridgments, embraces the same extent of time; none comprehends the same circuit of inquiry, or has anything like the same plan and objects."

☞ In accordance with requests from many quarters, Dr. Olin's most able and timely article on Religious Training has been reprinted from our last number, in a neat form in 18mo., paper covers, by Messrs. Lane & Scott. It is sold at *ten* cents, with the usual deduction to wholesale purchasers. We trust that our preachers will use their efforts to scatter it widely through the land.

*** Several articles prepared for this number are necessarily deferred:—among them, Reviews of Layard's Nineveh, Lynch's Expedition to the Dead Sea, and Squier and Davis's Antiquities of America. Also articles on Lamartine, Chalmers, and others.

Art. XIII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Theological.

EUROPEAN.

The seventh volume of Dr. Chalmers' Posthumous Works contains Vol. I. of his Institutes of Theology. The publisher states that none of Dr. Chalmers' published writings received so large a measure of care and thought in preparation as the above work; and he looked forward to it, when completed, as his most matured contribution to the Science of Theology. It contains—Introductory, three chapters; Natural Theology, three chapters; Christian Evidences, ten chapters; Subject-matter of Christianity, the Disease for which the Gospel provides, eight chapters. The second and concluding volume of the Institutes will appear on first August; and on first November the last volume of the Posthumous Writings will be published.

The formation of the Free Church of Scotland constitutes an era in Ecclesiastical History. A full narrative is now announced in "*The Ten Years' Conflict; being the History of the Church of Scotland.*" By Robert Buchanan, D. D.: Glasgow, 2 vols., 8vo. "The subject is one of catholic importance, and derives additional and peculiar interest from the character of the present times. In one form or another, the points at issue in the 'Ten Years' Conflict' are, at this moment, in almost every nation of Europe, the questions of the day."

"*Mornings among the Jesuits at Rome,*" being Notes of Conversations held with certain Jesuits on the subject of religion, in the city of Rome, by Rev. W. H. Seymour, M. A. (London, Seeleys, 1849.) The title of this book is a very *taking* one; but it does not promise more than the work itself fulfils. The writer enjoyed rare opportunities of intercourse with high dignitaries of the Church of Rome, and succeeded in drawing out of them a more frank and honest exposition of their views than is commonly to be obtained. The work is full of interest and instruction. Its republication in this country will do great good. Romanism dresses itself up in entirely different garments here from those it wears at home; and Mr. Seymour's revelations are all of home life.

During the winter of 1848–9 a gentleman in Dundee secured the services of three clergymen to lecture upon the proofs of the truth of Christianity, with special reference to that class of difficulties and objections which usually finds acceptance among men of narrow education. The lectures are now printed in a volume, entitled "*Evidences of Christianity,*" by Rev. W. Wilson, Free Church, A. Hannay, Independent Church, and J. R. McGavin, United Presbyterian Church. (Dundee, 1849, pp. 306.) There is much freshness of manner and force of thought in the volume.

The multitude of books called forth by the Millenarian Controversy in Great Britain is really surprising. Some three years since Rev. Daniel Brown published a treatise on the "*Second Coming of our Lord,*" in which the question was treated with such signal ability, that it was thought by many to be the death-blow to Millenarianism. So does not think, however, Rev. Horatius Bonar, of Kelso, who has just put forth a reply, entitled, "*The Coming and Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ.*" (Kelso, 1849: 18mo., pp. 462.) Mr. Bonar is known as a thoughtful, earnest, and careful writer; and on the subject of the present work he is more earnest than on any other. Nor is the interest in this subject confined to Dissenters in England or Scotland; a certain class of minds in the Established Church seem to be just as strongly moved by it. For seven successive years, during Lent, courses of lectures have been delivered in St. George's Church, Bloomsbury, on the subject of the Second Advent, by clergymen of the Church of England. The course for the present year, 1849, is printed, under the title of "*The Priest upon his Throne,*" being lectures by twelve clergymen of the Church of England, with a Preface by Rev. James Haldane Stewart, M. A., Rector of Limpsfield. (London, Nisbet, & Co., 1849, pp. 398.)

Some years ago Dr. Lee, Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge, (England,) charged Professor Ewald, of Göttingen, with *purloining* some of his discoveries in Hebrew Grammar. The charge was ludicrous enough, at least in the eyes of all who knew the men; but Ewald thought it worth while to reply at some length. Dr. Lee renewed his charges in a pamphlet, (published in 1847,) which Ewald has only lately seen. It has drawn from him a very summary *characterization* of Dr. Lee, which may be found in Kitto's Journal for April, and in which he asserts of Dr. Lee,—

"1. That, as a teacher of Hebrew, he understands nothing of that language, since every

pupil in a German gymnasium, who intends to visit the University as a theological student, knows infinitely more of it than he does.

"2. That he possesses only an exceedingly medioere, uncertain, and inexact knowledge of those Semitic languages which are, comparatively speaking, much easier to understand thoroughly—such as Arabic, Syriae, and Ethiopic; and that he does not correctly apprehend even a single line of Sanserit, which he likewise pretends to know.

"3. That he neither knows, nor is able to conceive, what science—*i. e.*, the art and certainty of human knowledge—is."

A Translation of Nitzsch's *System der Christlichen Lehre*, by Rev. R. Montgomery and Dr. Hennen, is soon to be published by Clark, of Edinburgh.

A new edition of Villemain's *Tableau de L'Eloquence Chrétienne au IV^e Siècle*, has just been published. Prefixed to the work is a very clear and comprehensive sketch of Polytheism during the first century, and of the relation of the Stoical Philosophy to Christianity.

The third edition of Winer's "Bibliseches Realwörterbuch" is now completed.

Those of our readers who are interested in ancient Hymnology, will find a very useful collection in cheap form in "*Lateinische Hymnen und Gesänge aus dem Mittelalter; Deutsch, mit Beigedrucktem Lateinischem Urtexte*, von Dr. C. A. Königsfeld:" (Bonn., 1847: 12mo., pp. 275.) The Latin and German versions are printed face to face.—There is also a collection of "*Sacred Latin Poetry, chiefly Lyrical*," with Notes and Introduction, by Rev. R. C. Trench, M. A.: (London, 1849: Parker, 18mo., pp. 316.) All hymns which "in any way imply the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation," are excluded from the volume, which yet contains the choicest and most valuable of the middle-age hymns.

It has been suggested to us that a statement of the contents and tendencies of the most important European Theological Journals would be both useful and interesting to our readers. We shall from time to time give such statements, beginning in this No. with

The Christian Remembrancer, (April, 1849: London, Mozley, 250 pp. per number, price six shillings sterling.) This is the organ of the highest high-churchism in England,—speaks gingerly of Romanism, and contemptuously of every other form of Christianity. It is conducted with great ability, and always furnishes some articles of interest and value in general literature. The articles in the April number are—I. The Hesiodic Legends of Pandora and the Ages:—II. Baptist Noel's Union of Church and State:—III. Wilberforce's Incarnation:—IV. On the Use of Daily Prayer in Churches; an article in which the somewhat startling assertion is made, that "in no national Church under the sun are as many public matin services daily said" as in the Church of England:—V. The Theology of the Eighteenth Century:—VI. Tennyson's Poems:—VII. The Circulation of religious Books:—VIII. The Doctrine of Absolution:—IX. Marriage with a deceased Wife's Sister.

The Biblical Review, (London, Jackson & Walford, pp. 150, three shillings sterling.) Notwithstanding its title, this journal is more Theological than Biblical. The articles in the April number are,—I. Hints for an apologetic Treatment of Christian Truth:—II. Arthur's Mission to the Mysore, (a very flattering review of an able work by a Methodist Missionary:)—III. Specimens of the higher order of Sacred Oratory in Germany, C. A. Nitzsch:—IV. The Resurrection of Christ:—V. The last Ten Years of German Theology, (translated from Ullmann:)—VI. The Demands of the Age upon Theology:—VII. A review of Harris's "Man Primeval."

Theologische Studien und Kritiken, eine Zeitschrift für das gesammte Gebiet der Theologie, (Hamburg, Perthes, pp. 260: 5 Rthle per ann.) This is the organ of what has been called in Germany the *Mediating* School of Theology, being as far removed from Rationalism on the one hand as from ultra Supernaturalism on the other. It is edited by Drs. Ullmann and Umbreit, assisted by Gieseler, Lücke, and Nitzsch,—all celebrated names. The April number contains the following articles:—I. A Dissertation on the 1st Epistle of John, and on its Relation to John's Gospel, by Prof. Grimm, of Jena:—II. Otfried's Althochdeutsches Evangelienbuch:—III. On Melchizedek,—a very learned and elaborate essay, by Nagel:—IV. The Conquest and Repartition of Palestine by Joshua:—V. The Apocalyptic Doctrines of Joachim, Abbot of Flore:—VI. Matt. xiii, 45, 46:—VII. Luther's Translation of the Bible:—VIII. The Theosophy of Oetinger:—IX. The Wittenberg Conference of Sept., 1848:—X. The Church of Norway.

The reputation of Prof. Hävernick, of Königsberg, who died a few years ago, rests mainly upon his Commentary on Ezekiel, and his Introduction to the Old Testament. His *Lectures on the Theology of the Old Testament* (Vorlesungen über die Theologie des Alten Testaments) have been published un-

der the direction of Dr. H. A. Hahn, of Königsberg, with a Preface by Dr. Dorner, (Erlangen, 1 vol. 8vo., pp. 254.) The work is divided into two parts; first the *general*, and then the *special*. Under the first are treated the sources of the Hebrew faith, its religious element, its relation to other religions, &c. The second part has three divisions: (1.) The Old Testament doctrine of Theology. (2.)The Old Testament Anthropology. And (3.) The Old Testament Doctrine of Salvation. Though the work could, doubtless, have been far more fully elaborated by the author himself, it is yet a valuable contribution to theological literature.

"*The Journal of Sacred Literature.*" (London, pp. 200, price five shillings sterling.) This journal, of which we have before spoken, is edited by Dr. Kitto, and is devoted almost entirely to Biblical Literature. The April number contains the following articles:—1. The Genealogical Tables of Jesus in the Evangelists Matthew and Luke, by Dr. K. Wieseler, translated by the Rev. J. Thomson, A. M.:—2. Calvin as a Commentator, by the Rev. F. W. Gotch, M. A.:—3. The Alleged Discrepancy between Paul and James, by the Rev. Ebenezer Kennedy:—4. On the Identification of the Mustard-Tree of Scripture, by J. F. Royle, M. D., F.R.S., L.S. & G.S., &c.:—5. Hebrew in the Time of Jerome, by the Rev. F. Bosworth:—6. On Customs Illustrative of the Bible, No. 1, by the Rev. D. G. Wait, D. C.L.:—7. Ulphilas, and his Gothic Version of the Scriptures, by Dr. Sergius Loewe:—8. Pascal's "Thoughts;" their Historical Import, especially in Relation to the Philosophy of Religion. A Lecture, by Dr. Aug. Neander, translated from the German, by the Rev. J. Tulloch:—9. Critical Examination of Colossians, chap. ii. 12, by the Rev. Peter Mearns:—10. On ἵνα and the Formula ἵνα πληρωθῇ, by the Rev. W. Niblock, A.M.:—11. Correspondence.

The following on Theology, or kindred subjects, are recently published, or in press, in London:—

An Inquiry into the Nature, Progress, and End of Prophecy, in three books; 1. On the Covenants; 2. On the Visions of Daniel; 3. On the Revelation of St. John. By Samuel Lee, D. D., late Regius Professor of Hebrew, 8vo.:—The Holy Land Restored; or, an Examination of the Prophetic Evidence for the Restitution of Palestine to the Jews. By the Rev. A. G. Hollingsworth, M. A., crown 8vo.:—The Certain Truth, the Science, and the Authority of the Scriptural Chronology. By William Cuninghame, Esq., 8vo.:—The Light of Prophecy let in on the Dark Places of the Papacy; being an Exposition of 2 Thess. ii, 3-12, showing its Exact Fulfilment in the Church of Rome, with special reference to the aspect of that Church in the present day. By Rev. A. Hislop, 18mo.:—Exposition of the Gospel according to St. Luke. In a Series of Lectures, chapter I.—IX. With an Introduction to the Study of the New Testament. By James Thomson, D. D., 8vo.:—A Course of Seven Lectures on the Work of the Holy Spirit. By the Rev. W. H. Stowell. (Fourteenth Series of the Congregational Lectures,) 8vo.:—The Distinction between Baptismal and Spiritual Regeneration, a Catechism of Christian Baptism, compiled from the articles, homilies, and prayer-book of the Church of England, with illustrative notes. By the Rev. J. W. Bennett, B. A., 8vo.:—Experimental Evidence a Ground for Assurance that Christianity is Divine. By the Rev. Gilbert Wardlaw, A. M.:—The Soul, her Sorrows and her Aspirations: an Essay towards the Natural History of the Soul, as the Basis of Theology. By Francis William Newman:—A Report of the Case of the Right Rev. R. D. Hampden, D. D., Lord Bishop Elect of Hereford, in Hereford Cathedral, the Ecclesiastical Courts, and the Queen's Bench. By Richard Jebb, Esq., M. A. Royal 8vo., pp. 550:—The Church and the State; or, a Brief Apology for the Church of England in her Connexion with the State. By the Rev. W. Tilson Marsh. With a Preface, by the Rev. William Marsh, in reply to Noel. 12mo., pp. 480:—Rodriguez on Christian Perfection, new edition, for Persons Living in the World; 2 vols., pp. 782:—The Apostles' School of Prophetic Interpretation. By Charles Maitland. 8vo.:—A Compendious Practical Hebrew Grammar for the Beginner: (Bagster & Sons:)—A Synopsis of Hebrew Various Readings, with translation of the emendations and citation of authorities: (Bagster & Sons:)—Reading Books in Chaldee, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, Sanscrit, etc., on the plan of the Hebrew Lesson Book, already published: (Bagster & Sons:)—The Quotations of the Old Testament Scriptures, by the New Testament writers, diligently gathered up and compared, in parallel columns: (Bagster & Sons.)

Among the Theological books lately published on the continent of Europe are the following:—

Novum Testamentum græce. Ad antiquos testes recensuit, apparatum criticum

subjunxit, commentationem isagogicam præmisit *Constant. Tischendorf*, Theol. Dr. et Prof. Editio Lipsiensis secunda. Lipsiæ, 1848: pp. 320, 8vo.

Die apostolische Kirche, oder Gemälde der christlichen Kirche zur Zeit der Apostel. Ein histor. Versuch von J. B. Trautmann. Leipzig, C. Tauchnitz. 1848: pp. 460, 8vo.

Novum Testamentum, græce, ad fidem codicis principis Vatic. ed., integram varietatem ætatis apostol., versionis II vel III sæc. codd. Alexandrinorum IV vel V, Græco-Latinor. VI—VIII s. denuo examinatam et XI codd. Orientalium IV—XV s. nec non Slavonicor. XI—XIII s. nunc primum collatam antiquissimum tamquam commentarium cum locis V. T. e cod. Vatic. allatis et cum lexidio grammat. adjecit *Ed. de Muralto.* (Ed. ma.) Hamburgi, 1848: pp. CXV. & 718.

Saint Athanasé. Histoire de sa vie, de scs écrits et de son influence sur son siècle. Suivie de notices sur saint Antoine et saint Pacôme. Paris. Ad Leclère. 1848: 8vo.

Institutio theologiæ dogmaticæ evangelicæ historico critica. Scrips. Dr. C. Lud. Wilhelm Grimm. Hoehhausen, 1848: pp. 518, 8vo.

Ueber den altjüdischen Kalender, zunächst in seiner Beziehung zur neutestamentlichen Geschichte. Eine kronologisch-kritische Untersuchung. (Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Evangelien-Harmonistik.) Von Johannes von Gumpach. Brüssel, 1848: pp. XIII. & 384, 8vo.

Des Würtembergischen Prälaten Fr. Cph. Oetinger Biblisches Wörterbuch. Neu herausgegeben und mit den nothwendigen Erläuterungen, so wie mit einem Register über die wichtigsten Materien versehen von Dr. *Jul. Hamberger.* Stuttgart, 1849: XXXII., pp. 540, 8vo.

Grundzüge der Homiletik von Dr. Gust. Baur. Giessen, 1848: pp. 252, 8vo.

Praktische Theologie von Dr. C. Imman. Nitzsch. 2. Bd. 2. Buch: Das kirchliche Verfahren oder die Kunstlehren. 1. Abthlg.: Der Dienst am Wort. Bonn, 1848: p. 244, 8vo.

Die Symbolischen Bücher der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche, Deutsch und Lateinisch: Neue sorgfältig durchgesehene Ausgabe, mit den sächsischen Visitations-Artikeln, einem Verzeichnis abweichender Lesarten, historischen Einleitungen und ausführlichen Registern: besorgt von J. T. Müller, Evangelisch-Lutherischem Pfarrer in Immeldorf. Large 8vo.

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Εἰρηναίου ἐπισκόπου Λουγδούνου εὑρισκόμενα πάντα. Sancti Irenæi episcopi Lugdunensis quæ supersunt omnia. Accedit apparatus continens ex iis, quæ ab aliis editoribus aut de Irenæo ipso aut de scriptis ejus sunt disputata, meliora et iteratione haud indigna. Edidit *Ado. Stieren.* Tom. I., pars I.; Tom. II., pars I. Lipsiæ, 1848: pp. 320 & 528, 8vo.

Dissertatio theolog., Pauli anthropologiam exhibens. Scrips. Dider. Hm. H. Tijssen. Groningæ, 1848: pp. XIX. & 377, 8vo.

Die wahre u. falsche Orthodoxie. Eine geschichtl. Darstellung. Von Dr. Cph. Fr. v. Ammon. Leipzig, 1849: pp. XIV. & 322, 8vo.

Codex liturgicus ecclesiæ universæ in epitomen redactus. Curavit Dr. *Hm. Adalb. Daniel.* Tom. III.: Codex liturgicus ecclesiæ Lutheranæ. Lipsiæ, 1848: pp. 570, 8vo.

Das Evangelium u. die Briefe Johannis, nach ihrem Lehrbegriff dargestellt von Dr. Ado. Hilgenfeld. Halle, 1849: pp. 356. 8vo.

Theolog.-chronolog. Abhandlung über das wahre Geburts- u. Sterbe-Jahr Jesu Christi. Von J. Bapt. Weigel. (2 Thle.) 1. Theoret. Thl. Sulzbach, 1849: pp. 148, 4to.

De symboli apostolici titulo, origine et antiquissimis ecclesiæ temporibus auctoritate diss. theolog., quam scr. Dr. Pet. Meyers, Prof. Treviris, Gall. 1849: pp. 210, 8vo.

Vorlesungen über Schleiermachers Dialektik u. Dogmatik. Von Dr. Geo. Weissenborn. 2. Thl.: Darstellung u. Kritik der Schleiermacherschen Dogmatik. Leipzig, 1849: pp. 406, 8vo.

AMERICAN.

Messrs. Lane & Scott will shortly publish the new collection of *Hymns*, prepared for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The work, as prepared by the able Committee appointed by the General Conference, has undergone a thorough revision from the Book Committee, the Editors, and the Bishops. We hazard little in saying, that it will be the best and most complete collection of congregational hymns ever published.

Messrs. Lane & Scott are also preparing for publication, "*Methodism in America, with the Personal Narrative of the Author, during a Tour through a Part of the United States and Canada*," by James Dixon, D. D. Even if considered simply as a book of travels, this book will be one of unprecedented interest. It will be carried through the press as rapidly as possible.

They have also in preparation, "*The Minister for the Times*," by Rev. C. Adams. 1 vol. 12mo.:—"*Christian Effort*," or facts and incidents designed to illustrate and enforce the duty of individual labour for the salvation of souls, by Sarah Baker, 1 vol., 12mo.:—Also the following Sunday-school volumes, viz., Curiosities of Animal Life: Court of Persia: The Atmosphere: Crusades, Eng. reprint: Zwingle, the Swiss Reformer: Reminiscences of the West India Islands: Dwellers on the Holy Hill: Cortes, or, the Discovery of Mexico: Written Pictures: Be Diligent: Work to Do: Warnings to Youth: Scotch Blacksmith: The Minister's Study.

Classical and Miscellaneous.

EUROPEAN.

We have examined with some care "*Greek Verbs, Irregular and Defective, embracing all the Tenses used by the Greek Writers, with Reference to the Passages in which they are found,*" by Rev. William Veitch. (Edinburgh, 1848: 8vo., pp. 316.) Its chief peculiarities are, 1. Giving the later and prose forms as fully as the poetic: 2. Giving authority for every part as far as possible: 3. The *simple* forms are given, wherever they exist, instead of the compounds. The work is well condensed and fitted for practical use.

An octavo volume of 424 pages has been written by G. C. Lewis, Esq., on the "*Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion,*" (London: J. W. Parker, 1849,) in which one or two good thoughts are to be found. The work shows extensive and various reading, and Mr. Lewis is a very easy and natural writer; but his prolixity is intolerable. The table of contents is capital; and by reading it one can get much more for his labour than by reading the book itself.

Sir J. F. W. Herschel has completed his new treatise of Astronomy, (for such it is, rather than a new edition of the old one,) and we now have it before us in a portly 8vo., entitled, "*Outlines of Astronomy.*" (London: Longmans, 1849: pp. 661.) It still retains its character as a work of *explanation*, but the part relating to the lunar and planetary perturbations has been re-written upon a far more matured and comprehensive plan; and the subjects of sidereal and nebular astronomy are brought up to the present state of science in those departments. The work will be indispensable to all students of astronomy. We understand that Messrs. Lea and Blanchard will shortly reprint it.

A Parallel Grammar of the Greek and Latin languages has lately been issued in Germany, entitled, "*Parallel Grammatik der Griechischen und Lateinischen Sprache,*" von Dr. V. C. F. Rost, Dr. F. Kritz, and Dr. F. Berger: (Göttingen, 1844 & 1848: 2 vols. 8vo.) The Greek Grammar (which was published in 1844) is Rost's exclusively; the Latin is the joint work of Drs. Kritz and Berger, of whom the latter prepared the etymology, the former the syntax. The parallelism is carried on, not merely in the general outline, (as by Kühner,) but also in the detail of each subject, and even in the language of the rules and statements, as far as possible. The third declension of nouns is divided according to the formation of the nominative from the stem, and the rules of gender are constructed accordingly. The verbs are also divided according to the characteristic, into pure, mute, and liquid verbs, —not by conjugations, first, second, third, &c. The arrangement of the syntax is admirable.

We are glad to see that an edition of Johnson's great "*Physical Atlas of Natural Phenomena*" is now in course of publication in a smaller (4to.) form, at a reduced price. It will be completed in twelve parts, at 3*s.* 6*d.* each: (Blackwood, Edinburgh.) There is also announced a "*New and Comprehensive Atlas of Physical Geography,*" constructed by A. Petermann, F. R. G. S; with a General View of the Physical Phenomena of the Globe, by the Rev. T. Milner, M. A. To be completed in six parts, (4to.,) at 2*s.* 6*d.* each: (Orr & Co., London.)

The third and last volume of Forbiger's "Handbuch der Alten Geographie, aus den Quellen bearbeitet," has appeared. It contains "Europa," in 1180 pp., 8vo.

The second fasciculus of the third volume of the "Corpus Inscriptionum Græcorum," edited from Boeckh's materials by Franzius, contains (part xxix.) Egyptian Inscriptions, (part xxx.) Ethiopian, (part xxxi.) Cyrenaic, and (part xxxii.) Inscriptions from Sicily, Malta, Lipara, and Sardinia (fol., pp. 397, Berlin, 1848.)

The following are announced as recently published, or in press, in London:—

Form and Sound; can their Beauty be dependent on the same Physical Laws? A Critical Inquiry, dedicated to the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts, by Thomas Purdie, 8vo.: —The Science of those Proportions by which the Human Head and Countenance, as represented in Works of ancient Greek Art, are distinguished from those of ordinary nature, by D. R. Hay, F. R. S. E., royal 4to., 25 plates:—China and the Chinese; their Religion, Character, Customs, and Manufactures: the evils arising from the Opium Trade, with a Glance at our Religious, Moral, Political, and Commercial Intercourse with the Country. 2 vols., 8vo.:— Notes and Lectures upon Shakspeare, and some of the old Poets and Dramatists, with other literary Remains of S. T. Coleridge; edited by Mrs. H. N. Coleridge, 2 vols., fcp. 8vo.:—A Delectus in Anglo-Saxon, intended as a first-class book in the language, by the

Rev. W. Barnes, 12mo.:—A History of the French Revolution of 1848, by Alphonse de Lamartine, (to form the June volume of Bohn's Standard Library:)—A Second Visit to the United States of North America, by Sir Charles Lyell, F. R. S.:—A Naval Biographical Dictionary, with Authentic Details of the Services of every Living Officer in Her Majesty's Navy, from the rank of Admiral of the Fleet to that of Lieutenant, inclusive, by W. R. O'Byrne, Esq.:—Life of John Calvin; compiled from authentic sources, and particularly from his Correspondence, by Thomas H. Dyer:—A History of Scotland during the First Half of the Eighteenth Century, by J. Hill Burton, Author of "Life and Correspondence of David Hume:"—Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers, including their Correspondence, by Eliot Warburton, Esq., Author of "The Crescent and the Cross," 3 vols.:—Memorials of the Civil War, from the Unpublished Papers of the Fairfax Family; edited from the Original MSS. by Robert Bell, Esq., Author of the "Life of Canning," 2 vols. 8vo.:—An Expedition to Discover the Sources of the White Nile, by Frederick Werne; from the German, by Charles Wm. O'Reilly, 2 vols., post octavo.

AMERICAN.

Messrs. Harpers are engaged upon a number of very valuable works, the titles of which may be seen in their copious advertisement at the end of this number, to which we invite the special attention of our readers.

Phillips and Sampson, Boston, propose to publish a new edition of Hume's History of England, in eight volumes, to match their edition of Macaulay's History.

Messrs. Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia, are preparing for publication:—

"Principles of the Mechanics of Machinery and Engineering," by Prof. Julius Weisbach, translated and edited by Prof. Gordon, of Glasgow; first American edition with Additions, by Prof. Walter R. Johnson: Vol. II., large 8vo., with 350 wood engravings, (nearly ready):—"Memoir of the Life of William Wirt," by John P. Kennedy, Esq., with a Portrait; in two handsome 8vo. volumes, (nearly ready):—"Outlines of Astronomy," by Sir John F. W. Herschel; in one handsome 8vo. volume, with six plates and numerous wood-cuts.

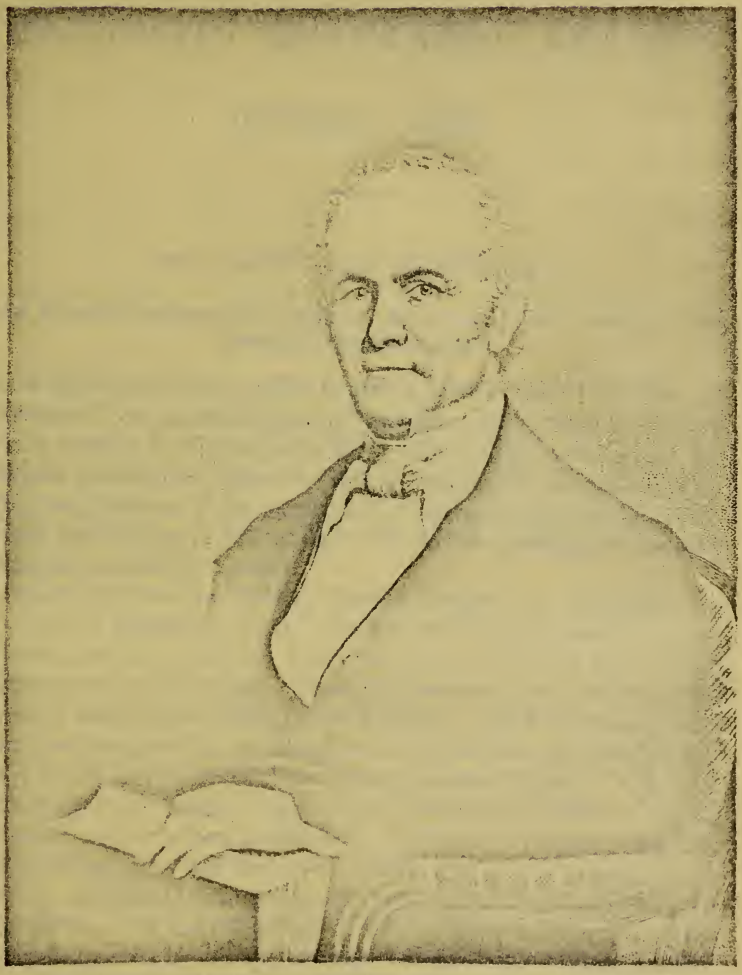
Messrs. Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln, Boston, have in press the Second Part of "Principles of Zoology," by Louis Agassiz and F. A. Gould; 1 vol. 12mo., with numerous Illustrations:—Agassiz's "Tour to Lake Superior," with the Scientific Tour by L. Agassiz, the Narrative of the Excursion by E. Cabot, Esq.; 1 vol., 8vo., illustrated:—also four new volumes from Chambers' Miscellany.

John Wiley, New-York, will shortly republish the new work by John Ruskin, the "Oxford Graduate," Author of "Modern Painters," viz., "The Seven Lamps of Architecture," with fourteen Etchings by the Author; in 1 vol. 12mo., uniform with "Modern Painters:" also, A. J. Downing's Supplement to the Fruits and Fruit-Trees of America:—Lindley's Theory of Horticulture, edited by Downing:—Downing's Country Houses; or, New Designs for Rural Cottages, Farm-Houses, and Villas, with Interiors and Furniture:—Half-Hours with the Best Authors, vol. 3:—R. Cary Long's Art and Science of Architecture; a Manual for Amateurs and Students:—Rev. Joseph P. Thompson's Memoir of David Hale; with Selections from his Writings, Moral and Religious, with a fine portrait.

G. P. Putnam's announcement of new works comprises the following:—

Irving's Works:—The next volume will be Oliver Goldsmith, a Biography; incorporating the essential facts and features of those by Prior and Forster, and enriched from other incidental sources: a finer edition will also be issued uniform with the Illustrated Sketch-Book, adding the Illustrations of Forster's Work beautifully engraved on wood. This volume will be followed by Mohammed and his Successors; the Conquest of Grenada; the Alhambra; the Spanish Legends:—Knickerbocker's History of New-York, with Illustrations by Darley, uniform with the Illustrated Sketch-Book, is in preparation. Also, the Crayon Reading-Book; comprising Selections from the various writings of Washington Irving, prepared for the use of schools: 12mo:—The Temples and Tombs of Egypt, as illustrative of Scripture History, by Francis L. Hawks, D. D., LL. D., with Engravings from the Works of Champollion, Rosellini, Wilkinson, &c.: 1 vol. 8vo., uniform with Layard's Nineveh:—Roman Liberty; a History by Samuel Elliot, Esq.; 2 vols. 8vo., with twelve line Engravings:—The Practical Elocutionist, in Colleges, Academies, and High Schools, by Prof. Hows.

*** **The religious intelligence is unavoidably omitted for want of room.**



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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1849.

Art. I.—REV. NOAH LEVINGS, D. D.

Late Financial Secretary of the American Bible Society, and a Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

It is the object of this article to give a brief sketch of the life and character of an eminent servant of God, who, during more than thirty years' service in the ministry, filled with honour and success the various stations and offices to which he was called—everywhere winning the affections of the people, and at all times enjoying the confidence and esteem of his brethren, till he was suddenly summoned from his work to his reward.

Noah Levings was born in Cheshire county, New-Hampshire, on the 29th of September, 1796. His parents being in humble circumstances, he was sent from home to earn a livelihood when about eight or nine years of age. From that time he shared but few of the joys or advantages of the parental home. But, even among comparative strangers, the amiableness of his character and the faithfulness of his service everywhere secured for him friends. His early advantages for mental improvement were very limited—a source of much regret to him in after life. In his case, it was a matter of little consequence that the public schools were poorly supported and poorly conducted; that text-books were defective and teachers incompetent. To him, thirsting for knowledge, yet from very childhood compelled to toil for his daily bread, the few advantages they did afford would have been regarded as a boon above all price.

* The writer of this sketch, in penning these pages, has sought not less to perpetuate the memory of exalted worth, than to comply with the dying request of a dear friend and an honoured Christian brother. [*Note.*—The day before he died, he said,—"I wish the Rev. D. W. Clark, of the New-York Conference, to write my memoir."]

His early religious impressions were deep and lasting. But experimental religion was little known at that period within the circle of his acquaintance. High Calvinism had begotten its opposite in error,—Universalism, and the two opinions were in conflict for the mastery. It could not be doubtful, (apart from divine interposition,) in an age when the tone of piety and of morals was emphatically low, which would have the vantage-ground in the contest. The one required morality,—nay, piety, after its kind; the other dispensed with both, while at the same time its "policies of insurance" were issued on the largest scale. In such a contest, carried on in such an age, the chances were on the side of the scheme which promised most and required least. Nor have we any doubt that Universalism would long since have obtained the mastery in New-England, had not the fermenting mass been impregnated with the leaven of a purer faith and a richer experience. Divine Providence raised up a people to proclaim a free, a present, and a full salvation; this, by the new elements of Christian power it evoked, has proved a check and an antidote to the system of religious licentiousness which was sweeping over the land like a flood.

At the age of sixteen the subject of our memoir was apprenticed to a blacksmith in Troy, his parents having previously removed to that place. When he entered upon his new situation he formed the resolution to be faithful to his master, and regard his interests as his own. His morals were placed in great peril. His master was not religious, and did not pretend to control him upon the Sabbath; and he was led into the company of Sabbath-breakers, and with them spent much holy time in roaming over the fields and through the woods adjacent to the city. But his natural good sense, and the uncorrupted moral principles inculcated in early life, soon came to his relief. His parents, though not professedly pious, had trained their children to a strict observance of the Christian Sabbath, and now the moral influence of that early training revived and wrought his deliverance, as it has that of thousands of young men similarly exposed.

Breaking away from these associations, he determined to become a regular attendant upon the worship of God in some one of the churches. All churches were alike to him, for he had not become familiar with the creeds of any, nor, indeed, scarcely with the peculiarities in their forms of worship. He therefore determined upon a circuit of visitation to the several churches in the city; and, in carrying out this design, he first visited the Presbyterian church, then under the pastoral charge of Rev. Jonas Coe, D. D.; who, he says, "was a good man and an excellent pastor." He next attended

the Baptist church, where "good old Mr. Wayland (the father of President Wayland) was the minister." Though favourably impressed with the piety and abilities of both of these servants of God, he could not feel at home in their congregations. His third visit was made to the Protestant Episcopal church, but there he was wearied with ceremonies too numerous and complicated to be either interesting or edifying. He next attended the meeting of the Friends; but here, instead of long prayers and tedious ceremonies, he heard nothing at all; nor was he loath to leave when the hour was up and the sign for closing given.

His last visit of inquiry was at the Methodist Episcopal church. He found a small house, occupied by a simple, plain, and solemn people. Their worship, though not imposing in its forms, was hearty and sincere. It not a little surprised him to witness, for the first time in his life, a congregation kneeling down in time of prayer. The conviction was wrought in his mind that this people were the people of God. Under the ministry of the Word, feelings were awakened which he had known nowhere else; and under the powerful reasonings and cogent appeals of the Rev. P. P. Sandford, the stationed minister, he was often made to feel that God truly was in that place. But it was more particularly under the preaching of the Rev. Laban Clark, who succeeded Mr. Sandford, that he was led to realize fully his lost condition, and to feel the necessity of seeking salvation by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. On one occasion he left the church so overwhelmed with the consciousness of his guilt and wretchedness, that he almost bordered upon despair. The struggles of his soul were deep and powerful; and in the privacy of his closet he wrestled and agonized before God. This was long before he had broken the secret of his heart even to his most intimate friends. He at length unburdened his mind to a pious young man of his acquaintance. By this young man he was taken to the prayer-meeting, then held at the house of Dr. Landon, a man of God now departed to his rest, but whose memory is like "ointment poured forth." Here the young inquirer became more perfectly instructed in the way of salvation by faith, and was also a subject of special and earnest prayer.

He sought God sincerely and unreservedly; he prayed earnestly, and with many tears. There was no tie that he would not sunder, and no sacrifice that he would not make, if necessary, to secure the favour of his offended Lord. Yet his conversion was less sudden, and less strongly marked in its character, than that of many others. He was rather "drawn with the cords of a man and with the bands of love," than driven by the thunders of the law; though each had

their appropriate influence in leading him to the Saviour. Nor was the evidence of his change either sudden or clear. Upon this point he remained for a long time in a state of most distressing uncertainty. From the consciousness of guilt he had been delivered; but the witness of his adoption was necessary to complete his joy.

It was not till the 5th of June, 1815, that he was enabled to rejoice in this long-sought blessing. On that day—a day ever memorable in his history—as he was returning from his private devotions, where he had been wrestling with God for the witness of the Spirit, light broke in upon his soul, and he could exclaim, "Abba, Father," with an unwavering tongue. The power of the tempter was broken; his doubts were all gone. A divine assurance—the gift of the Holy Spirit—reigned in his soul, and filled him with unspeakable joy. His swelling heart, overflowing with emotion, gave vent to its transports, while he cried aloud,—

"My God is reconciled,
His pard'ning voice I hear:
He owns me for his child,
I can no longer fear;
With confidence I now draw nigh,
And Father, Abba, Father, cry."

But before obtaining this full assurance he had publicly dedicated himself to Christ, by uniting with his church, and boldly advocating his cause. He joined the Methodist Society as a probationer in 1813. The circumstances are thus related by the venerable minister of God who seems to have been the principal instrument of his conversion:—One day an apprentice-boy, in his blacksmith's garb, direct from his labour, called upon him, and made application to be received into the society. He appeared to be about sixteen years of age; was small in stature, bashful in his address, and the circumstances of his introduction were peculiar and somewhat disadvantageous. Yet there was something so unassuming and so winning in his manner, so sincere and so intelligent in his whole appearance and conversation, that a very favourable impression was made upon the mind of the preacher, and he admitted him as a probationer; at the same time giving him encouragement and counsel. On the following Wednesday night, at their public prayer-meeting, when the leading members had prayed, and it was nearly time to dismiss the congregation, at the close of one of the prayers a youthful voice, whose feminine tones were scarcely sufficient to fill the church, was heard some two-thirds down the aisle, leading in prayer. The prayer was feeling and appropriate, but short—so short as to be, at the longest, comprised within a minute. As the preacher passed

down the aisle, his blacksmith boy stood at the end of the seat, waiting to grasp his hand with Christian affection. On the next Wednesday evening the silvery tones of the same youthful voice were again heard, near the close of the meeting, leading in its devotions. At this time he prayed with more fervour, more compass of thought, and more self-possession; and yet his prayer was not more than a minute and a half. At the close of the meeting, as the official brethren gathered around the preacher, one inquired who that boy was; another said his forwardness must be checked; and a third, that he must be stopped altogether. The preacher simply replied, "Now, brethren, let that boy alone,—there is something in him more than you are aware of;" and from that time no one questioned the right of the young blacksmith boy to officiate in the public prayer-meetings.

Such were the public beginnings of one who in after years became eminent as a minister of the gospel, distinguished alike for the ability and the success with which he preached "Christ crucified." Even the minister of God who had cherished him as a lovely and promising youth, little realized the chain of causes he was setting in motion, and the results that would grow out of them. He had gathered a chance jewel from among the cinders of the blacksmith's shop; but little did he comprehend the richness of its value, or the transcendent lustre its polished surface would assume. So often does God make "the weak things" of earth praise him, and "the day of small things" to become glorious before him.

It is remarkable that the two eminent servants of God, who were mainly instrumental in his conversion, are still in the effective ranks, enjoying a green old age, cheered, loved, and honoured by their brethren who have grown up around them. The next preacher stationed in Troy was the Rev. Tobias Spicer. To the instructions of this eminently sound and judicious minister, as well as to those of the Rev. Messrs. Clark and Chichester, the young disciple was much indebted in his early Christian history. He says (in his journal) that they seemed to labour less to excite a momentary feeling, than to produce a solid and permanent religious character; one that would be most likely to withstand the shocks of temptation, and to accumulate strength through every period of its future experience. Nor did he cease to acknowledge his obligations to these men of God till his dying day. Well had it been for thousands of sincere and susceptible young men, could they have been favoured with equally competent and judicious advisers. While the youthful character is in this transition state, the influences brought to bear upon it make a deep and generally ineffaceable impression; and, for weal

or wo, will they continue to bring forth life-long results. The proper training of young converts, and especially of young men in the Christian Church, is a work of as high moment in the magnitude of its results as that of the mere instrumentality of their conversion. For the want of sound Christian nurture, thousands cease to be of any account in the church, just at a point when their usefulness should be taking direction and acquiring character.

During the pastoral labours of Mr. Spicer in Troy, there was a very extensive work of God in the church; so extensive that the membership were increased from a hundred and seven to two hundred and fifty during the two years. The church edifice was small, plain, and unimposing; the membership were few in number, and poor in worldly means,—not many rich, not many great, not many noble were found among them. But they were devoted to God, and loved one another; and God put honour upon them, making them to abound in fruitfulness and joy. This revival, in an especial manner, awakened the zeal and called out the talents of young Levings. He had been converted at a time when no special revival was in progress; and the awakening and conversion of such multitudes seemed to fill him with astonishment and wonder, while at the same time it fired his own heart anew. He had already become an efficient teacher in the first Sabbath-school established in Troy, and then sustained by the different denominations of evangelical Christians. While yet in his minority he was appointed a class-leader; and when, at the Conference of 1817, the Rev. S. Luckey succeeded Mr. Spicer in charge of the station, he gave him license to exhort. On the 20th day of December following, being then a few months over twenty-one, he was duly licensed as a local preacher by the quarterly conference of the station.

Up to this time he appears to have had no distinct idea of entering the ministry. He had, indeed, an ardent desire to do all he could for the glory of God and for the salvation of men; but, so high appeared to him to be the qualifications necessary for a Christian minister, and so small and insignificant did his own appear to himself, that entering the sacred office seemed entirely out of the question. His mind had been at ease under this view of the subject; but now it came up before him in a new and stronger light. He was out of his apprenticeship; he was also of age; the responsibility of determining his future course now devolved upon himself. He wished to do right; he had an ardent desire to do good; he was wedded in his affections to the Church of God; he groaned in spirit for the salvation of a dying world. And yet the magnitude of the work, the fearful and far-reaching nature of its responsibilities, ap-

palled him. After many struggles of mind, he was at length led to the determination to follow the convictions of duty and the openings of Providence. Accordingly, on the 7th of March, 1818, his license to preach was renewed, and he was recommended to the New-York Annual Conference. The session of the conference was held in May following, in the city of New-York. He was here received on trial and appointed to the Leyden circuit, having the Rev. Ibri Cannon for his senior preacher and superintendent.

If it had cost him a struggle to decide upon entering the ministry, he was now subject to a trial of a different character, but scarcely less painful to youthful sensibilities. He had been appointed to a distant circuit, and must now bid adieu to the home and the cherished friends of his youth. And then the prospect before him was by no means congenial to the feelings of a young man of a feeble constitution and a timid nature. An extensive circuit, embracing the roughest portions of Massachusetts, and spreading out over the hills of Vermont—giving promise of long rides through cold and mountainous regions and over bad roads, and also of much labour and but little worldly reward—was a prospect that might have disheartened a mind of less nerve or a soul of weaker faith. But he had put his hand to the gospel plough; and he could say, "None of these things move me." He left home for his appointment the day after he received it. After a ride of fifty miles on horseback, over roads rendered difficult by the thawing and heaving of the frost, having crossed the Green Mountains and descended into the valley of the Deerfield river, in a spot encircled by mountains covered with their ancient forests, he found himself upon the borders of his circuit. Leyden circuit, in 1818, included all that tract of country from the Green Mountains on the west to the Connecticut River on the east, embracing portions of the counties of Bennington and Windham, in Vermont, and of Franklin and Berkshire, in Massachusetts. Among the towns and villages in which he and his colleague preached, were Readsboro', Whittingham, Wilmington, Halifax, Guilford, Vernon, Brattleboro', Marlboro', and Dummerston, in Vermont; and Leyden, Bernardston, Northfield, Gill, Shelburne, Colerain, Charlemont, Rowe, Monroe, and Florida, in Massachusetts. Dummerston on the northern, and Shelburne on the southern, extremity of the circuit were some fifty miles apart. Northfield, the eastern appointment, was on the east side of the Connecticut River; and Florida, the western limit, was hid among the Green Mountains, near the western border of the State. One round of the circuit required a ride of not far from two hundred and fifty miles. To *traverse* this region at all seasons of the year, and in all kinds of weather, was no

light undertaking. But to preach and lead class three times upon the Sabbath, frequently riding from five to ten miles between the afternoon and evening appointments, and then, after long rides during the day, to preach several evenings in each week, was a labour that required a robust constitution and a determined spirit. What, but the love of souls, could have constrained these men of God to such sacrifices and such labours?

The modification of the circuit system has been a natural and necessary result of the growth and increase of Methodism. By this modification, the labours of the preachers, so far as it regards long rides and frequent exposures, have been much abridged; without, however, abridging in the least their opportunities of labouring to build up the kingdom of Christ. Restricted as may now seem many of our little stations, or "patches," as they have been sometimes called by way of derision, when compared with the old circuits, we doubt not but that the most laborious servant of God might find sufficient to do in them to employ his whole time and consume his whole energy. The time necessarily spent formerly in accomplishing the long rides of the circuit, now rigidly devoted to earnest, faithful pastoral visitation, would not only furnish bodily exercise, but also tell in its influence upon the spirituality and usefulness of the minister. Nor should it be forgotten that the present arrangement of our stations, as well as the increasing intelligence of our people, requires an amount of exhausting intellectual labour utterly impracticable under a *régime* like the old circuit system. Indeed, such a system—admirably adapted as it is to a country sparsely settled, and to the culture of weak societies widely scattered—becomes impracticable in a densely populated religious communion. It is one of the glories of Methodism that in all its economy, merely prudential, it possesses a flexibility that will ever adapt it to its changing circumstances, and to the wants of its growing communion. If, however, any one should be unable to satisfy his longings for amplitude of space wherein to exercise his powers, we advise him to emigrate to some country where a sparser population is to be found; to decamp forthwith for the prairies of the West, where his powers may have full scope, while he skirts along the vast range of the western borders of civilization. The moon-struck wight who now sighs for the good old days of long circuit riding, may be placed in the same category with those censors, who, making war upon the fashions of this degenerate age, would have us go back to the buck-skin breeches and coon-skin caps worn by our ancestors, when forests were to be levelled and fields cleared for the habitations of men.

Upon the Leyden circuit the preacher was well received:—his

piety and his sincerity were so strongly marked that they won the entire confidence of the people. There was also a timidity in his manner, and an exquisite sensibility in his character, which took strong hold upon their sympathies. When standing in the pulpit he was often unable to look his congregation in the face, so great was his timidity; but the earnestness of his zeal and the deep emotions of his soul, often expressed by the tears that flowed plentifully down over his face, found a response in the hearts of his congregation. The growth of his personal piety and the cultivation of his mind were objects of deep interest to him. To promote the former, he watched, prayed, fasted, and meditated; he studied with devout attention the Holy Scriptures, and read with deep interest the lives of holy and devoted servants of God, that he might understand their character, imitate their example, and be imbued with their spirit. Of his desire to improve his mind, he gave evidence by his devotion to study whenever he arrived at one of those delightful homes for the itinerant scattered here and there over the circuit, and where he rested a day or two to recruit his exhausted powers for new fatigues. Solid attainments in both piety and learning, he felt were indispensable to him as a Christian minister. No amount of knowledge or sprightliness of talent would, he knew, answer as a substitute for sound, genuine piety. Learning, unsanctified by religion, unwarmed by love, would be, like the mountain iceberg, splendid and imposing in appearance, but chilling and freezing in influence. But, on the other hand, zeal, and even a well-intentioned piety, would not answer as a substitute for a sound knowledge of divine things.

It was under the influence of such convictions as these, that he was led to apply himself diligently to the cultivation of both heart and intellect. And, no doubt, here among the hills and mountains of Leyden, while preaching to small and unlettered congregations, gathered for the most part in private rooms and school-houses, it was that he laid the foundation of that character which afterwards bore him up through a long and successful ministry in many of the most responsible and important appointments within the wide range of the New-York Conference. Many young men have set out with as good promise and as high hopes as the subject of our memoir; but, imagining themselves straitened and cramped in their genius by small congregations and a rude field of labour, have flattered themselves that they would put forth their energies when assigned to more responsible and prominent posts. Thus self-deceived, and lured into a species of mental dissipation, before they were aware of it, their habits have become formed and their mental character fixed; and thenceforward, though the goal was often seen in the

distance, and a spark of momentary ambition awakened, it soon subsided, and their lives flowed on in one sluggish and unvarying course. One of our most eminent divines and eloquent preachers once said to me, that many of his most finished and effective discourses were elaborated while travelling among the hills of upper Pennsylvania, and were first preached to congregations of ten or a dozen Germans gathered into log school-houses. Those same discourses have since been listened to with admiration by immense audiences in several of our large cities.

The spring at length came, and the session of conference was drawing near. The young itinerant found it hard to part with the people of his charge. They had greeted him in their dwellings, and stayed up his hands in their congregations. When dispirited and care-worn they had cheered and comforted him; in sickness they had watched over him and hailed with joy his returning health; and together had they shared the common sympathies and joys of the people of God. He had suffered in his long rides and fatiguing labours; he had been drenched by the falling rain; he had been chilled by the piercing cold as he traversed the bleak hills of his circuit; by night as well as by day had he been in peril, as he threaded his path through miry and toilsome ways. But the very scenes of his toils and his trials had become endeared to him by the honour God had placed upon him, and the favour he had given him in the eyes of the people. His last round upon his circuit was, no less to the people than to himself, an affecting, weeping time.

On the 29th of April he re-crossed the Green Mountains; and on the 1st of May reached the city of Troy, which was to be the seat of the conference that year. His welcome by his brethren was such as to assure him that he had not lost his place in their affections. The next day, being Sunday, he preached to a crowded house, in demonstration of the Spirit and with power. The conference adjourned on the 14th, and he received his appointment as junior preacher on Pownal circuit. It was but sixteen miles distant; and the evening of the same day of his appointment found him within the bounds of his charge. This was to him a delightful year, spent among a kind and loving people. He was still ardent in the prosecution of his studies and earnest in the cultivation of his piety. During this year he had deep and powerful convictions upon the subject of entire sanctification; and frequent and protracted were his struggles for the attainment of this blessing. Nor were those struggles in vain; though he failed, "because of unbelief," to enter into that glorious rest, his piety became more deep, solid, and ardent.

In 1820 he was ordained deacon by Bishop George, and appointed

to Montgomery circuit. This year exceeded in toils and hardships either of the former years of his itinerancy. His health became so enfeebled by labour and exposure, that on his return to Troy in the spring his friends were greatly alarmed, and all regarded him as already marked for an early grave. Yet he received his appointment, determined, if he fell, to fall at his post. The appointment, Saratoga circuit, proved highly favourable. He recovered his health, and his labours on the circuit were very acceptable and useful. While on Montgomery circuit he had been united in marriage to Miss Sarah Clark, who, after sharing with him the varied experience of an itinerant's life for nearly thirty years, is left in lonely widowhood by his demise.

Near the close of his year on Saratoga circuit, the presiding elder of that district, the Rev. D. Ostrander, communicated to him that the bishop, at the ensuing conference, purposed sending him to the northern part of Vermont. This information he had left with the presiding elder, directing him to communicate it just before the conference, so that he might have an opportunity to visit his friends and make preparations for removing; and probably, also, that his mind might be in some measure prepared for a post involving much labour and privation. The reflections of the young minister on the reception of this by no means welcome intelligence, are worthy of being preserved as illustrative of his character, and of the principles that actuated him in his work:—

"It is understood that preachers in that part of the work fare rather poorly with regard to temporal things. This, with some other considerations, has rendered it rather an unwelcome lot to many. But I shall interpose no objection to going. For, 1. It is purely an episcopal appointment. 2. I am willing to take my share of the hard as well as the pleasant appointments. 3. I am now young, and have no family except a wife; and we, being both young and in good health, can go as well as not.—at any rate, better now than at any future period. 4. Having thrown myself upon the providence of God, as a Methodist travelling preacher, it would illy become me to forestall that providence and choose for myself. 5. I wish at all times to have the satisfaction of knowing that I am in the order of God, and then I can go to him at all times with confidence, for relief in trouble and for help in labour."

Accordingly, at the ensuing conference—having been ordained elder—he was sent to Middlebury, Vermont. He commenced his ministry by discoursing from the text, "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake." And this text he placed before himself as the rule or formula after which his ministrations were to be modelled. The people received him with joy, sustained his hands in the work, and his labours were crowned with good results. The next year he was stationed in Burlington. We find him, while in these two appointments,

still intent upon improving his mind and heart. "I feel," he would exclaim, "the want of more retirement for prayer and meditation, and for a closer application to study. Nothing but a closer application to study, accompanied with much prayer, will ever burst the bands of ignorance and darkness from my mind. Nothing but this will enable me to fathom and unfold the depths and the fulness of the divine Word. Nothing but this will make me 'a workman that needeth not to be ashamed,' skilfully and successfully preaching the 'gospel of the kingdom.' How much have I yet to learn of God, of myself, of my duty, of my privileges, and of the best manner of doing good! O Lord, teach me by thy Holy Spirit; and help me to be diligent in all things." Such were the aspirations of the youthful minister! Such his longings after God! Such his zeal to qualify himself to sustain the high responsibilities of his ministry!

Among the many books he read about this time, was the Life of Napoleon. The history and character of the Emperor started in his mind a problem which has no doubt often troubled many a devout and sincere inquirer; and which can be solved only by a sense of the dimness of our spiritual vision and the gross sordidness of our nature, even under the most favourable circumstances. When men are ready to make such sacrifices, brave such dangers, endure such labours, and ever manifest such sleepless, untiring zeal for earthly good, the possession of which is so transitory, and its enjoyment so imperfect, why is it that Christians, professing to believe in all the solemn realities of eternity—the enduring bliss of heaven—are so feeble and languid in their efforts to secure an immortal crown? "Did we but labour with as much diligence and zeal for the incorruptible, as Napoleon did for the corruptible crown, what victories over the world, the flesh, and the devil should we achieve! How much good we should do, and how much happiness we should enjoy!"

While at Burlington he made frequent excursions into the neighbouring towns and villages, preaching the gospel with varied success. He would often leave home with a range of appointments for each evening running through two weeks. In some of these appointments he would meet with opposition, in others a hearty welcome. Sometimes his preaching was in demonstration of the Spirit and with great power, so that the breath of the Lord came down, and, in a mighty gale, swept over the valley of dry bones. These evangelical labours he prosecuted with even more success during the second year of his labours in Burlington; and they resulted in the permanent establishment of Methodism in several places. So fully had he imbibed the itinerant spirit, that on his way to the confer-

ence at Malta, in the spring of 1825, he took a circuit through Middlebury, Sandy Hill, Glenn's Falls, Amsterdam, Funda's Bush, and several other places, proclaiming a free, full, and present salvation in every place.

His next two years were spent upon the Charlotte circuit, in Vermont. From this place he was removed, at the conference of 1827, to the city of New-York. This appointment was unsought by him. So far from it, when he learned that such was the probable result, he ventured a request to the bishop to appoint him to some other portion of the work. And when the appointment had been made, he came to the city with many misgivings and with much fear. But he solaced himself with the reflection that the appointment was not of his own seeking; and, therefore, should he fail, on that ground he would be free from censure. The city of New-York then comprised one circuit with seven churches, and a membership of three thousand two hundred and eighty-nine persons. The churches were those now known as the John, Forsyth, Duane, Allen, Bedford, (then Greenwich Village,) Seventh, (then Bowery Village,) and Willet-street churches. Six preachers were stationed in the city. They circulated through the appointments in regular order, each preaching in the morning in one church, in another in the afternoon, and in a third in the evening; thus completing the circuit in a little over two weeks.

In this new field of labour the popular talent of Mr. Levings found ample room for exercise and abundant stimulus to call it forth. His discourses were characterized rather by brilliancy than depth of thought, by apt and striking illustration rather than by strength of reasoning. The tenacity of his memory and the fluency of his speech were alike remarkable. He never wanted for words, and his superintendent on the circuit, "representing his case" before conference, said, "Brother Levings was born with words on his tongue." The tones of his voice were well managed and pleasing; his gesture was appropriate and exceedingly graceful; his delivery was ardent, while at the same time his whole manner was self-possessed. These were precisely the qualities to render a man popular in New-York. Accordingly his congregations were crowded to excess. Numbers followed him from church to church, unwittingly, perhaps, violating the proprieties of the Christian Sabbath and of the worship of God in order to enjoy the eloquence of their favourite preacher. More than twenty years have passed away since that period, and yet I find many who still retain a vivid recollection of portions of his discourses, and of the effects produced upon the congregations by them. He has, during this period, been accused of catering to the religious

enthusiasm of that class of excitable persons, whose manifestations of piety are apt to be more vociferous than practical. What foundation for this charge his preaching at that day, when youthful enthusiasm was at its height, may have afforded, we will not undertake to say; or, indeed, how far his ardent zeal and his own high state of religious enjoyment may have superinduced these results, is a question we may not now profitably discuss. The purity of his Christian and ministerial character none have ever doubted; nor have any questioned but that the great ends of the gospel ministry were accomplished through his labours.

The manner in which he felt the responsibilities of his work, and the spirit that actuated him in its commission, may be best seen in the private journal of his labours and experience. In his record of September 7th, for this year, he says:—

"For some weeks past I have felt more than ever the importance of the work in which I am engaged. I trust that I am enabled to love God more than ever before. O that my heart may be filled with supreme love to Him who is my life and my salvation! Blessed be the Lord God, my heart seems more and more taken up in his work! I am far from believing that raptures are a sure evidence of deep piety. It is a good remark, that shallow water *ripples*, while that which is deep generally rolls on in silence and tranquillity. If I have my will subdued, my passions governed, and my affections sanctified and set on things above, then have I evidence of a deep and genuine work of grace. O Lord, search my heart and know me; see if there be any wicked way within me, and lead me in the way everlasting."

On another occasion, when he had completed his thirty-first year, he enters into the following train of reflections:—

"How swiftly do the years fly away! How soon will eternity be my everlasting home! How stands the account, let me inquire, between God and my soul? Wherein am I better than I was one year ago? Do I love God more than I did then? Have I a greater deadness to the world, or a greater conformity to Christ? Do I feel more the importance of the work in which I am engaged? I have much reason for repentance upon all these points; and yet in some respects I trust I am advancing in the divine life. Some of these questions I believe I can answer in the affirmative. But how slow my progress! I feel myself to be the weakest of the weak. O, for divine grace to help me! I have of late had some gracious intimations of the divine willingness to make my heart His constant home. O, when shall I experience all the fulness of God!"

Thus do we find this servant of God, in the full tide of his popularity, still yearning after holiness of heart; still panting for full redemption in the blood of Christ. Nothing could seduce him from his allegiance to the Saviour; nothing could unsettle him in his determined reliance upon Christ.

He had a buoyancy and elasticity of spirit that sometimes seemed to border upon lightness. This he felt to be a sore temptation. He says:—

"The Lord knows, and, to some extent, I know, that I have many imperfections, both as a Christian and a minister. I am naturally prone to be unguarded in speech; especially when in the company of Christians and ministers. By this I sometimes inadvertently offend against the generation of God's children. This often wounds my heart and wrings it with sorrow. May God forgive and help me, that I offend not in word; for 'the same is a perfect man, and able also to bridle the whole body.'"

We admire the watchfulness which thus led him to write bitter things against himself. But we have never known in him a breach of Christian courtesy to his brethren. And though possessed of a lively imagination, fine colloquial powers, and an inexhaustible fund of anecdote, making him a most interesting social companion; yet we must say, whatever may have been his faults in earlier life, that we have always found this exuberance chastened by the most sweet and lovely Christian spirit. The record of this temptation in his journal shows, that while panting for more holiness he did not cease to watch with a godly jealousy over himself.

During the fall of this year the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson sickened and died at the house of his friend, George Suckley, in the city of New-York. During his sickness it was the privilege of our brother to visit him, to be instructed by his counsel, and cheered by his resignation and by the triumphs of his faith. Under date of September 17th he says:—

"This morning I visited the venerable Freeborn Garrettson, who lies dangerously ill at the residence of George Suckley, Esq. He is faint, yet pursuing; and I trust will make a good and glorious end, when called to lay down his body and his charge. He said, 'I have given up my wife and daughter; my treasure is in heaven.' Then with uplifted hands he exclaimed,—'I want to go home to Jesus. There is nothing below worth looking upon.' And, addressing himself to me, he said,—'Keep straight forward, straight forward.' I then said,—'Sir, you must feel at this time something like Simeon of old, having lived to see the salvation of God these thirty or forty years in the rise and progress of Methodism in these United States.' But on my expressing some fear lest we, who are sons in the Gospel, should suffer the work to decline from its original simplicity and purity, he instantly replied,—'You will *stand*, and do better than we have done.'"

Nine days later the good old patriarch departed to his rest. The dying scene, as well as the character and history of this old veteran of Methodism, seemed to make an ineffaceable impression upon the mind of the young preacher; and led him to long after the spirit of the old Methodist preachers, and to desire to imitate them in the entireness of their devotion and the abundance of their labours. Like Elisha, he prayed that the mantle of the departing man of God might fall upon him.

At the conference of 1829, Mr. Levings was stationed in the city of Brooklyn. During this year his family was much afflicted with

sickness; and one of his children, "little Charles Wesley," was taken from him. His feelings on the occasion are thus expressed:—

"Shall we receive good and not also evil at the hand of the Lord?

'Thankful I take the cup from thee,
Prepared and mingled by thy skill;
Though bitter to the taste it be,
Powerful the wounded soul to heal!'"

He was returned a second year to Brooklyn, and throughout the period of his stay laboured with efficiency and success. During this second year he accompanied John Garrison, Esq., on a pilgrimage to Salem, New-Jersey, to erect a monument over the grave of that distinguished and holy man of God, Benjamin Abbott. At the conference of 1831 he was elected a delegate to the General Conference, and appointed to New-Haven. During his second year in New-Haven, the church in Fair Haven was erected through his agency. Finding an opening there to do good, he undertook to erect a small building for a prayer and lecture room; but the subscription soon became so large that he felt warranted in the erection of a church. In this enterprise, however, he was greatly afflicted by the opposition of some from whom he had looked for assistance and encouragement. This not only wounded his feelings, but in a measure crippled his energies. However, he went forward in the name of the Lord; and, being nobly sustained by one or two brethren, he carried the enterprise to so favourable an issue, that when the church had been completed, and was committed to a board of trustees, the debt upon it amounted to but one hundred and ninety dollars. Soon after, the society in that place was organized into an independent station, and have continued to maintain themselves as such until the present day.

His success in New-Haven was not such as to afford him much satisfaction; and he regarded his labours there with almost as much pain as pleasure. At their close, he was led to review the causes of this want of success. This he did with deep feeling and with much prayer. As his reflections may be applicable to other societies, and withal are suggestive of important considerations, we insert them in brief, premising that we have no reason to believe them to be more applicable to that particular society at the present day than to any other. The following he regarded as the prominent causes of the want of success and of prosperity in the society:—

"1. Want of greater zeal, piety, and faithfulness on the part of the preacher.
"2. Divisions and party-spirit among the members of the church.
"3. Want of union, brotherly love, and Christian forbearance among the official members.

"4. Neglect of the leaders in visiting the members of their respective classes.

"5. Neglect of, or an irregular attention to, the prayer-meetings by the official members.

"6. Disaffection among some (very few, I trust) to the institutions of the church."

One of the evidences of this disaffection on the part of certain persons, was the fact, that whatever was written and published by disaffected persons abroad, would soon find its way into their hands, and seem to find a ready response from their hearts; and by them be circulated among other members of the church with great industry. Whatever assailed the church seemed to be regarded by them with more interest than that which was written for its vindication.

These are great evils in a church; and, wherever they exist to any extent, they furnish a powerful obstacle to its religious prosperity. They will neutralize the most devoted and self-sacrificing efforts of the Christian minister. He may preach with "the tongues of men and of angels," but the word, to a great extent, must remain fruitless. The last cause mentioned might seem to indicate an undue and selfish jealousy on the part of the preacher. But we are bold to say, that whenever a restless dissatisfaction has crept into a society or church, its members themselves are the main sufferers by it. Persons affected by this spirit, well-intentioned and pious as they may be, see everything in a wrong light. They may continue to adhere to the church; but their feelings are not cordial; their labours are not hearty, nor yet in faith. The hands of the minister and of the other members are weakened by them. Through them the Church has no unity, no strength, and no success. And then the very want of success becomes an occasion of more bitter complaint; and too often is regarded as confirmation strong of the justice of their prejudice and disaffection. Thus, as it is said of jealousy, the spirit they possess creates the food upon which it feeds and by which it is nourished. This is the natural result of disaffection in a church; and sometimes it requires years of toil to repair the damage wrought in a few months. Nor are those societies few in number which have received shocks from which they never recovered.

Mr. Levings took but little part in the deliberations of the General Conference in 1832, being summoned home, on account of the sickness of his wife, soon after its commencement. The Troy Conference was this year organized, comprising the northern portion of the former New-York Conference. To accommodate the work, it became necessary to transfer him to this conference the next year, and he was appointed to Garrettson station, Albany. At first he

yielded a reluctant assent to the transfer—heeding the saying, *A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and among his own kin;* but his reception was so cordial among the people, and God opened his way so graciously, that he soon felt the change to be in the order of divine Providence.

He had been absent from this region six years, during which time he had filled three heavy and responsible appointments. His desire for mental improvement, and especially to enlarge the sphere of his theological knowledge, continued unabated. Besides extended studies in the Evidences of Revealed Religion, and in Systematic Divinity, he had given considerable attention to Greek and Hebrew. But his progress in these latter studies was retarded by his necessary attention to pastoral and ministerial duties. He seemed to act upon the principle of Wesley,—"Getting knowledge is a good thing, but saving souls is a better." Not that he would pervert the maxim into an apology for the neglect of study; but in all his studies he would not forget that the grand object of them should be to make him more skilful and more successful in winning souls to Christ. And while he husbanded the fragments of his time for the acquisition of knowledge, he did not forget that the duties of the pastoral office had a paramount claim. During this period also he had repeated calls to dedicate churches, and to deliver missionary and Bible addresses. In these efforts he uniformly acquitted himself as a workman that needed not to be ashamed. Two of his dedication sermons were published, and are very creditable specimens of pulpit eloquence.

His labours in Albany were greatly blessed, and he returned a net increase of one hundred and six members to the next conference. During the year he had also visited various places without the bounds of his charge, preaching the Word of life with power and success. In 1834 he was stationed in Troy: thus, after sixteen years' absence from the society which raised him up, and from which he went forth to preach the Word of life, he was returned to them as their pastor. In his weakness they had watched over him; they had counselled, encouraged, and prayed for him. While yet a stripling they had sent him forth into the vineyard of the Lord with their benedictions upon his head; and now, in the maturity of his strength, he came back to repay their kindness, and to devote his energies to the building of them up in the Lord. To the people, though he had been absent so long, he seemed as one of themselves. They received him with joy, laboured with him in harmony, and, at the end of his two years, were parted from him with deep sorrow. He was a delegate to the General Conference of 1836, held in Cincinnati,

and was distinguished no less by the amenity of his deportment, than by his judicious and conservative course in regard to the profoundly important and exciting subjects that came before that body.

At the ensuing annual conference he was stationed in Schenectady. The society here had just erected a new and beautiful church; and Methodism was assuming a position and an importance in the place that it had not previously had. Accordingly, in entering upon his charge, he felt that a great responsibility rested upon him. The character of Methodism in the place was to receive a new stamp, and the work of God a new impulse; its altered and improving circumstances required the development and right direction of new elements of moral power. Entering upon his work with these views and feelings, he prosecuted it with unwearied diligence and with great success. The congregation was greatly increased in numbers, and also improved in character. The membership of the church rose from one hundred and ninety-one to three hundred and fifteen; and to his services Methodism is not a little indebted for its character and standing even at the present day.

During the two years spent in this place he dedicated seven churches, one of which was the Seventh-street Church in New-York city. He also delivered a great number of special sermons, as well as missionary, Bible, and temperance addresses. The performance of so much labour abroad, while at the same time his flock were not neglected at home, shows that he was a man of untiring industry as well as of great activity. In the spring of 1837 he was called to dedicate a church in Hinesburgh, Vermont, under very interesting circumstances. Eleven years before, while on the Charlotte circuit, he had formed a small society in that place; a weak and sickly plant, he hedged it around, and fostered it by his labours and his prayers, yet doubtful of its existence and growth. But, watered from on high, it had taken root, grown up, and become a vigorous tree. The little society had now erected a house in which to worship God; and he, who had been the apostle of God's grace to their souls, was called to perform the solemn service of consecration. The recollections of former seasons and of former toils were vividly awakened in his mind by this visit. Greatly did he rejoice to find that the bread cast abroad upon the waters had been gathered after many days, and that his work had not been in vain in the Lord.

While in Schenectady, Mr. Levings had the good fortune to become personally acquainted with Dr. Nott, President of Union College. In him he found a kind friend, and a judicious, able counsellor; and not unfrequently did the doctor assist him in his work. At the invitation of the president, Mr. Levings preached to the stu-

dents in the college chapel, and his discourse was well received and highly spoken of. Indeed, so favourable was the impression made, that, subsequently, while stationed in Albany, he was invited to perform a similar service. The estimate of his talents and acquirements formed by Dr. Nott, was afterwards expressed in a very significant manner; as, on his recommendation, the college over which he presided conferred on Mr. Levings the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

From some cause or other, some of the society in Schenectady were very much opposed to the preacher appointed by the conference to succeed him. Seeing only evil to the society, as well as to the preacher, in this opposition, his generous heart impelled him to throw himself between the people and preacher, and his fertile mind readily found a way to do it effectually. He reached home on Saturday, and, while the tones of discontent and dissatisfaction were heard all around him, he entered the pulpit the next day, (the preacher not having arrived,) and preached in the morning from,—"But his citizens hated him, and sent a message after him, saying, We will not have this man to reign over us." (Luke xix, 14.) In the afternoon he took for his text,—"Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?" (Isa. liii, 1.) Those who have marked the fertility of his mind, the facility with which he adapted himself to circumstances, can well conceive how these two subjects were employed on this occasion. Suffice it to say, no murmur of discontent was afterwards heard. The preacher was well received, laboured in harmony with the people, and the result of his first year's labour was a net increase of seventy-five members; and a year later the same society reported to the conference a membership of four hundred and fifty, showing a net increase of one hundred and thirty-five in two years. How much better for the society than to run upon the rock on which so many societies have literally "split!" In the rejection of a minister, it is rarely the case that he is the only sufferer; often divisions and heart-burnings grow out of it, distrust is engendered, and years elapse before the church recovers from the self-inflicted evil. We say "self-inflicted," because we have found that these objections often, if not generally, arise from unfounded prejudices or false views; and, at best, a violent remedy will almost invariably prove to be a worse evil than that which it seeks to cure.

At the conference of 1838 Mr. Levings was appointed presiding elder of Troy district. At the ensuing conference, however, he was removed from the district, being succeeded by the Rev. T. Spicer, and appointed to the North Second street charge in the city of Troy. On announcing the change to the conference, the bishop paused in reading the appointments, and stated that he had not made this

change, 1st. Because brother Levings had requested it; for he had not. 2d. Nor because he considered him incompetent to the charge of the district. 3d. Nor because he had been unfaithful in discharging the duties of the district; for in both these respects he had the fullest satisfaction from both preachers and people on the district. 4th. But the change was made because brother Levings was wanted for another field of labour. This change brought him again into the midst of a people to whom he was strongly attached, and by whom he was greatly beloved. Not only were they strongly devoted to him, but they fulfilled the divine injunction,—"Love one another." They were united and faithful; and the year was one of signal blessings—the return made to conference showing a net increase of one hundred and twenty members.

From this station he was transferred, at the conference of 1840, to Division-street, Albany, where he spent the two succeeding years. During the summer of this first year he was greatly afflicted with the loss of a much-loved daughter. She died after an illness of only a few days, aged a little over five years. He had lost other children, but this was emphatically the child of his heart; and to part with her, he says, "was one of the severest trials of his life." For some months previous to her death, she had frequently spoken of dying and going to be with her Saviour, and with her little twin sister who had died when but a little more than a year old. She often sang, with apparently deep feeling, the verse commencing,—

> "What is this that steals upon my frame?
> Is it death, is it death?"

Thus exhibiting a maturity of intellect and of faith, uncommon at so early an age, the little sufferer passed sweetly away to her rest. From very childhood she had been the *companion* and *friend* of her father, an angel of love hovering around him, a sunbeam from heaven shining upon his path. Painful was the visitation, deeply was he chastened; but salutary did he feel the discipline to be.

From Albany he was removed to Troy, and again stationed in the State-street church. At the close of this year, it was generally desired by the preachers, and also by many of the people, that Mr. Levings should again be returned to the district. To this, however, he had insuperable objections, founded not upon considerations of personal expediency, but upon principle. This, combined with other circumstances, induced him to ask a transfer to the New-York Conference, which request was granted, and he was again appointed to New-York city, to labour in the Vestry-street charge. The cordial welcome he received on his first arrival, and the tokens of continued

affection from his people, were the source of peculiar satisfaction to him, and greatly encouraged him in his work.

At the General Conference of 1844, the Rev. E. S. Janes, who for several years had filled, with distinguished ability, the office of Financial Secretary of the American Bible Society, was elected a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the June following, Dr. Levings was elected to the office made vacant by Mr. Janes' resignation. The church with whom he had been labouring but one year being strongly attached to him, and quite unwilling to give him up, he was continued in the charge another year. He had, therefore, during the year to perform, as best he could, the duties both of his pastoral work and his secretaryship. It was a year of great labour. A man of less activity and endurance, or of less flexible mind, would have found himself inadequate to the task. In addition to his home labours, he visited, during the year, four or five annual conferences, presenting before them the claims of the Bible cause; and delivered over thirty Bible addresses before various societies in different parts of the country. Notwithstanding these extra efforts, he continued to labour with great acceptability and success in his pastoral charge. And when the term of his service closed in Vestry-street, he made a grateful record of God's mercy in sustaining him, and in giving him favour among the people, and success in his ministry.

Being now released from his charge, he devoted himself entirely to the duties of his office, and to the interests of the American Bible Society. Of his travels and labours for three succeeding years we have no authentic and definite account, aside from the minute of the places, times, and subjects of his discourses. No entry was made in his diary subsequently to the closing of his pastoral relation with the Vestry-street people. It is, however, generally known that he devoted himself with unceasing assiduity to promote the interests of the Bible cause. He performed long and toilsome journeys, visiting almost every section of the country, and presenting the claims of the society before ecclesiastical bodies, and addressing numerous local auxiliaries. At the same time also a burden of correspondence, relating to local agencies and the financial operations of the society, rested upon him.

During the fall of 1847, while on an extensive tour through the western and south-western States, he contracted a dysentery from the use of the water on the western rivers. He reached home very much enfeebled in health, and for two or three months was unable to resume his labours. Indeed, for the most of that time he was confined to his house and bed; and, during some part of it, it was

doubtful whether he would ever be restored again to health. God, however, graciously raised him up; and he was again permitted to go forth to labour in his Master's vineyard. During this sickness, the writer of this sketch repeatedly visited him. The seasons of conversation and of prayer enjoyed at this time will long be remembered. He possessed the same buoyancy of spirit and sprightliness that ever characterized him; nor had his fund of amusing and instructive anecdote failed. He was indeed *himself;* but he exhibited a maturity of faith and a depth of piety that seemed to augur a speedy termination of his earthly pilgrimage. His constitution never recovered fully its former vigour; but he was able still to discharge the duties of his office with efficiency through the spring and summer of 1848.

In the fall of that year the interests of the Bible Society demanded of him another tour through the south-western States. He left home with much reluctance, and under great depression of spirits, having, and expressing, a deep presentiment of evil. Yet with his usual vigour he prosecuted his work: during the months of October and November he travelled nearly four thousand miles, visiting the Tennessee, Memphis, and Mississippi Conferences, preaching eighteen sermons, and delivering nine addresses. He was subject to much inconvenience on some parts of his route, owing to the rainy weather and the bad condition of the roads. On one route he spent three days and three nights in a stage, travelling over roads almost impassable. The last night two of the wheels sunk up to the hub in the mire, and the coach was nearly overturned. There were nine grown persons and two children inside, who were obliged to get out and stand upon the ground, while the rain was pouring down upon them, till the driver had unharnessed one of the horses and rode half a mile to obtain a gang of negroes to pry up the carriage. This occupied nearly two hours. Under such exposures his health began to fail during the latter part of November. But he persevered in his mission till the 24th of December, when he preached in the Presbyterian church in Natchez. This was his last public discourse.

On the succeeding day he wrote a letter to his family in New-York. This letter is full of tenderness and affection. He tells them that he felt it would be wrong longer to withhold from them the fact that he was in a very feeble state of health. In addition to other diseases which had hung about him, he had been subject to several severe attacks of asthma, involving sympathetically, if not organically, the action of the heart. His nightly rest was broken and disturbed, and he was reduced to a great degree of bodily weakness. He had purposed visiting the Louisiana Conference, but his health

would permit him to proceed no farther. He now only thought of reaching his home, and had many misgivings whether he should ever accomplish that. The most expeditious and safe route homeward was by the way of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers; and even this route was not at this time without its difficulties. The cholera was raging in New-Orleans with great violence, and every boat that came up numbered a catalogue of victims on the passage. Those who died by day were secretly carried on shore in the night, and roughly entombed in the bank of the river. Nor could the sick and dying expect much attention or care; and, indeed, the cold and damp state-rooms of the boats furnished but poor accommodations for the sick in any case.

With him, however, there seemed no alternative; and on the 29th of December he took passage on the steamboat Memphis for Cincinnati. The boat was six days on her passage; she was crowded with passengers, and many were sick and dying with the cholera. His sufferings on the voyage were greatly alleviated, and his mind comforted, by the kind attentions of a Christian brother, Mr. Elisha Payne, of Madison, Indiana. He also received medical advice and assistance from a Dr. Sale, who happened to be a passenger on the boat. It was indeed a gloomy passage, and he frequently expressed the apprehension that he would never live to reach his home. This was an object dear to his heart; and his highest earthly wish seemed to be that he might die in the bosom of his family. However, he was calm and resigned; and, for the most part, retained his accustomed cheerfulness and buoyancy of spirit.

At length he reached Cincinnati; and, at the house of his devoted friends, brother and sister Burton, he found a welcome home. Ten years before, he had been their pastor in the east; he had united them in the sacred bonds of matrimony; he had been their friend and counsellor in times of affliction and trial. Their hearts, as well as their house, were now open to receive him. Like ministering angels they hovered around him in his last earthly affliction. Sweet and yet mournful was the task of our brother and sister; they performed the last sad offices due to departing worth; they ministered to his last earthly want, listened with inexpressible sorrow to his last farewell, closed his dying eyes, and forsook him not till his dust had been gathered to its kindred dust. O, there are green spots upon our earth, where human affection and sympathy shine forth with heavenly lustre! Priceless is their value! It is grateful to record them. The Rev. Mr. Strickland, one of the agents of the American Bible Society, was also with him night and day; and a numerous circle of friends rejoiced in the opportunity to minister to him in his affliction.

His sufferings were great, but in the midst of them all he enjoyed perfect peace; and signal was his triumph, through grace, in the last conflict. When he found that the great object of earthly desire—to see his family once more in the flesh and to die among his kindred—could not be realized, he only exclaimed, "The will of the Lord be done." On the Sabbath evening preceding his death, being asked if he realized strong faith in Christ, he replied, "O yes, the Lord Jesus Christ is the strength of my heart, and my portion forever. I die in the faith of the gospel." On one occasion, when he was sitting up, brother Burton placed a large Bible to support his head, that he might breathe more easily. Observing the letters upon the back, he exclaimed, "Thou blessed book, lamp to my feet and light to my path; thou guide of my youth, directory of my manhood, and support of my declining years; how cheerless would this world be, were it not for thy divine revelations and Christian experience!" After his will had been signed, he said, "Thank God, one foot is in Jordan, and I shall soon cross over." When Bishop Morris reached the city, and hastened to the bedside of his dying friend, he said to him, "Thank God that I am permitted to see your face once more. I am not able to converse much, but I can still say, 'Glory to God.'" The bishop inquired if he had any message to send to his brethren of the New-York Conference. "Tell them," said he, "I die in Christ; I die in the hope of the gospel. Tell them I have a firm, unshaken confidence in the atoning sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the foundation, and *only foundation*, of my hope of eternal life; and, relying upon that foundation, all before me is light, and joyful, and glorious." In him was most gloriously realized the sentiment of the great apostle,—*To live is Christ, but to die is gain.* With a firm faith in his Redeemer, and an unclouded view of heaven, he passed in peace and triumph to his everlasting reward. The last words he uttered were on the occasion of Mr. Burton's children being presented to receive his dying blessing. Taking each by the hand, he said, "God bless the dear children, and make them holy."

Between nine and ten o'clock on the evening of the 9th of January, surrounded by sympathizing, praying Christian friends, he expired. On the following Thursday his funeral was attended by a large concourse of people, embracing many of the clergy in Cincinnati and its vicinity. And, after an impressive sermon by Bishop Morris, his remains were deposited in the city cemetery; but subsequently removed to the Wesleyan Cemetery, where the Young Men's Bible Society of Cincinnati propose to erect a suitable monument to his memory. Subsequently, a funeral discourse was delivered by Bishop Morris before the New-York Conference, and was requested

for publication by that body. The preachers' meetings in Cincinnati and New-York, the Board of Managers of the Young Men's Bible Society of Cincinnati, and also that of the American Bible Society, and various other associations, passed resolutions expressive of their high estimate of his character and worth.

Few men have been more generally beloved within the sphere of their labours, and few have been more sincerely lamented in their death, than Dr. Levings. His manner was affable and winning; his heart was warm and generous; his mind, naturally fertile and lively, and stored with an inexhaustible fund of anecdote, coupled with a retentive and ready memory, a brilliant imagination, a striking aptness at comparison, and fine colloquial powers, made him a most delightful companion in social life. If these peculiarities of character, strongly marked in him, sometimes made him appear more light and jocose than was befitting the ministerial office, and especially to age and superior standing in it, there were at least redeeming considerations to be found in the artlessness and sincerity of his piety, and the sacred veneration in which he ever held divine things. He was an almost universal favourite among his brethren in the ministry. And few ministers have left behind them, in the congregations where they have ministered, a larger number of strongly attached personal friends.

The cast of his mind, it would be inferred from what has already been said, was not that which grapples with profound truths and evolves mighty thoughts; but rather that which would take the popular and practical view of things. His reasonings generally were of this tone and character; and yet his sermons were well digested, and presented clear and forcible exhibitions of divine truth. His performances were almost exclusively extemporaneous; he rarely committed more than a very brief skeleton to paper. His mind, however, was a storehouse of facts and illustrations, and also clear in its perceptions, and tenacious in its retention of truth. His tongue was like the "pen of a ready writer;" and he was never at a loss for appropriate language in which to give utterance to his thoughts. He combined, in an unusual degree, close argumentation with apt and striking illustration and an animated and attractive delivery. His personal appearance was such as would naturally make a very good impression; his manner was self-possessed, the intonations of his voice well managed, and his gesture easy and appropriate. His preaching exhibited none of those overwhelming strokes of eloquence which mark the oratory of some distinguished men; but, when his energies were aroused and called into action, his discourses everywhere sparkled with the richest gems. Indeed,

few could hear him at any time without being pleased, instructed, and even powerfully impressed. But the highest honour placed upon his ministry was the eminent success with which God crowned it, in making him the instrument of turning multitudes from darkness to light, and from the power of sin to the service of God.

Such was the man whose history and character are but inadequately sketched in this paper. He has now ceased from his labours and gone to his reward. Multitudes had been blessed by his ministry; some of whom—dear in his memory—had before him entered into rest. Did they not welcome him to the partnership of their joys on high? He has gone to rejoin them, gone to behold again the loved Martha Ann,—"child of his heart,"—whose sweet spirit passed away with the summer flowers of 1840. He died as the Christian minister might wish to die, mature in the graces of the spirit, fresh from the battle-fields of the cross. Those who had been blessed by his ministry accompanied him with prayers and tears down to the brink of Jordan; those who had gone before, joyfully welcomed him over. Thus, in the maturity of his strength and in the height of his usefulness, a brother has been called away, a standard-bearer in Israel has fallen.

He was licensed to preach on the 20th day of Dec., 1817, and died on the 9th of Jan., 1849; consequently, he sustained the ministerial office a little more than thirty years. During that time he officiated in eighteen different appointments; preached nearly four thousand sermons; dedicated thirty-eight churches; delivered sixty-five miscellaneous addresses; and, finally, travelled 36,539 miles, and delivered two hundred and seventy-three addresses in behalf of the American Bible Society. But the best of all was, his life and ministry were crowned with the divine blessings, and his dying moments with the divine glory.

"Servant of God, well done!
Thy glorious warfare's past;
The battle's fought, the race is won,
And thou art crown'd at last."

Art. II.—THE PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, A PROOF OF ITS DIVINE ORIGIN.

II.—Preparation for Christianity in Judaism.

§ 9.—*The Old Testament Dispensation.*

Having considered the nature and influence of the Polytheistic religions, we enter the sanctuary of Monotheism, and direct our attention from Greece, and its deification of human nature, to the temple dedicated to the service of the only true God. Paganism has displayed to us the efforts of humanity, spiritually awakened, indeed, but unenlightened by Divine revelation, striving to satisfy its religious wants by means of simple nature, until, compelled to distrust its own energies, it yearned after the introduction of some higher power. We now contemplate an entirely different dispensation, in which God condescends, by word and act, to reveal himself to a chosen people, and approaches continually nearer to a union with human nature, until he actually "becomes flesh." Israel stands encircled by the idolatrous nations of heathendom, like an oasis in the desert. Its history, from beginning to end, is one continuous miracle. And the Jews were chosen to be the recipients of Divine grace, not because they were naturally more righteous than their neighbours, for, as Moses and the prophets abundantly testify, they were a people stiff-necked and obstinate, disobedient and unthankful. To God belongs the glory, who, in infinite compassion, selected this nation to bear and represent his will.

The Jewish religion differs essentially from Pagan systems in three respects:—1. Judaism rests upon a *direct* and *positive* revelation from heaven; whereas Paganism is the product of purely natural energies. 2. Judaism is characterized by strict *Monotheism;* Paganism by Polytheism. 3. Judaism is marked by a decided *moral* character throughout, which imperatively demands that every action shall be performed for God's glory, and that the entire nature of man shall be sanctified; while Heathenism is more a religion of taste, and partly stamped even with a decidedly immoral tendency. To preserve these peculiarities unmixed by Pagan elements, it was absolutely necessary that the Jews, constitutionally inclined to idolatry, should be excluded from all intercourse with neighbouring nations. The nation was at first comprehended in a single individual—Abraham, the friend of God, and the father of the faithful. From his loins sprang the patriarchs, who were cha-

racterized by child-like piety and unwavering confidence in God. Through Moses was established afterwards the Theocracy, and this again received, through the prophets, as it were, a personified consciousness.

The Jews were not destined to unfold the idea of the Beautiful, as the Greeks; nor of Law, as the Romans. Their laurels were not to be gathered in the fields of science, of art, or of government. Yet, as regards sacred poetry, the Psalms are, for sublimity, depth, and spiritual beauty, infinitely superior to the most classic creations of Greece. The vocation of the Jews was to cultivate the idea of *repentance* and the *fear of God*. On this account John the Baptist, who was the personal representative of the Old Testament, commenced his mission with the startling language, "Repent." In order to excite a longing after true inward peace, they were to experience the miseries of life, the destructive power of sin, and the inflexible demands of Divine justice. To secure these purposes, the ten commandments, divinely sanctioned and authorized, which placed in clearer light the moral obligations of man, and imparted strength to the decisions of conscience, were communicated through Moses for their guidance and direction. Having this ideal of holiness continually before their eyes, and commanded to conform their lives to its precepts, they were gradually brought to a consciousness of the terrible disharmony sin had caused in their nature, and of their utter inability to fulfil the rigid demands of law. The law led them to an experimental knowledge of sin, removed the supports of self-righteousness, and excited intense aspirations after a Deliverer who should rescue them from its curse by satisfying its claims. Thus, as Paul says, the *law* was "a school-master to Christ."

But as the law, in itself considered, was adapted to plunge the awakened sinner into hopeless despair, Jehovah graciously condescended to mitigate its terrors by inspiring the penitent with *hope* by the voice of *prophecy*, which promised deliverance. This prophetic element, entering largely into the constitution of Judaism, constituted its *second* characteristic, as a preparatory process for the introduction of Christianity. In this respect it may be called the religion of the *future*, or the religion of *hope*. Nor did the subjects of the Old Testament dispensation remain satisfied with their position; regarding it as temporary, and destined to pass away, when the fulness of time had come, they humbly and patiently relied upon the promises of Jehovah, whose words had ever been as pure gold seven times tried. Properly speaking, prophecy is older than the law, which came in between, (παρεισῆλθεν, as St. Paul says;) for it proclaimed its presence immediately after the fall, in the (so-called)

Protevangelium of the serpent and its destroyer; during the patriarchal period it was the predominant element; from the time of Samuel it became the ruling power in the Jewish government. It may be termed the Protestant element in the Jewish theocracy. It accompanied the Israelites in all their wanderings, from their captivity in Babylon to the rebuilding of the temple, proclaiming the judgments of God as well as his pardoning grace, and finally concluding its work by pointing to the coming Messiah as the Saviour of men. At first, the power of prophecy was enjoyed only by the nobles among the people, particularly by the regular prophetic order. In the course of time, however, it was confined to a single individual, who was to combine the three-fold office of prophet, priest, and king. But as the character of the Messiah was described in figures drawn from the theocracy, which were temporally fulfilled even under the Old Testament Dispensation, (so that it, as a whole, became one grand type of his coming,) the people might be disposed to remain content with this partial fulfilment. Severe calamities and oft-repeated sufferings, however, served to reveal the insufficiency of these partial fulfilments, and to direct the people to the future. While the Messianic kingdom was represented as a restoration of the theocracy, the most profound prophets (such as Isaiah, who possessed this power in its highest form) announced to the people that sufferings, and an earnest longing after its appearance, were the necessary conditions of its establishment. As the true *Paschal Lamb*, the Messiah would save his people from their sins, not only temporarily, but permanently, and reconcile them, once for all, to their offended Lawgiver.

With the death of Malachi, the prophetic element vanished, and Israel was left to its own resources for four hundred years. Finally, however, immediately before the fulfilment of the Messianic prophecies, the spirit of the Old Testament reappeared in the person of an individual who was pronounced by Christ himself the greatest born of woman. John the Baptist was the living representative of the law; his convincing sermons, his abode in the wilderness, and his ascetic mode of life, loudly proclaimed the necessity of repentance. He was, at the same time, the representative of the Messianic prophecies, for he pointed his followers to the "Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." Around this divinely commissioned servant of Jehovah were gathered the most susceptible spirits of the rising generation, among whom were some of the Apostles. The disciples of John, who, like Nathanael, were longing for salvation—those souls which silently, but earnestly, awaited the appearance of the promised Messiah, as old Simeon, Anna the prophetess,

the mother of our Lord, her relations and acquaintances, and the lovely group at Bethany, with whom Christ lived in familiar intercourse—characters like these must be regarded as the true representatives of the Old Testament in its relation to the Christian dispensation; who, by transcending the carnal notions of the vast multitude, lived in hope, and at last actually saw the end of their hope realized.

§ 10.—*Political State of the Jews at Christ's Birth.*

Let us now turn our attention to the *political* condition of the Jews at the time of Christ's birth. The reign of the Maccabees, who united the priestly and kingly functions, and extended the bounds of Judea by the conquest of Samaria and Idumea, was of short duration. Palestine, as well as the entire civilized world, was compelled to do homage to the invincible power of Rome. After the battle at Philippi, 42 A. C., the East fell into the hands of Mark Antony, who, with Octavius and Lepidus, constituted the second Triumvirate. He conferred upon Herod the crown of Palestine, which was reduced to a Roman province, 39 A. C.; and after the battle at Actium, when Octavius became sole emperor, his authority was confirmed and established. Herod was of Idumean descent, the son of Antipater, who was characterized by acuteness and energy, by ambition, and a devoted attachment to heathenism. With his accession to the throne, the Maccabee family, which had been preparing its own destruction by internal dissensions, was finally extinguished. Its last support having been removed, Israel was subjected to the heathen influence of the Roman government, and hastened to meet its doom. Herod himself entertained no affection for his subjects, but endeavoured in every possible way to crush the institutions of the Jews, and establish the religious ceremonies of Rome. His tyrannical conduct excited rebellions, particularly among the Pharisees, who obstinately adhered to the old Jewish customs, and resolutely opposed the encroachments of the king. Nor could he in after years atone for his opposition by promising to rebuild, in greater splendour, the temple on Mount Moriah. His reign, thus embittered by the alienation of his subjects, was rendered more intolerable by the murder of his beautiful wife, Mariamne, a descendant of the Maccabee family. His guilty conscience, goaded to madness by this enormous crime, drove him to despair, and he died of a loathsome disease one year before our era.* When we consider his determined hostility to the Jews, his

* But, as it is vitiated by a mistake of five years, about 3 A.D.

inordinate ambition and love of power, and the revolutionary character of the age, we need not be amazed that Herod should have proclaimed a decree, ordering the murder of the children in Bethlehem, after having heard of the birth of a royal son from the loins of David. After his death, his kingdom was partitioned among his three sons. Archelaus obtained Judea, Idumea, and Samaria; Philip, Batanea, Iturea, and Trachonitis; Herod Antipas, (mentioned Luke iii, 1,) Galilee and Perœa. Archelaus, however, was dethroned 6 A. D., and his inheritance converted into a Roman province. Judea, Idumea, and Samaria were governed by procurators, subject to the personal supervision of the prefect of Syria. Pontius Pilate, who lived 28–37 A. D., was the fifth procurator. Philip, the second son, having died A. D. 34, his kingdom fell into the hands of Herod Agrippa, 37 A. D., who, during the reign of Claudius, A. D. 41, was proclaimed king of all Palestine, Herod Antipas having been banished 39 A. D. This Herod Antipas is mentioned in the Acts as a violent persecutor of the Christian religion. After his death, however, A. D. 44, his kingdom was again converted into a Roman province, and governed by procurators, of whom the Scriptures mention two, Claudius Felix and Portius Festus. Of these, Gessius Florus was the last, under whom was accomplished the long-predicted destruction of the Jewish nationality, A. D. 70.

While their tyrannical masters endeavoured to crush them with a merciless opposition, the Jews resolutely maintained their distinct character, at least in a traditional way. Their obstinate rebellions against constituted authority only multiplied their miseries; their attempts to obtain independence plunged them deeper into slavery. Longing after deliverance, those Jews who still cultivated the spirit of the Old Testament, would welcome Christianity as the end of their hopes; while the stiff-necked slaves of tradition, who rejected the Word made flesh, and perverted the meaning of the Bible, would be hurried on to just condemnation. Even Josephus, himself a Jew, describing the destruction of Jerusalem, says that, "If the Romans had not extinguished the national independence of the Jews, he believed some terrible earthquake, or sweeping deluge, or lightning, would have destroyed them, on account of their unparalleled wickedness." At this period of the world's history, when the earth seemed to labour under the weight of its own corruptions, and men were bound in the iron bands of slavery; when the chosen people of God were ridiculed and despised, and the royal house of David was stripped of its glory, and clothed in the tattered garments of poverty,—at *this* period appeared the Son of God, the promised Messiah, in the form of a servant, yet filled with divine glory. In Him was revealed true

freedom, which spurns the embrace of sin, while it cultivates the graces of the Spirit. He was the Light of the World.

§ 11.—*Religious Condition of the Jews at the time of Christ's Birth.*

Nor do the *morality* and *theology* of the Jews present a more attractive spectacle. Freedom of thought was prevented by a slavish adherence to the letter of the Bible, whilst its spirit escaped; and by an implicit faith in ceremonies and traditions. The Messianic prophecies were totally perverted into the sphere of sense and flesh. The Messiah, according to these interpretations, was to be made subservient to base passions, as a mighty king, whose business it was to rescue the Jews from the yoke of Roman bondage, to rule the hated heathen with a rod of iron, and to establish a magnificent theocracy, which should conquer the entire world. At the time of Christ's birth, Jewish theology and religion were represented by three distinct parties,—the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes.

1. *The Pharisees*, called the separated, (from פָּרַשׁ, because of their pretensions to uncommon piety,) were characterized by strict fidelity in the discharge of prescribed ceremonies, and by self-righteousness based upon this simply external performance. By the deeds of the law, by fasting, by making long prayers, by almsgiving, by purifications, &c., they believed they could obtain the rewards of true piety. Our Saviour speaks of them, (Matt. ii, 3,) as "blind leaders of the blind, straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel." Their system of thought was corrupted by admixtures of Persian elements which they had imbibed during the captivity. These they endeavoured to apply to the Old Testament, by means of allegorical interpretations, and of the Rabbinical traditions, which were for the most part directly opposed to the Scriptures. The people regarded them as the only authorized expounders of the Scriptures, and as the leaders of the hierarchy. In the New Testament they appear as the most malignant and determined enemies of our Lord. Yet we must not condemn them all alike, as hypocrites and ambitious men; for there were those who, like Nicodemus, secretly sympathized with the doctrines of Christianity. Many, no doubt, like Paul, who was a bigoted Pharisee, and his teacher, Gamaliel, who was a noble and earnest-minded man, in endeavouring to secure righteousness of life, experienced in person the bitter pangs of conscious sin, and the terrible effects of the law, as described in Romans vii. Having been thus led to despair of salvation in themselves, some even accepted of Christ. (John iii, 1; Acts xv, 5.) The conversion of such Jews to Christianity, may be conceived of in a twofold way. Either, like the Apostle Paul, discarding all self-righteousness, they would contend

as earnestly for justification by faith as before for justification by works; or, unable to unbind from their consciences the fetters of the law, they would transfer over into the Christian element a legal spirit, and thus check the free growth of the Christian principle. Persons of this latter class could not sympathize with the broad views of Paul, who abolished the law altogether as the ground of acceptance with God. We find, accordingly, that during the apostolic period, they rebelled against his doctrines. The Church, in all ages, has been distracted by Pharisees, who may have been baptized by water, but were never introduced into the mysteries of the gospel by the baptism of fire.

2. In direct opposition to the Pharisees stood the *Sadducees*, who, as a sect, were not so numerous. Some derive their name from their supposed leader, Sadoc; others from צַדִּיק, righteous. They boldly rejected the authority of tradition, and recognized the ten commandments as the only rule of faith. It cannot be determined with absolute certainty whether they denied the authenticity of the Old Testament, Pentateuch excepted; but it is very improbable,—from the simple fact that they participated in the exercises of the Sanhedrim, (Acts xxiii, 6 ff.,) and performed, sometimes, the functions of the high-priest. It is certain, however, that they denied the existence of the soul after death, and the doctrine of immortality. Concerning the freedom of the will they were Pelagianistic, and were, in general, inclined to rationalism, skepticism, and infidelity. They may be compared to the Epicureans of Greece and Rome, while the Pharisees resembled the Stoics. Josephus informs us that they were disliked by the common people, but were esteemed by the rich, the proud, and the worldly minded. We must not be surprised, therefore, to find that they and their mortal enemies, the Pharisees, forgot their enmity in mutual opposition to the gospel, and waged a common crusade against the Christian religion. Sadduceeism, which tended to crush the aspirations of the moral sense, could see nothing attractive in the person of Christ.

3. The calamities which threatened the Jews, and the party dissensions which distracted them, occasioned the rise of a third sect, the *Essenes*, (from the Chaldaic אָסַי, physician for body and for soul.) The New Testament makes no mention of them; Josephus, Philo, and Pliny, have recorded their history. They may be regarded as Jewish monks, with a practico-mystical tendency, including some theosophic and speculative elements derived from the Platonic philosophy, or, more probably, from some Oriental systems, particularly the Persian. This order was composed of contemplative spirits, who, weary of the commotions that agitated the age, retired

from its tumults to the coasts of the Dead Sea. They were divided into four classes; marriage was permitted only to one class; the oath was abolished, except in the case of those who were introduced into the order after the regular probation period. The virtues they cultivated were, industry, charity, hospitality, and fidelity. They drew their support from a common treasury, which was replenished by common labour, enforced a rigid observance of the Sabbath, and were accustomed to send presents to the temple at Jerusalem, but never entered it to worship. In their social intercourse they observed a certain secrecy, avoided all communication with the uncircumcised, preferring to die rather than partake of food which was not prepared by them or their brethren. As is often the case with sects inclined to mysticism, so here we find an intense degree of religious feeling combined with superstition, a spiritual worship with strict adherence to ceremonial rites, self-denial with refined pride. Considered in their relation to Christianity, the Essenes could find a congenial element in the mystery that enshrouded it; or, on account of the exclusive sanctity they attributed to their order, might oppose such sentiments as are advanced in the sermon on the Mount, which pronounced the poor in spirit happy. If ever induced to accept the gospel, they might carry with them their ascetic practices, and prepare the way for the rise of other sects of the same character. Traces of their influence are, in fact, clearly discernible in the Epistle to the Colossians, and in the pastoral-letters of Paul.

III.—Relation between Heathenism and Judaism.

§ 12.—*Influence of Judaism upon Heathenism.*

As Christianity, by virtue of its universal and absolute character, overthrew the partition walls which had for centuries isolated the different nations, and revealed the idea that mankind, however divided, composed but a single family, we must perceive, in the reciprocal influence exerted by Judaism and Heathenism, a preparation for the introduction of Christianity. With the Babylonish captivity, the Jews were scattered over the then world. Only a small minority availed themselves of Cyrus's permission to return to Jerusalem. Some remained in Babylon, others migrated to other lands. Half the population of Alexandria, before the birth of Christ, were Jews, who had enriched themselves by mercantile and other occupations. They were dispersed over Asia Minor and Greece. In Rome they possessed the greatest part of Trastevere, and obtained permission from Julius Cæsar to build synagogues, and other important privileges. All these Jews, (commonly called the *διασπορά*,)

though absent from Palestine, still regarded Jerusalem as their proper home, and sent annual presents of gold and silver to the temple, which they visited at the great festivals. Though heartily hated by the heathen, their religion, on account of the religious instability of the age, and the decline of the mythological systems, exerted considerable influence. For the Pharisees were characterized by a strong proselyting spirit, and the numerous jugglers who traversed the country, often wrought powerfully upon the minds of the Pagans. This influence could not have been unimportant, and the Romans were wont to complain of it, as their writings abundantly testify.

But we must not confound the full proselytes with the partial. The former were called proselytes of *righteousness*, גֵּרֵי־הַצֶּדֶק, who subscribed to circumcision and the entire ceremonial law. Proselytes of this class were even more fanatical than the Jews, and waged a bitter warfare against Christ. On this account our Saviour remarked, that they were made ten times more the sons of hell by the Pharisees; and Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Tryphon, the Jew,—"Not only do they persecute us, and refuse to believe, but even venture to blaspheme the Son of God, and striving to become like you in every respect, they attempt to murder those who do believe in Him." The second class, with which many women were connected, were called proselytes of *the gate*, גֵּרֵי הַשַּׁעַר, or, as in the New Testament, the *φοβούμενοι, σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν*. These received the doctrine of Monotheism, of the atonement, of the government of the world, and, in some cases, of the Messiah, and generally abstained from gross crimes. Of this class were men like Cornelius, who were earnestly seeking after the truth, and who, when the gospel was revealed, gladly accepted its offers.

§ 13.—*Influence of Heathenism upon Judaism.*

But, on the other hand, Paganism was not without influence over Judaism, especially in Alexandria. Here sprang up, in the midst of intelligent Jews, a peculiar admixture of Old Testament theology and Platonic philosophy. The representative of this tendency is the learned historian *Philo*, who died 40 or 50 A. D. He believed in the divine origin of the Old Testament, entertained a very strict idea of its inspiration, and regarded the moral law and temple service as indestructible. But he endeavoured to unite heathenism and Judaism, by applying to the Scriptures a literal and an allegorical interpretation, and, in this way, thought himself justified in affirming that the divine Plato extracted his best ideas from the Bible. This method of interpretation, however, was followed by injurious conse-

quences, for it paved the way for the introduction of ideas which the Scriptures, properly understood, never sanctioned, and inculcated contempt for the letter of the Bible. Its influence is felt even in our age, for it cannot be denied that the mythical view of the gospel narratives, which regards the facts recorded as the fruit simply of a productive imagination, bears a striking resemblance to it. But Philo, as well as Origen, strenuously insisted on the historical reality of the facts of the Old Testament, and admitted that the literal interpretation was best adapted to promote the religious interests of the common people. Yet, according to his notions, the allegorical mode was preferable, which, penetrating the shell of the word, grasped, in the exercise of speculation, its hidden mystery, which abstracted from God all human qualities, and presented him to the mind in his simple essence. In this way he revived, under a Christian form, the old heathen distinction between a religion designed for the people, and a religion for the enlightened.

This system of Philo was reduced to practice by the Therapeutæ, or "servants of God," (θεραπεύειν.) Like the Essenes, to whom they bore a striking similarity, (though we can trace no historical connexion between them,) they must be regarded as Jewish monks. Not far from Alexandria, by the Lake Mœris, they dwelt in tents, (σεμνεῖα, μοναστήρια,) and passed their time in contemplating heavenly things, and in practising asceticism. In interpreting the Bible they followed the allegorical method. They fasted sometimes for six days, and their ordinary food was bread and water. On each Sabbath-day, which was observed with peculiar sanctity, they partook of a love-feast on bread mixed with salt and hyssop, sung ancient hymns, and performed mystic dances, in commemoration of the passage of their fathers over the Red Sea, that is, according to their allegorical exegesis, of the deliverance of the spirit from the fetters of sense. The characteristic doctrine of this sect was, that sin was something simply negative, having its seat in the body as such, and that the body, on this account, was the prison-house of the soul. Thus the highest good consisted in the mortification of the flesh. Death by self-denial was the birth into happiness and glory. In their relation to Christianity, they occupy a similar position with the Essenes.

§ 14.—*Conclusion.*

From this entire representation it is very clear that, at the time of Christ's birth, old institutions were fast decaying, and that the spirit of heathenism, exhausted by its own action, was about to vanish, proving conclusively the absolute necessity for the introduc-

tion of a new life to rescue the world from destruction. On the one hand we discover, among the people, a dreary infidelity, which rejected the old systems of faith without substituting any in their stead; on the other, a blind superstition, which obstinately adhered to the decaying mythological belief, and rendered it still more ridiculous by fantastic extravagances. It is very often the case that infidelity and superstition are found combined, because man is compelled by the necessities of his life to believe *something*. If he does not believe in God, he will be tormented by an uncomfortable faith in ghosts. Augustus Cæsar, who patronized the religion of Rome through policy, was terrified when he happened to draw his boot first on the left foot instead of the right. The skeptic Pliny wore amulets for protection against thunder and lightning.

The best feature of this age was that intense longing of the soul, which fled from the miseries of life, and, distrusting its own resources, sought deliverance in some power beyond itself. Messianic hopes were scattered over the whole world by means of political intercourse amongst the different nations. Like the first red streaks along the horizon which foretell the dawn, so these aspirations were the harbingers of the coming Messiah. The Persians awaited the coming of Sosiosh, who would destroy the kingdom of Ahriman, and break the power of darkness; the Chinese Confucius pointed his followers to the Holy One who should appear in the West, whilst the West directed its eyes to the East. Suetonius and Tacitus speak of an opinion then universally prevalent among the Romans, that in the East a new kingdom was to be established.

Precisely *then*, when the world was unsettled and dissatisfied with existing relations, appeared the Messiah, in an obscure and despised corner of the earth. With his crucified hands, he lifted the world out of its degradation; with his own life, he filled it with fresh energy. His salvation was a savour of death to those who, clothed in a mantle of licentiousness, could not appreciate his beauty; but, to the susceptible and morally inclined, a savour of life. Truly, as well as beautifully, says Augustine: "Christ appeared to the men of a world fast decaying, when the objects of their former love had become sources of disgust, that they might draw from the fountain of life fresh and renewed energies." With the words, "Repent and believe," was concluded the Iliad of history, and now commenced its Odyssey. As Ulysses, after having endured the hardships of the Trojan war, returned in safety to the bosom of his beloved Penelope, so the old world, after having exhausted its energies in trying to satisfy its wants, was led to Christ to renew its youth. Rome prolonged its wasting life for some years after the introduction of Christi-

anity, but was at last compelled to submit its boasted wisdom to the foolishness of the cross, and thereby cease to be old Rome. Judaism, too, which, refusing to acknowledge its proper object, waged a deadly warfare against Christ and his apostles, wanders to this day, like a houseless spectre, through the places of the earth, and furnishes an invincible argument for the divine origin of Christianity, which, by its own efficacy, has conquered the world, imparted a new complexion to every department of science, occasioned and ruled the rise and progress of every great world-historical movement, and showered upon man the richest and choicest spiritual blessings.

Art. VII.—LAMARTINE.

In the year 1820, a young man, with a pale and melancholy countenance, and a step enfeebled by disease, "went timidly hawking about in Paris, from bookseller to bookseller, a poor little copy-book of verses, wet with tears. Everywhere they politely shifted off the poetry and the poet;" so says his friend, De Cormenin. In a work substantially made up of the incidents of his life, the young poet has himself drawn the picture of his forlorn predicament at this crisis of his history. His purse was nigh empty; he took his manuscript, his "last hope," to a noted bookseller, who received it with an ironical smile, and appointed him to return in a week: "My heart failed," he says, "on the eighth day;" the publisher gave him back his manuscript, and dashed his ambition without ceremony.—"I should advise you ill," said the book merchant, "if I induced you to publish this volume, and I should be doing you a sorry service in publishing it at my expense." "So saying, he rose, and gave me back my manuscript," says the poet. "I took up the volume, I went down stairs, my legs trembling beneath me, and my eyes moistened with tears. . . . . I returned to my room in despair. The child and the dog wondered, for the first time, at my sullen silence, and at the gloom that overspread my countenance."

Genius, however, need never "despair" in France. The child who had "wondered at the sullen silence and gloom" of the frustrated author, on his return from the book-mongers, had hardly advanced beyond the period of mature youth, when the abashed poet stood forth the most imposing and powerful personage in France, and the eyes of the world beheld what an English critic pronounces "the only instance in the world's history of a great nation calling a

poet to guide the helm of its affairs; or rather, of a poet contributing by the force of his genius to the overthrow of a powerful king, and seating himself, for a time at least, on his throne." During the four days of February, 1848, he was the ascendant genius, restraining the storm and compelling the mob at his will; and the trembling citizens of Paris felt that the voice of the poet was to them the voice of fate. Lamartine has fallen from power, but he can never fall from the historic sublimity, the apotheosis of his genius, which distinguished his connexion with the four days of February.

A very anomalous people are these Frenchmen, in both small and great things. Their Epicureanism has given science to our kitchens and French names to our dainties, though they content their stomachs with two meals per day; while their gruff neighbour, across the channel, affects to sneer at their gastronomic extravagance, and swallows his four meals daily, besides a lusty luncheon. Gay and even volatile beyond all other nations, they, at the same time, excel all others in the more difficult and abstract sciences, affording us many of our best improvements in mathematics and political economy, as well as in the more palpable details of chemistry and the natural sciences generally. Le Verrier, in the streets of Paris, would have been taken for a young scape-grace "about town," while his thoughts were beyond the circuit of the Georgium Sidus, compelling a new world to disclose itself. Gibbon pointed to the French as an exception, in his day, to that lesson of history which teaches that nations having attained the height of luxury and glory, as France had in the day of Louis XIV., must decline in national vigour and military spirit. But there is a still nobler anomaly in their national character. Dazzled by military glory, as children with gilded toys,—dandies in dress, and dandifying the rest of the world with their "modes,"—luxuriating at the table, and glorifying good cuisiniers,—this same people excel all other communities in the appreciation of genius and the remuneration of literary merit. In their earlier history the troubadours exhilarated their courts and inspirited their battles. In the Voltairian era they crowned and worshipped their authors in the theatres, and soon afterwards upturned the nation and half of Europe at their voice. In our day they lift them, above the heads of abashed lawyers, disentitled nobles, and cunning diplomats, into the chief seats of their synagogues of power. Thiers, Guizot, Cousin, De Tocqueville, Arago, De Cormenin, Victor Hugo, Louis Blanc, Flocon, Marrast, Lamennais, Leroux, and we know not how many other authors, of good or evil influence, are living examples of the power of genius over the popular and political sympathies of France.

Lamartine is unquestionably the most remarkable instance of this power in our day. It would be a difficult task to delineate him as man, author, or statesman. A unique character is usually more easily portrayed than one of merely average traits, for strong peculiarities are readily distinguishable; but Lamartine presents such contrasted characteristics, such strength and weakness, such oracular wisdom and drivelling sentimentality in thought, such terseness and excessive affectation in style, that both the flatterer and the satirist could draw pictures of him as respectively true as they would be mutually contradictory. We have sat down not to attempt a complete estimate of him,—the day has not come for that,—but to glance at his works, and a few other materials which lie on our table,* and gather from them some frank though cursory inferences respecting his character, and remarkable positions as author and statesman; and if we shall, by a somewhat easy mood, appear to bear in mind that we are writing for the dog-days, we hope that such a proof of considerate regard for the reader will not lead him to depreciate our attempts to do justice to our subject.

The personal history of Lamartine has been sketched in "*Galleries*" of "*Contemporains Illustres*," magazines, and the "*Feuilletons*" of journals, but with many obvious defects and contradictions. At our present writing, *Les Confidences* (his auto-biography,—if such it may be called) are in process of publication in a Paris journal, *La Presse;* but we have traced them only through the period of his youth. We may, therefore, however cautious, be liable to inaccuracy in some of our statements.

He was born on the 21st of October, 1792, in Maçon, on the Saone, near the Swiss boundary. Like most remarkable men, he was the child of a remarkable mother, the elements of whose character were reproduced in his own, with the superadded vigour of genius. The discerning reader has but to observe his touching and incessant references to his mother, in order to comprehend the moral and intellectual traits of the son. That deep and melancholy religious spirit, feminine sentimentalism, and loyalty to the convictions of duty, which distinguish his writings—distinguish them almost as anomalous amidst a nation of skeptics, libertines, and experimental levellers—are distinctly traceable to the maternal influence which formed and still imbues the soul of the poet. Some of the most felicitous pictures, which abound, in contrast with many sufficiently maudlin, in "Raphael" and in "Les Confidences," are drawn from the scenes

* Among these are *Œuvres de Lamartine*, 2 vols., 8vo. The Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, 2 vols., 12mo. History of the Girondists, 3 vols., 12mo. Raphael, 18mo. Les Confidences. Three Months in Power, &c.

of his early home;—pictures in which his mother continually reappears with an almost angelic loveliness.

Lamartine's father was a cavalry officer under Louis XVI., and suffered much during the revolution. His loyalty to the Bourbons would not allow him to accept office under the Republic or the Empire. With a small income, and every avenue of fortune closed, he was compelled to sequester himself and his family on an obscure estate at Milly, where the early years of the poet were spent amidst the purest domestic tranquillity and piety.

He has given us in his "*Confidences*" a picture of the *ménage* at Milly—an exquisitely painted interior scene that Wilkie might have transferred to his canvass, had he lived to read it. The antique mansion, battered by revolutionary violence,—its furniture, its occupants, its occupations,—the charming evening readings from Tasso's Jerusalem, &c., are depicted with minute interest and beauty. We see the man self-explained in these descriptions of his early home. Its influences informed and still characterize his whole moral and intellectual being; its endeared reminiscences have followed him through life, and form some of the finest and most affecting allusions of his writings. Many of their brightest images are borrowed from the recollections of its early felicities; and their most touching pathos, from the separations and sorrows with which later years have passed over it. He says:—

"I carefully preserve its remains, and, although it is at present empty, cold, and deserted by all those delicious affections which once animated it, I like to look at it, I like again to sleep in it sometimes, as if places retained ever-present impressions of the past, as if I expected again to hear, on awaking from slumber, the voice of my mother, the footsteps of my father, the joyous cries of my sisters, and all that noise of youth, life, and love, which rings for me alone beneath the old rafters, and which only has me now to hear it and to perpetuate it a little while!"

Happy the child whose young and sensitive years have been spent in such scenes of tranquillity and beauty! he carries in his soul treasures of sentiment, images of endeared places and beloved beings, which sustain the affections of his heart, and refresh him through the arid deserts of life's later pilgrimage. "Such recollections," continues Lamartine, "enable us, by recalling in thought the waters of existence that have since flowed away, to envelop ourselves, so to speak, in that earth, in those trees, those plants, that were born with us; and make us wish that the universe had commenced and would end for us within the walls of that humble enclosure!"

He learned to read and write without the aid of tutors. The Bible, the works of Fénélon, Berquin, St. Pierre, and Madame de Genlis, were his first readings. But he says:—

"It was in my mother's soul especially that I sought for nurture. I read through her eyes, I felt through her feelings, I loved through her love. She translated everything for me,—without her aid I would not have known how to spell in the book of creation which was open before my eyes; but she directed my finger and placed it on everything. Her soul was so rich in brilliancy, colour, and warmth, that it illuminated and heated everything it approached. We were living a double life. It was thus that my heart formed itself within me on a model, at which it was not necessary that I should look, so completely was it commingled with my heart."

Her religious example produced, at this early period, a profound impression upon his mind. He describes her as passing through the world, not inhabiting it:—

"It may be said that she lived in God, as much as it is given to any human being to live in him. There was not a single side of her soul that was not constantly turned towards Him, that was not made transparent, bright, and warm by that radiant beam from above, which flows directly from God upon our thoughts, and which penetrates into us through the darkness of our souls, as the light of heaven shines through the crystal of our closed dwellings."

In his twelfth year he was sent to an educational establishment at Lyons, but the contrast between its severe and formal discipline and the charming *agrémens* of his home was insupportable. He endured several months of the boarding-school novitiate's usual "home-sickness," when, growing desperate, he one day threw his ball into the street, walked out as if to get it, and, when once out of his prison, sped with all haste for the country and home. He reached an inn, nine miles distant, but was there overtaken by the principal of the seminary, accompanied by a gendarme. Two months of imprisonment in a dungeon followed, but his obstinacy at last prevailed. His mother removed him to the college of the Jesuits at Belley, on the frontier of Savoy,—an event of preponderating influence on his subsequent life.

The tact of the Jesuits in the art of education has never been, and can scarcely be, exaggerated. Salutary results were not the criteria of their skill. They adhered strictly to two rules,—first, to educate the pupil specifically for the position to which he was destined; secondly, so to conduct his training as to render that position as available as possible to the Church. They never designed to educate the youth of Europe for intellectual independence or intellectual ascendency. Their object was universal and utter subservience to the Church. Education could not be suppressed; it must therefore be assimilated to the ecclesiastical interests. Science, art, taste, the finest accomplishments must be taught, but amidst the subtlest, the most beguiling, the incessant influences of religion. Their methods were skilful, but in no respect more so than in their sagacious adaptation to produce thorough religionists. Was the pupil a fool? he

was made a devotee. Was he shrewd and clever? he was sent forth an ecclesiastical diplomatist or intriguer. Was he, like Lamartine, ingenuous and imaginative? he left their cloisters a religious sentimentalist. Familiarity or dignity, tenderness or rigour, were used with studied adaptation to the individual characters of their *élèves*. Voltaire, who was their pupil, and detested them, applauded their educational skill, and Lamartine joins in the eulogy.

The holy fathers at Belley comprehended immediately their new student. He brought with him, from his residence at Lyons, strong repugnances to teachers, and at first manifested them freely; but the skilful Jesuits soon conquered him by their affability, and then bound him in a spell of religious feeling, which they perceived to be the strongest susceptibility of his imaginative mind. He has since well repaid their skill in his writings. In his *Jocelyn*, especially, he has depicted the impressions and given expression to the devout enthusiasm of his life in the cloister of Belley.

The effect of his training there was profound; he became fervently devout at a time of life when religion, though most needed, is usually least heeded, especially in France. In his *Confidences* he speaks with enthusiasm of this part of his history:—

"Were I to live a thousand years, I would never forget certain hours of the evening, when, escaping during the recreation of the students in the court-yard, I used to enter, through a small private door, the church already filled with night's shadows, and hardly lighted at the back of the choir by the lamp which hung in the sanctuary. I would hide myself in the still thicker gloom cast upon the pavement by one of the pillars, wrap myself as closely in my cloak as if it were a winding-sheet, lean my forehead against the cold marble of a balustrade, and, for a number of minutes, whose flight I no longer heeded, remain buried in a trance of mute but inexhaustible adoration, during which I no longer felt the earth beneath my knees or under my feet, but lost myself in God, like the mote, which, attracted by the heat of a summer day, rises, swims, loses itself in the floating atmosphere, and, becoming as transparent as ether, seems as aërial as the air itself, and as brilliant as light!"

At length, "after the philosophy year,—a year during which they tortured with stupid and barbarous sophisms the natural good sense of youth, to make it bend to the reigning dogmas and institutions,"—he left the college with its highest honours, and returned to the homestead at Milly. A period of retired but most delightful life ensued—his descriptions of it are enchanting. Leisure readings of the historians and poets, chiefly in the family circle, were alternated with the rides of the chase, rambles among the hills, rustic company, poetry-making, and love-making. His poetical genius received, during this tranquil period, its first exhilarations. Tasso, Dante, Petrarch, Shakspeare, Milton, Chateaubriand, and Ossian were the familiar companions of his rural retreat. Ossian especially—that book which youth always

reads with mournful enchantment, and age seldom or never reads at all—awoke his melancholy imagination, and, as with Byron and Campbell, became the model of his first converse with the muses. The misty and spectral work of poor Macpherson had, at that date, a marvellous and somewhat ludicrous predominance in France. Napoleon, whose estimation of books was about as creditable as his opinions of astrology, had adopted Ossian for his camp-reading, in imitation of Alexander's choice of Homer. On his return to Paris from his first campaign in Italy, he was received with magnificent ceremonies and a panegyric from Talleyrand. The keen diplomatist, who was not too well affected towards him, referred particularly to his interest in the Celtic bard, aiming by the allusion, it is said, a sarcasm at his false taste. Talleyrand's noted maxim, that language is designed to conceal one's thoughts, worked too truly for him in this instance. It effectually concealed his intention, at least; the compliment was taken as outrightly honest. The intimation that Ossian was in honour with the rising conqueror electrified the mind of France, and "straightway," says a French critic, "France became Ossianic." Macpherson, however, fell with Napoleon in France; but at the period of Lamartine's life now under our notice, he was in full prevalence. The poet says:—

"That was the time when Ossian, the poet of the genius of ruin and strife, swayed the imagination of France. Baour-Lormain translated him in sonorous verse for the camps of the emperor. The women sang him in plaintive ballads, or in triumphal flourishes, at the departure, on the graves, or at the return, of their lovers. Small editions of him in portable volumes found their way into every library. One of these fell into my hands. I buried myself in that ocean of shadows, blood, tears, spectres, foam, snow, mist, frost, and imagery, the immensity, gloom, and mournfulness of which harmonized so well with the melancholy grandeur of a soul of sixteen casting its first rays on the infinite..... I would carry these poems with me in my game-bag to the mountains, and, while the dogs made the defiles ring with their voices, I would read them, seated beneath some concave rock. How often have I felt my tears freeze and hang like icicles from my eyelashes. I had become one of the bard's sons; one of the heroical, enamoured, plaintive shadows, which fight, love, weep, or sing to the sound of the harp in the dark domains of Fingal. Ossian is certainly one of the palettes on which my imagination has blended the most colours, and which has left the most of its tints on the feeble sketches which I have since traced."

He inserts in his *Confidences* an original specimen of Ossianic composition, which Macpherson himself might have adopted.

We have been the more particular in these details of his early life, because in them are revealed the seminal elements of his genius and character. The maternal influences that imbued his infancy with affection and sanctity, the training at Belley, and the inspiration

of Tasso and Ossian, furnish the solution of most of his characteristics as a writer and a man.

When eighteen years old he visited Rome,—another event of important influence on his subsequent history. Italy was at that time rife with liberal sentiments, and to a casual acquaintance with one of her sons—an humble but accomplished teacher of language—he ascribes his first love of intellectual and civil liberty. His hereditary royalism could not neutralize that instinct for freedom which is ever inherent in true genius. The abuses of the Revolutionists and the supreme selfishness of the Emperor had restrained his sympathies from the movements of the period; but in the poor Italian teacher he found a mind full of his own melancholy sensibility, and passionate for freedom,—a man who mourned over the fate of the world, and who, acknowledging the abuses of liberty, could at the same time discriminate its abuses from its blessings. The two friends pursued their walks together in patriotic discussions of the subject; they would seat themselves on the hill of the villa Pamphillii, with the historic ruins of Rome spread out beneath them, and "shed bitter tears" over the prospects of the nations "abandoned to tyranny of every kind;" and while they lamented that philosophy and liberty seemed to be revived in France and Italy only to be defiled, betrayed, and oppressed everywhere, "they murmured together imprecations against the tyrant of the human mind, the crowned soldier who only dabbled in the revolution to draw from it strength to destroy it, and subject nations anew to every prejudice and every servitude." It was amidst the august and melancholy associations of Rome that Gibbon conceived the great achievement of his genius; Lamartine received there a higher inspiration. It did not, as with Gibbon, kindle merely his literary ambition, but his noblest sympathies with humanity. He there adopted that doctrine of the liberation and elevation of all men,—founded not upon one idea, the idea merely of revolutions in the external forms of government, or the succession of parties or dynasties, but on the development of the whole social interests of man, as progressively desiderated by the tendencies of intelligence, virtue, and Providence,—the doctrine which has since given the title of the "social school" to his party, and has rendered his political course a problem equivocal, if not insoluble, to the blinded eyes of partisans and demagogues. Musing amidst the hoary monuments of the eternal city, shedding ingenuous tears for the sufferings of his country and his race, he there learned to distinguish the cause of freedom at once from the Jacobinism of the Revolution and the dazzling but tyrannic egotism of Napoleon. "From this period," he manfully says, "dated my love for the emancipa-

tion of the human mind and that intellectual hatred of the hero of the age; a hatred which was based on reason, and felt at the same time; a hatred which reflection and time have only justified, despite the vile flatterers of his memory; a hatred with which I am proud to have lived, and with which I hope to die!" Noble words to be uttered at the very moment that a fickle and fawning people, charmed by the name of the hero-tyrant, exalt to the supreme power of their country a man whose single distinction, besides some juvenile follies, is, that he was one of the dynastic clique, who, by sharing the name of the hero, without sharing his ability, have thereby been placed the more signally in contrast with him.

From Rome he passed to Naples, where he was joined by a friend —Aymon de Virieu—who was to exert, in later years, a very salutary influence on his character, and whose own history, as recorded in "*Les Confidences*," is one of the most interesting episodes in that most interesting record.

Virieu was ever by his side; they read together, conversed together under the vine arbours of the neighbouring country, or rambled in company along the beach of the bay. The indolent, dreamy life of the Neapolitan lazzaroni had charms for them in that balmy clime, and they mingled among the careless, thoughtless herd until they became familiar with their jargon, and better acquainted with their habits and character than with those of any other class. Tempted by the tranquil lives of the fishermen of the bay,—"the warm and brilliant nights spent beneath the sail, in that cradle rocked by the waves under the deep and star-spangled sky,"—they resolved to join one of them, and share his life a short time. The result was a period of months spent in the guise and habits of Neapolitan sailors, and in total retirement from all other society. They resided with the family of the fisherman, a kind-hearted old man, partook of their humble fare, and Lamartine fell in love (though not quite willing to admit it) with his daughter, the beautiful Graziella,—a character which he has painted with poetic and fascinating interest through fully one-third of his "*Confidences*." She died soon after his departure, loving him to the end, and leaving to him reminiscences replete with beauty, affection, and melancholy. The most exquisite prose production of his pen is the sketch of this episode in his personal history. The dreamy leisure of his daily life, the pleasures and perils of his fishing excursions, the charming scenery of the bay and neighbouring islands, the simple life of the fisherman's cabin, the evenings spent in conversing with, or reading to the humble family, and, above all, the beauty, purity, and tragic history of Graziella, give to his narrative a romantic and bewitch-

ing interest. St. Pierre himself could not have painted more finely the scene in which the poet read to the illiterate household the story of Paul and Virginia, while Graziella held the lamp over the book and dropped her tears upon his hand.

On the fall of the empire Lamartine entered the service of Louis XVIII., and joined the royal guards. The corps of the guards to which he belonged hastened, at the return of Napoleon from Elba, towards the Belgian frontier; but he resolved not to forsake his country: when they were within a few miles of the boundary a proclamation was issued by the flying Bourbons, giving them liberty to follow the king into exile or return to their homes. Lamartine mounted the wheel-nave of one of the carriages which bore their arms, and made the first public speech of his life. He opposed emigration, insisted upon a return to their homes, and a union with the republicans against the emperor, for the sake of constitutional liberty, which he had hoped for under the restored Bourbons, but despaired of under Napoleon. A majority of the corps joined him and tarried in France. He returned to Paris, but, being forbidden the city, left it for his home, "with all his energy and the presentiment of future freedom."

The continual levies demanded by the Emperor rendered him liable to be called into service; to avoid the danger he escaped into Switzerland, where he remained during the Hundred Days, living sometimes among peasants and disguised in their costume; sometimes in the chateau of a sequestered French officer, and at others in the family of a boatman of the Leman. At the final downfall of Napoleon, Lamartine returned to Paris and re-entered the king's guard. He was of an age when the temptations of such a city are next to irresistible to an ardent temperament like his, and, if we may judge from intimations in his writings, he fell before them. A period of dissipation ensued, during which not only his morals were corrupted, but also the religious opinions to which he had been so assiduously trained at home and at Belley. He became a skeptic, and gaming was his "principal occupation." Leaving, finally, the royal guards, he wandered to and fro in France, Switzerland, and Italy, "winning and losing considerable sums at Milan, Paris, and Naples." He describes himself as at this time in all "the ebullition of his most harebrained and violent years." The germs of truth faithfully implanted in infancy are, however, ineradicable. Unexpected reverses had almost ruined his paternal home; and, amidst them all, the maternal voice, which had first taught him the lessons of religion, called him back from his wanderings to its afflicted but devout hearth. He spent a summer in the solitude of Milly; retirement and medita-

tion softened his heart, and revived the impressions of his better days. The family were absent, and he had full leisure for self-inspection. A profound but salutary melancholy pervaded his spirit, and again he welcomed to his heart the faith of his childhood.

"In solitude, piety always returned to me: it has always made me better. I did not believe with my mind, but I believed with my heart. The void which had been made in my soul by the evaporation of the faith of my childhood, in the dissipations of those years of shame and sorrow, seemed to me to be delightfully filled up by that feeling of divine love which again became warm beneath the ashes of my first excesses, and which purified while it consoled me. I was obstinate in my desire to recover the belief of my youth on the spot where I had acquired the belief of my childhood. I subjected my rebellious reason to that ardent wish to believe, that I might be able to love and pray. I strenuously drove from my mind every shadow, every doubt, every repugnance. I succeeded in partly forming the illusions for which I thirsted; and, to give you an exact notion of the state of my soul at that period, if I did not then adore the God of my mother as my God, I at least bore Him on my heart as my idol."

Strange language, indeed, to a Protestant ear; but it must be borne in mind that Lamartine's religious training had been conducted in the "dim religious light" of Romanism, and that with this dimness had blended only the more dazzling and blinding radiations of that liberal philosophy, which elevated minds, too strong for Popery, and yet unfamiliar with evangelical Protestantism, hail as the best light upon their pathway.

This imperfect, idealized faith, deepened into a profounder sentiment in his later life; his *Voyage en Orient* shows that he had become a praying man, and manifests even an ardent piety; but he has never risen above the inferior level of Popery, though he welcomes there that rationalistic liberalism to which we have alluded, and which a mind like his cannot repel, except when aided by the illumination of purer truth. After this temporary and salutary retirement at Milly he went to the waters of Aix, in Savoy, where occurred the incidents which he has woven into the tale of "Raphael;" they are modified, however, with so many imaginary additions, that it is impossible to discriminate the real from the fictitious. His "*Confidences*" close at this point, and leave us to trace the remainder of his history by the scattered intimations of his writings and the uncertain statements of the *Feuilletons*. It was not long, however, before he appeared in public life as poet and politician, and in our remaining observations we shall contemplate him in these characters respectively; again reminding the reader that the time has not arrived for a very definitive estimate of him as either author or statesman.

On retiring from the military family of the king, Lamartine seems

to have entertained no very precise plans of life. His political opinions had become somewhat settled, but his political ambition was still unawakened. His life was casual; his mind, however, instinctively tended to poetry. While yet in the guards he began to cherish its inspirations, and composed verses when on duty under the royal windows at St. Cloud. During his wanderings in Italy and elsewhere he wrote several brief poems; and, in 1820, sent them forth in Paris, under the title of "*Méditations Poétiques.*" He passed, as we have seen, from publisher to publisher, without finding any willing to risk its publication, till at last one of the trade, by the name of Nicolle, consented to issue it. The title of the little volume was not attractive; it appeared anonymously, and without a prefatory word to conciliate the reader. By a happy accident, Jules Janin saw it on a book-stall. He at once perceived its merits; its deep poetic spirit, melancholy, vague, evervarying, and thrilling with passionateness; its style, terse, at times misty, but always sustained and strenuous, and its rhythm of softest cadence and ringing vibration. The celebrated critic wrote an elaborate review of the new and unknown poet, and hailed him with enthusiasm. Contemporary reviewers discussed the modest volume with eagerness, its pieces were quoted everywhere, and forty-five thousand copies were spread over France in about four years. It consists of detached pieces on a variety of themes. The ode to Byron, on Man, is full of lofty, though melancholy thought and religious feeling; the "Evening," the "Lake," "Autumn," the "Temple," and the "Gulf of Baïæ," are characterized by a fine elegiac spirit, and the pieces on God and Immortality reveal the genuine grandeur of their subjects.

The splendid success of this volume drew the attention of the government towards the author. He was attached to the French embassy at Florence, and there occurred one of those happy accidents which crowd his history, and give it the character almost of a romance. He heard one day a sweet voice singing, in subdued tones, the following lines from his "Meditations:"—

> "Perchance the future may reserve for me
> A happiness, whose hope I now resign;
> Perchance amid the busy world may be
> Some soul, unknown, responsive still to mine."

They were sung by a young, accomplished, and opulent English lady. The poet recognized her as the "soul responsive" to his own, and married her the same year at Naples, whither he had been removed, as secretary of the French embassy in that city. He was subsequently appointed to London in the same capacity, and to Tuscany

as chargé d'affaires. Meanwhile he received from a deceased uncle an important accession to the fortune which he had derived from his marriage.

Promotion and opulence did not abate his devotion to the Muses. In 1823 he published a second series of the "*Méditations Poétiques.*" French critics have differed in their estimates of the comparative merits of the two works, and a foreigner can never pronounce judgment on a question of French *poetry* which is disputed by native critics. We think, however, that the second series exhibits more of the calm, self-sustained strength of mature genius, a truer and terser style, and more varied, if not more elevated themes. The "Ode to Bonaparte," "Sappho," the "Dying Poet," the "Preludes," and the "Crucifix," are especially fine.

The "Death of Socrates," and the Last Canto of Childe Harold, followed; both decidedly inferior to his previous efforts. The Canto of Childe Harold was designed as a conclusion to the incomplete "Pilgrimage" of Byron; it came very near concluding our poet's own pilgrimage. In an address to Italy occurred the following two verses:—

> "I seek elsewhere (forgive, O Roman shade!)
> For men, and not the dust of which they're made."

A Neapolitan officer took offence at the passage, as an indignity to his country, and sent a challenge to the author. Lamartine was foolish enough to accept it;—a duel followed, in which he was seriously wounded, and his life remained a considerable time in suspense.

The *Chant du Sacré* appeared in 1824, and five years afterwards was sent forth his third great work, the "*Harmonies Poétiques et Religieuses.*" The characteristics of the "Méditations" re-appear in this production, often with augmented force, but, as a whole, it is of inferior merit. It is often transcendental and mystical; his vagueness mars it throughout. Its themes are varied, but their treatment is not popular. A deep and mournful religious spirit pervades it, but without evangelical distinctness. Its pictures of human wretchedness are often terrible, as in the "*Novissima Verba,*" and its vagueness often becomes mistiness. Still this work has a resistless attraction for a certain class of really elevated minds. Its intense religious solicitude—however dubious the response evoked in its pages—is congenial with that state of religious unrest and doubt which the wide-spread disturbance of theological opinions in Europe has produced. The thoughtful mind, agonized by its self-conflicts, finds in the "Harmonies" something more than food for

revery; and if its author frequently ascends beyond the reach of the reader, it is, sometimes at least, as the bird of Jove becomes invisible by the elevation of its flight.

France recognized Lamartine as her great poetical genius. His literary success placed him by the side of Chateaubriand. He was admitted to the *Académie Francais*, and had been appointed by Charles X. as minister plenipotentiary to Greece when the Revolution of 1830 took place. The new government offered to confirm his appointment, but he declined the overture, and, after failing in Toulon and Dunkirk of an election to the Chamber of Deputies, he embarked, on the 20th of May, 1832, for the East—a voyage which has afforded us one of the most remarkable books of travel which has ever been produced. The English translator has preposterously enough entitled the work a "Pilgrimage;" Lamartine's journey had few characteristics which could entitle it to such a name. It was performed *en prince*;—he chartered a vessel of two hundred and fifty tons for his exclusive use; and supplied it with a crew of nineteen men, a physician and other attendants, besides some half dozen servants. It was furnished with a small arsenal of arms against the pirates of the Greek isles, a library of five hundred selected volumes, and an abundance of "creature comforts." In his wanderings through Syria he was attended by an imposing retinue, mounted on splendid Arabian horses, and equipped in a style that excited the admiration—which in the East means reverence—of Mussulman, Jew, and Christian. This opulent abundance and security of the traveller gave, however, to the voyage an air of relief and comfort which heightens the interest of the reader; an interest redoubled by the fact that the poet's wife and his only daughter accompanied him.

It would be impracticable to give here an outline of his remarkable journey. Taught to read by his mother in a Bible which was illustrated with engravings of Oriental life and scenery, he had dreamed from his infancy of the East. The impressions of his earliest days were still distinct and fresh in his imagination, though nearly half a century had passed over him, and he visited the consecrated places of the Holy Land with a blended religious and poetic enthusiasm. He professes to have received a special illumination while worshipping at the Holy Sepulchre, and throughout the whole of the journey he writes with the fervour of a devotee. His narrative is full of picturesque description, devout meditations, spiritual aspirations, and pensive reveries. A fervid sentimentalism pervades the whole work, and, indeed, is superabundant for most English readers. It was during this voyage that Lady Hester Stanhope, the noted recluse of Lebanon, uttered predictions respecting his political

career which have since been marvellously verified. Had they not been published several years before the events, they would now be pronounced inventions *post facto*. A very respectable high church English periodical gravely ascribes them to "a spirit of divination consistent with the devil's usual way of acting," to which Lady Hester "laid herself open by retiring into a solitary place, far from the fellowship of her kind, in order to indulge herself in wild, if not blasphemous, imaginations."*

The "Voyage en Orient" presents an almost autobiographical revelation of the author's character; his poetic spirit, his religious fervour—more implicitly if not abjectly Papal than in any of his other works—his romantic sentimentalism, his melancholy temperament, his exaggeration, his political predilections, his unparalleled powers of picturesque description, are manifest on almost every page. But, above all, do we see in this interesting book the affectionate sensibility of the man; its references to his deceased mother are frequent and most touching. His daughter Julia is an apparition of real loveliness and interest throughout the book. She died at Beirût, and left on her father's heart an impression of sorrow which has never been erased. The subsequent pages of his journal read as if written with his tears. He never tires of allusions to her. On leaving the country for France, bearing away her remains, he bowed down with agony and tears, and kissed the dust on the floor of the apartment where she died.

In 1835 appeared his *Jocelyn*, a poetical romance. It is written with a fervid inspiration, and abounds in passages of remarkable beauty and power, but is not a little hampered by the Alexandrine verse in which it is composed. It has been justly censured for its reckless grammatical transgressions. The poet attempts the loftiest ideal of human virtue, and sustains his theme with great vigour, amplifying and illustrating it by varied and thrilling accidents of scenery and adventure. Jocelyn, in order that his share of the paternal property might be appropriated to the support of his sister, was destined to an ecclesiastic life. The religious houses and seminaries being broken up by the Revolution, he retired to a cave in the mountains, where an exile and his child present themselves and claim his protection. The father, borne down with griefs, dies in the hermitage, leaving his son, Lawrence, to the care of the hermit. After two years spent in the grotto, Jocelyn discovers that the beautiful orphan, the supposed son, is a young girl in the full bloom of adolescence. He is smitten with her charms, and he has not yet taken upon him religious vows which would interdict his love. But

* The Theologian and Ecclesiastic, July, 1848. London.

at this moment a prelate, condemned to death by the Revolutionary tribunal, sends for the recluse, that he may ordain him, in order to receive from his hands the last sacrament. Jocelyn could not resist the appeal of the proscribed man; he consents to be ordained, but returns no more to his cave. He becomes the pastor of an humble village among the Alps, but cannot divest his memory of the image of the beautiful girl. The conflict between passion and duty is painted by the poet with thrilling effect. Jocelyn visits Paris; he sees there a gay coquette in a church; it is the orphan of the cave transformed, but still beautiful. He hastens away, and again buries himself among the Alps. Years afterwards, the faithful priest is called to minister to a lady who is overtaken with illness in his parish, while on her way to Italy. Her symptoms are mortal: she confesses to him, refers to her residence in the mountain grotto, and avows her love for Jocelyn. The latter makes himself known: the dying lady, overwhelmed with emotion, kisses his hand and expires. He blesses her last moments and buries her; and, after years of fidelity to his office, is himself placed in her grave by the mountain villagers.

The subject was congenial with the poet's sentimental romanticism; it admitted ample play to his taste for the picturesque, especially in its descriptions of Alpine scenery, which are grandly executed, and it afforded an occasion that he has fully used, of reproducing the religious impressions of his cloistered life at Belley. Its popularity was general, and it is said that no French poem has been more extensively read.

His next publication was "*La Chute d'un Ange*,"—it was more, however, the *chute* of his own genius; and, together with his following work, "*Recueillements Poétiques*," detracted much from his reputation. He had become too thoroughly engrossed in politics; his muse evidently drooped with neglect, and his indirect apology in the preface to the latter work, where he rebukes the ardour of the poet, and restricts the claims of the divine art merely to hours of leisure or relaxation, could not avail with the public for his justification.

Of his "*History of the Girondists*," the next important production of his pen, we need say but little; it has probably been read before this time by most of our readers. Obnoxious to many critical objections, as an historical production, it has nevertheless unrivalled individual excellences, and has produced more effect on France than any other book of the century. It doubtless precipitated the late Revolution, and will continue to impel onward the progressive developments, which its author assumes as the *rationale* of the preceding revolutionary eruptions and of his country's destiny. It is

valuable as furnishing new and important data for the history of the first revolution; its portaitures of character are delineated with rare discrimination, and, if its style partakes too much of the ardent temperament of the poet, it is nevertheless not altogether incompatible with the scenes of moral and political devastation—of tumult, terror, and retribution,—which he records.

Since the publication of the "Girondists," has appeared his "*Raphael; or, Pages from the Book of Life at Twenty*"—a work of the most elevated purpose, but the most farcical execution. Sincerely disposed as we are to award the best credit to our author, we regret to be under the necessity of enumerating this absurd affair among the productions of his pen. It would have been fatally discreditable to the reputation of any of our own third-rate magazine writers; and, did it not unequivocally show a serious design, we should, in all frankness, take it for a satire—an ironical caricature of the modern sentimental novel.

Besides the works we have enumerated, Lamartine has sent forth a brochure in defence of his administration of the Provisional Government, entitled "*Three Months in Power*," &c. He has published, also, a series of auto-biographical "Notes," entitled, "*Les Confidences*," &c., in the Paris journal, *La Presse*. We have already made frequent references to them. Appearing contemporaneously with Chateaubriand's memoirs of himself, they have excited, if possible, greater interest. They present abundant specimens of fine writing, but the narrative is somewhat incoherent and inconsequent, and obviously overwrought. The poetical fervour of the writer betrays him into almost habitual hyperbole. These memorials, however, will rank among the best productions of his pen; they abound in lofty sentiments, picturesque descriptions, and episodes of much beauty and pathos. We have alluded to the graceful sketch of Graziella, which forms a large portion of these Notes. As a tale of romance, it might take rank near by St. Pierre's immortal Paul and Virginia; but, as a biographical episode, its ideal and obvious exaggerations awaken the misgivings of the reader, and risk his confidence in the narrative generally.

We have thus traced the series of Lamartine's literary works down to the present time, and have given, *en passant*, occasional general observations on his literary characteristics. A few summary remarks will suffice for the remainder of this part of our article.

His popularity as a poet has been unequalled during his day in France. De Vigny has given some fine specimens of both taste and feeling; Victor Hugo's political lyrics and "*Orientales*" show spirit and imagination; Beranger's lyrics are written *ad populum*,

and will live forever; but Lamartine appeals more variously and profoundly to the sensibilities of the heart. The religious sentiment, with its deep anxieties, the remorse of guilt, the felicity of virtue, manful indignation at wrong, however consecrated, brave vindication of the right, however despised, the aspirations and sufferings of genius, the domestic affections, the love of country, the heroic in character, the picturesque in nature, the sentimentality of love,—all subjects indeed which are susceptible of the idealism of poetry,—have kindled his inspiration. Herein is the security of his poetical fame. He has sung of subjects which have not an adventitious, but an abiding relation to the sympathies of human nature, and he has sung of them in a style defective in many respects, but always earnest, solemn, and thrilling—the true style of the true bard and seer.

Tasso and Ossian, as we have seen, early imparted to him that romanticism, and vague and misty grandeur, which characterize, more or less, all his writings. Later in life another writer influenced him still more profoundly. Rousseau's infectious melancholy, his sublime theism, agonizing doubt, and fervid sentimentalism, could hardly fail to be congenial with such a mind as Lamartine's, notwithstanding its better religious tendencies. Few writers of modern times have left a deeper impression on the mind of Europe than poor Jean Jacques Rousseau. He helped Voltaire and his school, too effectually, to fight down religion and government in Europe; but while they sophisticated, scoffed, and grinned, he, from his solitude of Montmorenci, or his exile in Neufchatel, wrote with maddened earnestness. Deep wells of the clear waters of truth, and many verdant oases, are found in the desolate desert of his writings. The melancholy and stern earnestness of his spirit permeated the literature of Europe. Chateaubriand, with all his Papal predilections, pondered over Rousseau's pages in our western wilderness, drinking in their spirit, and exemplifying it powerfully in the character of René. Lamennais, while writing his splendid protest against indifference in religion, drew inspiration from the same profane source, and at last, in his "*Paroles d'un Croyant*," speaks out with the maniacal tone and energy of the Genevan madman. Lamartine has studied Rousseau with fascination, and, to a considerable degree, imbibed his genius and adopted his style. The creed of the *Vicaire Savoyard* has become the symbol of the faith of rationalistic scholars in Europe generally, and, covertly, of a large portion of the more enlightened minds of the Roman priesthood; Lamartine evidently admires it, while he attempts to hold on to the ritual of Popery. We cannot recall a clerical character in his writings who does not receive it.

This deep, earnest spirit, in connexion with the permanent subjects of his verse, and his harmonious and sonorous rhythm, has called forth a responsive sympathy from all France; and though his larger poems, from their generally acknowledged inferiority, may not be abidingly popular, his detached pieces, which form in fact the mass of his works, will always constitute a large portion of the French anthology.

It is hardly necessary, after what has been said, for us to remark on the moral effect of his writings. In two respects, most important, because most necessary in France, they must exert a salutary influence. They consecrate the household affections and relations, and their pictures of domestic life are often charmingly beautiful. In hardly any other respect is French literature, generally, more defective; and the social disorganization of the country is attributable, in a great degree, to its lack of a correct domestic life. Lamartine's works are a powerful recommendation to Frenchmen of the virtues and comforts of a Christian home.

Their religious tendency, though marred by both Papal and rationalistic defects, can hardly fail to be salutary. Compared with French literature generally, his works may be called emphatically religious. They are not only exempt, and entirely exempt, from the characteristic impurity of the literature of his country, but are pervaded by intense spiritual aspirations. With all their dogmatic defects, they are far above the average religious sentiment of the country, and therefore will tend, it is to be hoped, to elevate it.

Lamartine's faults as a writer are neither small nor few. His sentimentalism often becomes excessive and effeminate. A half century has not sufficed to chasten his ardour, which frequently grows rampant with enthusiasm. In narratives of facts, as his "*Voyage*," and "*Les Confidences*," he idealizes and exaggerates quite beyond the credulity of the reader; and a melancholy egotism, very like Byron's, perverts most of his productions. These defects, however, are not so obnoxious to criticism in poetry as in prose, and will not seriously affect his poetical reputation.

We pass to notice Lamartine's character as a politician or statesman. He held, as we have seen, diplomatic posts under the Bourbons. He declined at first to act in the same capacity after the Revolution of 1830, but not because he sympathized with the policy of Charles X., or rejected the hopes of the Revolution. He expected, under the restoration of the Bourbons, progressive ameliorations in conformity with the liberal spirit of the times, and acknowledged the fatal errors of the Polignac ministry; but the elevation of the Duke of Orleans was the substitution of one Bourbon for another: he chose

to await the result before committing himself to the experiment, and his suspicions have been verified. This is the true solution of that apparent contradiction in his political history, which arises from the fact of his undisguised sympathy with the legitimists, and his profession, meanwhile, of liberal views. When embarking for the East, after having declined Louis Philippe's offer to confirm his diplomatic appointment to Greece, he thus writes:—

"This revolution has not roused me, because it has not astonished me; I saw it coming afar off: many months before the fatal day, the fall of the restored monarchy was foreseen, by me, in the names of the persons it had chosen to conduct it. These men were devoted and faithful, but they were of another century; while the ideas of the age marched in one direction, they marched in another. I have wept for this family, which seemed condemned to the destiny and blindness of Œdipus. I have particularly deplored the unnecessary divorce between the past and the future,—the one might have been so useful to the other; liberty and the progress of social order would have borrowed so much force from this adoption which the ancient royal houses, the old families and old virtues, would have made of them. But we must not lose time in regrets; we must act and proceed; it is the law of nature, it is the law of God. Let us leave to their proper claimants faults of a *coup d'état* and a retrograde direction; pity and weep for the august victims of a fatal error, but withhold no honourable sympathy from them; repress not distant but legitimate hopes; and, for the rest, re-enter the ranks of citizens,—think, speak, act, and combat with the family of the nation."

We have, on a preceding page, shown that this eclectic, non-partisan character of his politics, this discrimination of liberty and the true interests of states from dynastic administrations and party demagogueism, was adopted by him while yet in the ingenuousness of his youth; he has firmly maintained it down to the present time, allying himself by vows of allegiance to no party, but assailing or vindicating the actual administration, accordingly as it swerved from, or adhered to, what he deemed the true policy of the country. In his Travels in the East he says:—

"I belong not to these men, [aristocrats,] but to the party who do not despise those who are below them in society, at the same time that they respect those above them; whose wish, be it a dream or not, is to raise all men, without regard to their place in the arbitrary hierarchies of politics, to the same light of knowledge, the same liberty, and the same moral perfection."

Lamartine early assumed, and has never waived, the opinion,—remarkable for a French politician, and indeed for any politician,—that politics should be based on morality; that the true interests of nations are as legitimately dependent upon political virtue as the interests of individuals are upon personal virtue. He would scout the chicanery of party and the dishonest artifices of diplomacy,—"the deceiving and being deceived" of nations,—as the prolific sources of their demoralization and disasters; and he believes—and

good men will join him in the hope—that the time will yet come when the morality of the Christian religion will be recognized, in the transactions of states, as essential to their honour and prosperity. While sailing to Syria, he said:—

"The hour is at hand when the light of the Pharos of reason and morality will pierce through our political tempests, and we shall frame the social code which the world begins to foresee and to understand,—the symbol of love and charity amongst men, the charity of the gospel. May Heaven regenerate men, for our politics are a disgrace to us, and make angels weep."

Such ideas are, apparently, incomprehensible to most politicians. A statesman who, like our own lamented "old man eloquent," takes his independent stand bravely on the ground of the truth, and admits to his heart party sympathies only so far as they are compatible with such a position, is not only laughed at as absurd by demagogical knaves, but pronounced impracticable or too hypothetical by men who would not like to be considered destitute of honesty. Lamartine was quite anomalous among his countrymen in this respect, yet he bore up hopefully and courageously against their cavils. He writes:—

"You say that everything dies, and that there is no longer any faith or belief;—there is a faith; this faith is general reason; language is its organ, the press is its apostle; it seeks to re-construct in its own image religions, civilizations, societies, and legislations. It seeks in religion, God, one and perfect, as its dogma; eternal morality as its symbol; adoration and charity as its worship; in politics, humanity above all nationalities; in legislation, man equal to man, men the brothers of men—*legislative Christianity.*"

We honour the man that dares so to speak in an age like this, and especially in a country like France. History will honour him. If the corruptions of his times neutralize his practical policy, they cannot destroy the influence of his example; he vindicates the eternal truth—the truth which, if our religion is not a grand fallacy, and the hopes of our world delusions, will yet predominate over the legislation and the thrones of the nations. Christian morality as the basis, and the development of the whole well-being of humanity as the aim of politics—such is the creed of Lamartine as a statesman. But, while he would inculcate such principles, he recognizes a divine Providence in the evil, as well as the good, of history. In his "Girondists" he has discriminated the right from the wrong of the Revolution, with an honest, if not always unerring, analysis. He develops the providential formula, if we may so speak, of that great transmutation of European institutions, which, commencing then, is still in process, and will continue to proceed—inflicting retribution for the wrongs of the past, and hastening, with recurring impulses, the ameliorations of the future. He theorizes revolution, and, not-

withstanding many errors, he has, we think, deciphered the terrible characters with which the providence of God wrote out on the face of Europe the lessons of that appalling event.

While yet in Syria, Lamartine was elected to the Chamber of Deputies by the department of the North. He first appeared in the Tribune on the 4th of January, 1834, in a debate on the address. Much anxiety had been felt by his friends respecting his *début* in this new arena; but, sustained by the force of his genius, and the moral dignity of his principles, he commenced his political career with a positive success. He at once assumed an independent position; he was neither a "Radical," nor "Legitimist," nor "Juste Milieu," but an honest representative of the interests of his country. Men of like independence gathered around him, and virtually formed a school distinguished by generous and progressive opinions, and denominated, at last, as the "Parti Social." For a time he co-operated with Guizot and the conservatives; but the retrograde tendency of that party, in its later period, alienated him: he denounced with all his eloquence its attempt to resist the demands of the times, and predicted that its infatuation would lead to its overthrow. Thus standing alone, the opponent at once of extreme conservatism and precipitate advancement, but ready to recognize every providential indication of progress, he became the man, the hero, of the late Revolution. All classes turned instinctively, as it were, towards him when the storm broke upon the state. The appalling memory of similar storms in other days was still strong in the public mind; what signs of terror might come out again on the darkening heavens no one could tell; but all felt that a man morally reliable, a man whose *heart* could be trusted, was necessary for the crisis.

Of the events of that crisis we need not particularly speak; they are fresh in the memory of the reader. In the midst of the tumultuous confusion, Lamartine was the first to propose the restoration of order by a provisional government. It was Lamartine who, on the 26th of February, proclaimed it, and declared the abolition of royalty, the birth of the republic, and the decree which abrogated the penalty of death for political offences; "the noblest decree that has ever issued from a people the day after their victory." He proposed and secured the abolition of African slavery in the French colonies; and during the critical months of the Provisional Government he chiefly saved the revolution by his marvellous management of his half-crazed colleagues, and his moral control of the rabble of the faubourgs. The subsequent and unparalleled outbreak in Paris showed that the popular elements fermenting in the Revolution of 1848 were as explosive and dangerous as those which spread horror

over France in the first Revolution. They were even more perilous; for the usual ferocity of the mob was stimulated by additional political ideas, relating to the rights of property, and affecting the whole organization of society,—ideas radical in the extreme, yet systematized into a science which had been promulgated all through the population, and made the most powerful appeal possible to its rapacity and its sufferings. The catastrophe was inevitable; it was fearfully developed in the insurrection of Paris; but Lamartine held it in abeyance, from the day in which it would have been irrepressible, to that in which the sword of Cavaignac could control it. Five times during the memorable 25th of February he was compelled to appease the mob, when no other voice could silence it. The infatuated multitude, brandishing their arms, and shouting vengeance against the Provisional Government, demanded the red flag, and the head of Lamartine, who courageously stood forth, with folded arms and in silence before them for half an hour, and then addressed them, in words which had more power than the voice of the cannon. "You demand from us the red flag, instead of the tri-colour one. Citizens, for my part I will never adopt the red flag; I will explain, in a word, why I will oppose it with all the strength of my patriotism. It is, citizens, because the tri-colour flag has made the tour of the world, under the republic and the empire, with our liberties and our glories, and that the red flag has only made the tour of the Champ-de-Mars, trailed through torrents of the blood of the people." The riotous mass responded with acclamations to his speech; they wept, shook his hands, and embraced him in their brawny arms.

In his "Three Months in Power" Lamartine has fully, and, we think, triumphantly vindicated his connexion with the Provisional Government, and with the insurrection which concluded it. His relation with the radical leaders was, as he eloquently said in the National Assembly, that which the lightning-rod bears to the storm. His opponents have failed to impeach him, and France now holds him guiltless, while, with her usual fickleness, she disgraces him. His spirit, self-sustained by conscious integrity, is superior to his misfortunes. He has re-appeared in the tribune, with unabated resolution and vigour; and it can hardly be doubted, that if he patiently "bides his time," France will hereafter recognize his claims to her confidence and homage.

Absurd comparisons have been made between Lamartine and Washington. Both the men and the exigencies which made them are quite contradistinguished. Napoleon complained justly of similar comparisons between the great American and himself. What

would be appropriate in a leader of revolution in France, would be fantastically dramatic, serio-comic, in such a leader among the severely practical people of this country. Washington would have died unknown had he been a Frenchman. Paris has hitherto been France; and the *sans culottes* are Paris, in the time of revolution. Washington was not the man to lead *sans culottes*. His own army was indeed *sans culottes* sometimes, but they were still the enlightened yeomen, the self-respecting proprietors, or sons of the proprietors of the soil. The French recognize Washington in the grandeur of his renown; but they would never have recognized him as the man of a national epoch, when as yet no very signal event had marked his career, nor any trait of *éclat* his character. Their great man must shine and dazzle; impetuosity, a bold or oracular speech, thoroughly positive traits, are indications of greatness to them. Lamartine has the moral integrity of Washington, without his equanimity and wisdom; his enthusiasm gives a sympathetic power to his virtue; and his genius, his courage in speech and conduct, together with his literary fame, throw around him a lustre without which he would have been powerless among his countrymen.

We would not claim for him a high rank as a practical statesman, but affirm our respect for his political principles, and our conviction that he sustained himself, throughout his administration of the Provisional Government, with integrity and ability. Other men might have more successfully availed themselves of his position for their personal aggrandizement; few, we believe, would have used it more advantageously for the public interest.

Finally, Lamartine may be pronounced the first of living poets in France, and among the best of her statesmen,—with the qualifying admission, however, that no statesman, really of the first class, is found among her present political counsellors; and that she has not, and indeed never has had, a poet of the highest rank; such a one as can be classed with the Shakspeares or Miltons, the Dantes or Goethes, of other lands. Her greatest, though far from her best statesman, pines over his fallen fortunes at Charlemont. Among her present political characters, there are those who excel Lamartine in the practical shrewdness and chicanery of the profession; but there is none who transcends him in eloquence, in readiness and variety of capacity, or in that moral power which pertains to a pure and patriotic character, and which is indispensable to the highest public influence among even a degenerate people.

Art. IV.—NINEVEH AND ITS REMAINS.

Nineveh and its Remains: with an Account of a Visit to the Chaldæan Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or Devil-Worshippers; and an Inquiry into the Manners and Arts of the Ancient Assyrians. By Austen Henry Layard, Esq., D. C. L. In two volumes, pp. 326, 373. New-York: George P. Putnam. 1849.

The announcement of this interesting work must have excited, with many readers, a feeling of mingled reluctance and curiosity, something like what is experienced in the effort to prolong a mysterious dream. There was, as the author has remarked in his introduction, a peculiar awfulness connected with the idea of the ruins of ancient Assyria, which made it seem almost sacrilegious to attempt to explore them. All that was known respecting them was, that somewhere north of Bagdad, on the borders of the Tigris, there existed vast desert wildernesses, haunted by unclean beasts and birds, and brooded over by noxious airs, in which were huge mounds, formless and silent, which were conjectured to be the remains of Babylon and Nineveh. Travellers could not venture into this region without a sense of incurring the displeasure of Heaven, which had condemned it to utter desolation; and when they had done so, no relics had been found which could compensate for the dangers of the journey.

With imaginative readers it is perhaps rather a matter of congratulation, that Mr. Layard's book, though it contains enough to warrant Dr. Robinson's opinion, in his introductory note, that it narrates "the crowning historical discovery of the nineteenth century," does not dispel the early impression so completely as they may have anticipated it would. The Assyrian palaces and temples do not yet stand before us, to contradict the stupendous architectural fancies of Mr. Martin; nor need we, for all that is here brought to light, forego the old belief respecting the Tower of Belus and the Hanging Gardens. To judge from the difficulties attending the explorations, we are not likely to be too rudely startled from the repose of these cherished fancies of youth; probably none of us will live to hear of the completion of a railroad from Aleppo to the banks of the Tigris, bridging Euphrates, and tunnelling the tombs of Nitocris and Nebuchadnezzar. The awful denunciations of the angel in the Apocalypse, however they are understood, may still remain associated in our minds as harmonizing with all that we are likely to know of the Babylonish ruins.*

* "And after these things I saw another angel come down from heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened with his glory. And he cried mightily

It is chiefly for its personal narrative that Mr. Layard's work will interest the general reader. Without a previous familiarity with such studies, it will not be found easy or profitable to attempt to follow him in his speculations upon his discoveries; indeed, except with the assistance of plates, it is not possible to write intelligibly respecting them. In reviewing his work, therefore, we will treat it simply as a book of travels, reserving for a few concluding paragraphs our estimate of what he has accomplished.

Our author first introduces himself to us in 1840; he had then, in company with a companion as adventurous as himself, traversed Asia Minor and Syria, journeying in as free and self-dependent a style as if they had been rovers of the desert. They left Aleppo on the 18th of March in that year, to visit the remains of Babylon and Nineveh; on the 10th of April they reached Mosul, on the Tigris, in the vicinity of the ruins. The first impression of them is thus given:

"Were the traveller to cross the Euphrates to seek for such ruins in Mesopotamia and Chaldea as he had left behind him in Asia Minor or Syria, his search would be vain. The graceful column rising above the thick foliage of the myrtle, the ilex, and the oleander; the gradines of the amphitheatre covering the gentle slope, and overlooking the dark blue waters of a lakelike bay; the richly carved cornice or capital half hidden by the luxuriant herbage; are replaced by the stern, shapeless mound rising like a hill from the scorched plain, the fragments of pottery, and the stupendous mass of brickwork occasionally laid bare by the winter rains. He has left the land where nature is still lovely, where, in his mind's eye, he can rebuild the temple or the theatre, half doubting whether they would have made a more grateful impression upon the senses than the ruin before him. He is now at a loss to give any form to the rude heaps upon which he is gazing. Those of whose works they are the remains, unlike the Roman and the Greek, have left no visible traces of their civilization, or of their arts: their influence has long since passed away. The more he conjectures, the more vague the results appear. The scene around is worthy of the ruin he is contemplating; desolation meets desolation; a feeling of awe succeeds to wonder; for there is nothing to relieve the mind, to lead to hope, or to tell of what has gone by. These huge mounds of Assyria made a deeper impression upon me, gave rise to more serious thought and more earnest reflection, than the temples of Balbec or the theatres of Ionia."—Pp. 28, 29.

From Mosul Mr. Layard descended the Tigris to Bagdad. His view of the ruins had excited his curiosity, and he formed the design of examining them, whenever it might be in his power.

In 1842 he again passed Mosul, on his way to Constantinople. He found, that after his former visit M. Botta, who had been appointed French Consul at Mosul, had discovered some remarkable remains in the mounds near that city. Arrived at Constantinople, M. Botta's success increased his anxiety to return and explore the

with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird." Rev. xviii, 1, 2.

ruins himself. "My thoughts," he says, with true antiquarian enthusiasm, "still went back to the ruin of Nimroud, and to the traditions which attached to it. I spoke to others, but received little encouragement. At last, in the autumn of 1845, Sir Stratford Canning* mentioned to me his readiness to incur, for a limited period, the expenses of excavations in Assyria, in the hope that, should success attend the attempt, means would be found to carry it out on an adequate scale. I received with joy the offer of commencing and carrying on these excavations."

Leaving Constantinople in the middle of October, he travelled fast, and reached Mosul in twelve days; and after various delays and difficulties, he at length embarked, with implements, attendants, &c., on a raft on the Tigris, for the ruins at Nimroud, which lie near the river, some eighteen miles below Mosul. Arriving at the scene of his labours in the evening, his attendants engaged Arabs to assist in excavating, and they prepared to commence operations on the morrow, Nov. 9th, 1846.

"The lofty cone and broad mound of Nimroud broke like a distant mountain on the morning sky. But how changed was the scene since my former visit! The ruins were no longer clothed with verdure and many-coloured flowers; no signs of habitation, not even the black tent of the Arab, were seen upon the plain. The eye wandered over a parched and barren waste, across which occasionally swept the whirlwind, dragging with it a cloud of sand. About a mile from us was the small village of Nimroud, like Naifa, a heap of ruins.

"Twenty minutes' walk brought us to the principal mound. The absence of all vegetation enabled me to examine the remains with which it was covered. Broken pottery and fragments of bricks, both inscribed with the cuneiform character, were strewed on all sides. The Arabs watched my motions as I wandered to and fro, and observed with surprise the objects I had collected. They joined, however, in the search, and brought me handfuls of rubbish, amongst which I found with joy the fragment of a bas-relief. The material on which it was carved had been exposed to fire, and resembled, in every respect, the burnt gypsum of Khorsabad. Convinced from this discovery that sculptured remains must still exist in some part of the mound, I sought for a place where excavations might be commenced with a prospect of success. Awad led me to a piece of alabaster which appeared above the soil. We could not remove it, and, on digging downward, it proved to be the upper part of a large slab. I ordered all the men to work around it, and they shortly uncovered a second slab to which it had been united. Continuing in the same line, we came upon a third; and, in the course of the morning, laid bare ten more, the whole forming a square, with one stone missing at the north-west corner. It was evident that the top of a chamber had been discovered, and that the gap was its entrance."—P. 44.

From this time Mr. Layard continued to discover similar chambers in the mounds, lined with sculptured slabs and bas-reliefs in alabaster, and containing fragments of pottery and ivory ornaments.

* British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte.

The plans of the chambers thus excavated are given in the volumes, together with wood engravings of many of the principal bas-reliefs and inscriptions,—for most of which we must refer the reader to the work itself; since, without making our article entirely pictorial, it would be a waste of space to attempt a description of them.

The work was not prosecuted, however, without many discouragements. The chief of these arose from the cupidity or stupidity of Mohammed Pasha, the governor of the province of Mosul, of whom we have a flattering portrait.

"The appearance of his excellency was not prepossessing, but it matched his temper and conduct. Nature had placed hypocrisy beyond his reach. He had one eye and one ear; he was short and fat, deeply marked by the small-pox, uncouth in gestures, and harsh in voice."—P. 39.

One of this functionary's expedients to prevent working at the mounds, was to cover them with false graves of true believers, which could not be disturbed. The hindrance from this cause was so great that our antiquarian was finally obliged, he says, to "come to an understanding" on the subject with Daoud Agha, the captain of the irregular troops, who was the chief executive officer in the vicinity.

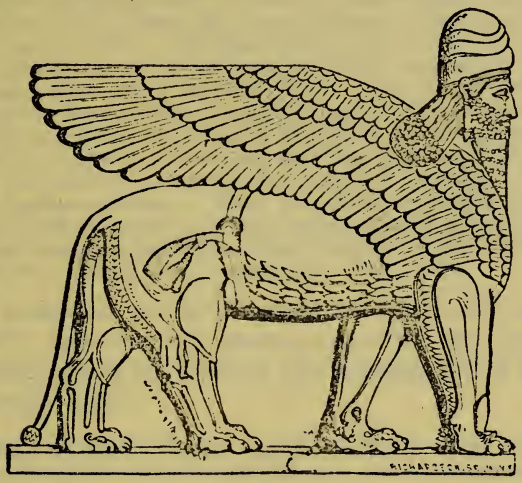
At length, in the middle of December, the obnoxious Pasha was deposed, and Hafiz Pasha appointed in his stead,—Ismail Pasha, a popular general, acting as regent until he could reach his government. This change occasioned a commotion in the country, which interrupted Mr. Layard's researches. He went to Bagdad, and did not return till the beginning of January, when he found the new governor more friendly. Interruptions arose, however, from other quarters, so that he did not fairly commence operations at the ruins till the middle of February, though his agents continued at work, with considerable success, in his absence, bringing to light "fragments of sculpture and inscriptions, with much entire pottery and inscribed bricks."

But, soon after recommencing their labours, the party began to make more important discoveries, the account of which forms one of the most interesting parts of the book.

"On the morning following I rode to the encampment of Sheikh Abd-ur-rahman, and was returning to the mound, when I saw two Arabs of his tribe urging their mares to the top of their speed. On approaching me they stopped. 'Hasten, O Bey,' exclaimed one of them,—'hasten to the diggers, for they have found Nimrod himself. Wallah, it is wonderful, but it is true! we have seen him with our eyes. There is no God but God;' and both joining in this pious exclamation, they galloped off, without further words, in the direction of their tents.

"On reaching the ruins I descended into the new trench, and found the workmen, who had already seen me, as I approached, standing near a heap

of baskets and cloaks. Whilst Awad advanced, and asked for a present to celebrate the occasion, the Arabs withdrew the screen they had hastily constructed, and disclosed an enormous human head sculptured in full out of the alabaster of the country. They had uncovered the upper part of the figure, the remainder of which was still buried in the earth. I saw at once that the head must belong to a winged lion or bull, similar to those of Khorsabad and Persepolis. It was in admirable preservation. The expression was calm, yet majestic, and the outline of the features showed a freedom and knowledge of art, scarcely to be looked for in the works of so remote a period. The cap had three horns, and, unlike that of the human-headed bulls hitherto found in Assyria, was rounded and without ornament at the top.



THE WINGED BULL.

"I was not surprised that the Arabs had been amazed and terrified at this apparition. It required no stretch of imagination to conjure up the most strange fancies. This gigantic head, blanched with age, thus rising from the bowels of the earth, might well have belonged to one of those fearful beings which are pictured in the traditions of the country, as appearing to mortals, slowly ascending from the regions below. One of the workmen, on catching the first glimpse of the monster, had thrown down his basket and run off towards Mosul as fast as his legs could carry him."

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"I now ordered a trench to be dug due south from the head, in the expectation of finding a corresponding figure, and before night-fall reached the object of my search, about twelve feet distant. Engaging two or three men to sleep near the sculptures, I returned to the village and celebrated the day's discovery by a slaughter of sheep, of which all the Arabs near partook. As some wandering musicians chanced to be at Selamiyah, I sent for them, and dances were kept up during the greater part of the night. On the following morning Arabs from the other side of the Tigris, and the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, congregated on the mound. Even the women could not repress their curiosity, and came in crowds with their children from afar. My Cawass was stationed during the day in the trench, into which I would not allow the multitude to descend."

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"I ascertained by the end of March the existence of a second pair of winged human-headed lions, differing from those previously discovered in form, the human shape being continued to the waist and furnished with arms. In one hand each figure carried a goat or stag, and in the other, which hung down by the side, a branch with three flowers. They formed a northern entrance into the chamber of which the lions previously described were the southern portal. I completely uncovered the latter, and found them to be entire. They were about twelve feet in height, and the same number in length. The body and limbs were admirably portrayed; the muscles and bones, although strongly developed, to display the strength of the animal, showed at the same time a correct knowledge of its anatomy and form. Expanded wings sprang from the shoulder and spread over the back; a knotted girdle, ending in tassels, encircled the loins. These sculptures, forming an entrance, were partly in full and partly in relief. The head and fore-part, facing the chamber, were in full; but only one side of the rest of the slab was sculptured, the back being placed against the wall of sun-dried bricks. That the spectator might have both a perfect front and side view of the figures, they were furnished with five legs; two were carved on the end of the slab to face the chamber, and three on the side. The relief of the body and three limbs was high and bold, and the slab was covered, in all parts not occupied by the image, with inscriptions in the cuneiform character. These magnificent specimens of Assyrian art were in perfect preservation; the most minute lines in the details of the wings and in the ornaments had been retained with their original freshness. Not a character was wanting in the inscriptions."—Vol. i, p. 75.

The season was now far advanced, and we should do great injustice to Mr. Layard to omit quoting some of the descriptions of natural scenery, which are to us no less interesting than the narrative of his explorations.

"When I returned in the evening, after the labour of the day, I often sat at the door of my tent, and giving myself up to the full enjoyment of that calm and repose which are imparted to the senses by such scenes as these, I gazed listlessly on the varied groups before me. As the sun went down behind the low hills which separate the river from the desert—even their rocky sides had struggled to emulate the verdant clothing of the plain—its receding rays were gradually withdrawn, like a transparent veil of light, from the landscape. Over the pure cloudless sky was the glow of the last light. The great mound threw its dark shadow far across the plain. In the distance, and beyond the Zab, Keshaf, another venerable ruin, rose indistinctly into the evening mist. Still more distant, and still more indistinct, was a solitary hill overlooking the ancient city of Arbela. The Kurdish Mountains, whose snowy summits cherished the dying sunbeams, yet struggled with the twilight. The bleating of sheep and lowing of cattle, at first faint, became louder as the flocks returned from their pastures, and wandered among the tents. Girls hurried over the greensward to seek their father's cattle, or crouched down to milk those which had returned alone to their well-remembered folds. Some were coming from the river, bearing the replenished pitcher on their heads or shoulders; others, no less graceful in their form, and erect in their carriage, were carrying the heavy load of long grass which they had cut in the meadows. Sometimes a party of horsemen might have been seen in the distance slowly crossing the plain, the tufts of ostrich feathers which topped their long spears showing darkly against the evening sky. They would ride up to my tent, and give me the usual salutation, 'Peace be with you, O Bey,' or, 'Allah Aienak, God help you.' Then driving the end of their lances into the ground, they would spring from their mares, and fasten their halters to the still quivering weapons.

Seating themselves on the grass, they related deeds of war and plunder, or speculated on the site of the tents of Sofuk, until the moon rose, when they vaulted into their saddles and took the way of the desert.

"The plain now glittered with innumerable fires. As the night advanced, they vanished one by one, until the landscape was wrapped in darkness and in silence, only disturbed by the barking of the Arab dog."—Vol. i, pp. 82, 83.

The discoveries made at the mounds had created such a sensation at Mosul, that some time before this the Pasha had thought best to have the work suspended. Mr. Layard, meanwhile, had written to Sir Stratford Canning, to procure for him a *firman*, or viziral letter, from the Porte, authorizing its continuance, and securing him against further interruption. While waiting for its arrival, he took advantage of the time to visit Sofuk, the Sheikh of the great Arab tribe of Shammar, which occupies nearly the whole of Mesopotamia. This journey gives rise to some of his most picturesque descriptive passages, most of which are so excellent that we are in doubt whether to withhold them entirely, or to curtail them within the limits of our review. The day after leaving Mosul their caravan passed "the low lime-stone hills which, broken into a thousand rocky valleys, form a barrier between the Tigris and the plains of Mesopotamia:"—

"We now found ourselves in the desert, or rather wilderness; for at this time of the year nature could not disclose a more varied scene, or a more luxuriant vegetation. We trod on an interminable carpet, figured by flowers of every hue. Nor was water wanting; for the abundant rains had given reservoirs to every hollow, and to every ravine. Their contents, owing to the nature of the soil, were brackish, but not unwholesome. Clusters of black tents were scattered, and flocks of sheep and camels wandered over the plain. Those of our party who were well mounted urged their horses through the meadows, pursuing the herds of gazelles, or the wild boar, skulking in the long grass. Although such scenes as these may be described, the exhilaration caused by the air of the desert in spring, and the feeling of freedom arising from the contemplation of its boundless expanse, must have been experienced before they can be understood. The stranger, as well as the Arab, feels the intoxication of the senses which they produce. From their effects upon the wandering son of Ishmael, they might well have been included by the Prophet amongst those things forbidden to the true believer."—Vol. i, pp. 86, 87.

After two or three days' wandering, they at length came upon the encampment of Sofuk:—

"We started early in the morning, and took the direction pointed out by Khalaf. Our view was bounded to the east by a rising ground. When we reached its summit, we looked down upon a plain, which appeared to swarm with moving objects. We had come upon the main body of the Shammar. It would be difficult to describe the appearance of a large tribe, like that we now met, when migrating to new pastures. We soon found ourselves in the midst of wide-spreading flocks of sheep and camels. As far as the eye could reach, to the right, to the left, and in front, still the same moving crowd. Long lines of asses and bullocks, laden with black tents; huge caldrons and variegated carpets; aged women and men, no longer able to walk, tied on the heap of

domestic furniture; infants crammed into saddle-bags, their tiny heads thrust through the narrow opening, balanced on the animal's back by kids or lambs tied on the opposite side; young girls clothed only in the close-fitting Arab shirt, which displayed rather than concealed their graceful forms; mothers with their children on their shoulders; boys driving flocks of lambs; horsemen armed with their long tufted spears, scouring the plain on their fleet mares; riders urging their dromedaries with their short hooked sticks, and leading their high-bred steeds by the halter; colts galloping amongst the throng; high-born ladies seated in the centre of huge wings, which extend like those of a butterfly from each side of the camel's hump, and are no less gaudy and variegated;—such was the motley crowd through which we had to wend our way for several hours. Our appearance created a lively sensation; the women checked our horses; the horsemen assembled round us, and rode by our side; the children yelled and ran after the Franks."—Vol. i, pp. 90, 91.

The following portrait of the favourite wife of the Shammar chieftain gives an idea of the "latest fashion" in the Desert:—

"Of the three ladies now forming his harem, the chief was Amsha, a lady celebrated in the song of every Arab of the desert, for her beauty and noble blood. She was daughter of Hassan, Sheikh of the Tai, a tribe tracing its origin from the remotest antiquity, and one of whose chiefs, Hatem, her ancestor, is a hero of Eastern romance. Sofuk had carried her away by force from her father; but had always treated her with great respect. From her rank and beauty she had earned the title of 'Queen of the Desert.' Her form, traceable through the thin shirt which she wore like other Arab women, was well proportioned and graceful. She was tall in stature and fair in complexion. Her features were regular, and her eyes dark and brilliant. She had undoubtedly claims to more than ordinary beauty; to the Arabs she was perfection, for all the resources of their art had been exhausted to complete what nature had begun. Her lips were dyed deep blue, her eyebrows were continued in indigo until they united over the nose, her cheeks and forehead were spotted with beauty marks, her eye-lashes darkened by kohl; and on her legs and bosom could be seen the tattooed ends of flowers and fanciful ornaments, which were carried in festoons and network over her whole body. Hanging from each ear, and reaching to her waist, was an enormous ear-ring of gold, terminating in a tablet of the same material, carved and ornamented with four turquoises. Her nose was also adorned with a prodigious gold ring, set with jewels, of such ample dimensions that it covered the mouth, and was to be removed when the lady ate. Ponderous rows of strung beads, Assyrian cylinders, fragments of coral, agates, and parti-coloured stones, hung from her neck; loose silver rings encircled her wrists and ankles, making a loud jingling as she walked. Over her blue shirt was thrown, when she issued from her tent, a coarse striped cloak, and a common black handkerchief was tied round her head."—Vol. i, pp. 98, 99.

From this visit to the Shammar tribe, Mr. Layard returned to Nimroud, towards the middle of spring. Two men only had been employed at the ruins during his absence. The Christian families of Mosul being anxious to see the sculptures, he chose this time, before the heat of summer, to gratify their curiosity, by giving a grand entertainment at the scene of his labours. All the neighbouring Arabs were also invited, out of policy, and the festivities, celebrated with war and other national dances, and the recitations of jesters,

occupied three days. This occasion established Mr. Layard's reputation among the Arabs, being talked of among them as a great event long after.

Meanwhile Hafir Pasha, in whose stead Ismail Pasha now governed the province, having received a more lucrative post, had sold it to Tahyar Pasha. Early in May this new governor came to Mosul. Mr. Layard, with suitable letters of introduction, found him friendly to his projects. He describes him as "a perfect Turkish gentleman of the old school." But our antiquarian's means were now limited, and the heat of summer was becoming almost intolerable. Still he prosecuted the work with a small party, and continued to make valuable discoveries. About this time came the viziral letter, for which he had written to his embassy, fully securing him in the prosecution of his labours.

He now ventured, with a few workmen, to examine the mound of Kouyunjik, opposite Mosul, where M. Botta had made his researches. In this he says he met with no opposition, except "from the French Consul, who claimed the ruins as French property." If M. Botta, whom he everywhere mentions with respect, was still the French Consul, and continuing, or intending to continue, his own successful examinations of that mound, it would perhaps have been more courteous in Mr. Layard, who elsewhere expresses himself under obligations to him, to allow him the rights of a first discoverer. This, however, is a question for antiquaries, who are notorious for a disregard of the tenth commandment. The mound was certainly a temptation, having been generally supposed by travellers to mark the true site of Nineveh. Mr. Layard, after working at it long enough to convince himself that the remains here were of a more recent epoch than those of Nimroud, returned thither, and concentrated his whole force, now about thirty men, chiefly Arabs, at the latter place. Here they continued to make discoveries of objects of interest, sculptured figures, similar in execution to the one of which we have already inserted the description, bas-reliefs and inscriptions, &c., until the end of summer, when Mr. Layard had a large collection of these curiosities packed and floated down the Tigris to Bagdad, whence they were placed on boats to Busrah in August. From thence most of them have since been exported to the British Museum.

While this was accomplishing, our author's health began to suffer from exposure to the sun, and from the labour of superintending the excavations, drawing the sculptures, and copying the inscriptions. He was obliged to pass many hours daily in the trenches, where the thermometer ranged from 112° to 115° in the shade, and the hot

winds came from the desert like blasts from a furnace. At Mosul, where he retired for a week, the houses are furnished with sardaubs, or cellars, in which the inhabitants spend their days during the summer months, ascending to their flat roofs at sunset. He returned to Nimroud in the middle of August; but being again obliged to relinquish his labours from illness, he determined to visit the Tiyari Mountains, inhabited by the Nestorians, whom he styles Chaldæan Christians, and to return to Mosul in September, when the violence of the heat had abated.

Accordingly, making up a small party, he sat out on the 28th of August, well provided with orders from the Pasha to the Turkish authorities and Kurdish chiefs, and from Mar Shamoun, the patriarch of the Nestorians, to the Melcks and priests of those districts. The country through which they journeyed was mountainous, and though fertile in the valleys, thinly populated. The whole of the Nestorian district had been repeatedly ravaged by the Kurds, and especially by the Kurdish chief, Beder Khan Bey, who, in 1843,* massacred nearly 10,000 of the inhabitants in cold blood, and carried away large numbers of girls and children as slaves. The history of these cruelties is already familiar to our ears. Mr. Layard adds to their melancholy interest, by taking us anew over the scenes of them. Almost his whole tour in this region consists of journeyings from one ravaged village to another, hearing the same tale of wo, and seeing everywhere new evidences of pillage. He thus describes one of their principal villages:—

"On the morning following our arrival, I went with Yakoub Rais to visit the village. The trees and luxuriant crops had concealed the desolation of the place, and had given to Asheetha, from without, a flourishing appearance. As I wandered, however, through the lanes, I found little but ruins. A few houses were rising from the charred heaps; the greater part of the sites, however, were without owners, the whole family having perished. Yakoub pointed out, as we went along, the former dwellings of wealthy inhabitants, and told me how and where they had been murdered. A solitary church had been built since the massacre, the foundations of others were seen amongst the ruins. The pathways were still blocked up by the trunks of trees cut down by the Kurds. Water-courses, once carrying fertility to many gardens, were now empty and dry; and the lands which they had irrigated were left naked and unsown. I was surprised at the proofs of the industry and activity of the few surviving families, who had returned to the village, and had already brought a large portion of the land into cultivation."

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"I walked to the ruins of the school and dwelling-house, built by the American missionaries during their short sojourn in the mountains. These buildings had been the cause of much jealousy and suspicion to the Kurds. They stand upon the summit of an isolated hill, commanding the whole valley. A position less ostentatious and proportions more modest might certainly have

* See Miss. Herald for Nov. 1843, and Feb. and March, 1844.

been chosen; and it is surprising that persons so well acquainted with the character of the tribes amongst whom they had come to reside, should have been thus indiscreet. They were, however, most zealous and worthy men; and had their plans succeeded, I have little doubt that they would have conferred signal benefits on the Nestorian Chaldæans. I never heard their names mentioned by the Tiyari, and most particularly that of Dr. Grant, without expressions of profound respect, amounting almost to veneration."—Vol. i, pp. 154–157.

With Christian readers in this country, to whom the character of Dr. Grant is known, this testimony of Mr. Layard's will entitle him to respect.

The natural features of these regions are often finely described.

"It was mid-day before we reached the foot of the mountain dividing us from the district of Baz. The pass we had to cross is one of the highest in the Chaldæan country, and at this season there was snow upon it. The ascent was long, steep, and toilsome. We were compelled to walk, and even without our weight, the mules could scarcely climb the acclivity. But we were well rewarded for our labour when we gained the summit. A scene of extraordinary grandeur opened upon us. At our feet stretched the valley of Baz,—its villages and gardens but specks in the distance. Beyond the valley, and on all sides of us, was a sea of mountains—peaks of every form and height, some snow-capped, others bleak and naked; the farthermost rising in the distant regions of Persia. I counted nine distinct mountain ranges. Two vast rocks formed a kind of gateway on the crest of the pass, and I sat between them for some minutes, gazing upon the sublime prospect before us.

"The descent was rapid and dangerous, and so precipitous that a stone might almost have dropped on the church of Ergub, first visible like a white spot underneath us."—Vol. i, p. 180.

We pass over many accounts of massacres and ravages contained in the narrative, and also the history of the Nestorians, to which our author devotes an entire chapter. American readers are probably better acquainted with the whole subject than those for whom the work was written; and if it were otherwise, it would require a separate article to enlighten them. The last great massacre of the unfortunate Nestorians occurred but a few days after Mr. Layard's return to Mosul; nearly half the population were cut off; three hundred women and children were slain in the pass to Baz, of which we have just quoted his description: the Porte undertook its expedition against Beder Khan, who was taken and sent to Candia; and the once fertile and Christian district is now, through the inscrutable providence of Heaven, almost as desolate as the ruins of the cities of Assyria.

A few days after Mr. Layard's return from the Nestorian district he was invited by a chief of the Yezidis, or Worshippers of the Devil, to visit a tribe of that remarkable sect, on the occasion of their great periodical feast. Their principal village is about a day's journey north from Mosul. They are held in great contempt by

all good Mussulmen, but Mr. Layard found nothing in their ceremonies so objectionable as had been represented. Their tenets afford one more instance of the perversity with which poor humanity persists in being "wise above what is written."

They believe Satan to be the chief of the angels, now enduring punishment for rebellion to the Divine will, but omnipotent, and finally to be restored to his original estate. He is to be conciliated and reverenced; for as he has now the means of doing evil to men, so will he hereafter be able to reward them. Next to Satan, though inferior to him in power and wisdom, are seven archangels,—Gabrail, Michail, Raphail, Azrail, Dedrail, Azrapheel, and Shemkeel, —who have great influence over the world. Christ was also a great angel, who had taken the form of man. He did not die on the cross, but ascended to heaven.

They hold the Old Testament in great reverence, and believe in the cosmogony of Genesis, the deluge, and other events recorded in the Bible. They do not reject the New Testament or the Koran, but venerate them less. Mohammed they consider a prophet, as Abraham and the patriarchs. They expect a second coming of Christ. They baptize like Christians, circumcise like Mohammedans, and reverence the sun like the Sabæans. They are accustomed to kiss the object upon which the first sunbeams fall. For fire, as symbolic, they have nearly the same reverence; they never spit into it, but often pass their hands through the flame, kiss them, and rub them over their right eye-brow, or sometimes the whole face. The colour blue is to them an abomination.

After his return from this visit, Mr. Layard went on an expedition, with the Pasha, into the country of Sinjar, which lies several days' journey to the westward from Mosul. On this excursion he witnessed the destruction of a Yezidi village by the Turks.

Returning at length to Mosul, (for we have not space to follow him in all his wanderings,) he found letters from England, informing him that Sir Stratford Canning had presented the sculptures sent thither, and assigned the powers conferred by the viziral letter, to the British government; and that the British Museum had received a grant of funds for continuing the researches at Nimroud and elsewhere. The grant was small, but Mr. Layard concluded to accept the office of superintending the excavations, resolving to economize as much as possible, and obtain as complete a collection of Assyrian antiquities as could be procured with the means. He recommenced the excavations at Nimroud on a larger scale on the first of November.

The six weeks succeeding were the most prosperous and fruitful

of any that passed during his researches, and by the middle of December a second cargo of sculptures, bas-reliefs, &c., was ready to be sent to Bagdad. On Christmas-day he had the satisfaction of seeing a raft bearing twenty-three cases floated down the river. A short time before this, Tahyar Pasha, who had shown him so much kindness, died, and his secretary was appointed regent in his stead. The viziral letter, however, proved a sufficient protection, and he went on with his labours as before. He continued the work at Nimroud till the middle of May, 1847, making interesting discoveries almost daily. His mode of life, his manner of controlling the Arabs, their peculiarities, &c., are picturesquely sketched in this part of his narrative, along with the descriptions of his discoveries.

In the early part of the spring he took the opportunity of the presence of a powerful friendly tribe to visit the ruins at Kalah Shergat, on the western bank of the Tigris, about fifty miles below Nimroud, rivalling those at the latter place in extent. The principal mound here is one of the largest in Assyria; in some parts it is nearly a hundred feet in height, and pacing round it gave a circumference of 4,685 yards, or nearly three miles. Nearly in the centre of the north side of it rises a high conical mound, at the base of which is a wall of hewn stone, with battlements and gradines, such as are depicted in the Nimroud bas-reliefs, still existing. Mr. Layard does not, however, attempt to connect these ruins with any ancient city whose name occurs in the sacred books, or has been preserved by ancient geographers. The chief discovery here was of a mutilated sitting figure in black basalt, the seat or base on three sides covered with inscriptions, like those at Nimroud,—the only entire figure or statue found in all the ruins. This he has since had transported to Bagdad, and it is probably ere this in the British Museum.

Among the sculptures discovered at Nimroud were thirteen pairs of gigantic winged human-headed bulls and lions, similar to the one of which we have quoted the description; as these were peculiar to the Assyrian ruins, Mr. Layard was anxious to have specimens of them, and he finally succeeded in sending two of the smallest and best preserved to Busrah. For the account of the difficulties of this undertaking, and the ingenious manner in which they were overcome, we must refer the reader to the concluding chapters of his narrative, which are no less interesting than those from which we have quoted. His account of this part of his labours closes with a spirited sketch of the scene of them at the time of his departure:—

"We will descend into the principal trench, by a flight of steps rudely cut into the earth, near the western face of the mound. As we approach it, we

find a party of Arabs bending on their knees, and intently gazing at something beneath them. Each holds his long spear, tufted with ostrich feathers, in one hand; and in the other the halter of his mare, which stands patiently behind him. The party consists of a Bedouin Sheikh from the desert, and his followers; who, having heard strange reports of the wonders of Nimroud, have made several days' journey to remove their doubts, and satisfy their curiosity. He rises as he hears us approach, and if we wish to escape the embrace of a very dirty stranger, we had better at once hurry into the trenches.

"We descend about twenty feet, and suddenly find ourselves between a pair of colossal lions, winged and human-headed, forming a portal. I have already described my feelings when gazing for the first time on these majestic figures. Those of the reader would probably be the same, particularly if caused by the reflection, that before those wonderful forms Ezekiel, Jonah, and others of the prophets stood, and Sennacherib bowed; that even the patriarch Abraham himself may possibly have looked upon them.

"In the subterraneous labyrinth which we have reached, all is bustle and confusion. Arabs are running about in different directions; some bearing baskets filled with earth, others carrying the water-jars to their companions. The Chaldæans or Tiyari, in their striped dresses and curious conical caps, are digging with picks into the tenacious earth, raising a dense cloud of fine dust at every stroke. The wild strains of Kurdish music may be heard occasionally issuing from some distant part of the ruins, and if they are caught by the parties at work, the Arabs join their voices in chorus. raise the war-cry, and labour with renewed energy. Leaving behind us a small chamber, in which the sculptures are distinguished by a want of finish in the execution, and considerable rudeness in the design of the ornaments, we issue from between the winged lions, and enter the remains of the principal hall. On both sides of us are sculptured gigantic winged figures; some with the heads of eagles, others entirely human, and carrying mysterious symbols in their hands. To the left is another portal, also formed by winged lions. One of them has, however, fallen across the entrance, and there is just room to creep beneath it. Beyond this portal is a winged figure, and two slabs with bas-reliefs; but they have been so much injured that we can scarcely trace the subject upon them. Farther on there are no traces of wall, although a deep trench has been opened. The opposite side of the hall has also disappeared, and we only see a high wall of earth. On examining it attentively, we can detect the marks of masonry; and we soon find that it is a solid structure built of bricks of unbaked clay, now of the same colour as the surrounding soil, and scarcely to be distinguished from it.

"The slabs of alabaster, fallen from their original position, have, however, been raised; and we tread in the midst of a maze of small bas-reliefs, representing chariots, horsemen, battles, and sieges. Perhaps the workmen are about to raise a slab for the first time; and we watch with eager curiosity, what new event of Assyrian history, or what unknown custom or religious ceremony, may be illustrated by the sculpture beneath.

"Having walked about one hundred feet amongst these scattered monuments of ancient history and art, we reach another doorway formed by gigantic winged bulls in yellow limestone. One is still entire; but its companion has fallen, and is broken into several pieces—the great human head is at our feet."

* * * * * * * * *

"As the ravine bounds the ruins on this side, we must return to the yellow bulls. Passing through the entrance formed by them, we enter a large chamber surrounded by eagle-headed figures: at one end of it is a doorway guarded by two priests or divinities, and in the centre another portal with winged bulls. Whichever way we turn, we find ourselves in the midst of a nest of rooms; and without an acquaintance with the intricacies of the place, we should soon lose ourselves in this labyrinth. The accumulated rubbish being generally

left in the centre of the chambers, the whole excavation consists of a number of narrow passages, panelled on one side with slabs of alabaster, and shut in on the other by a high wall of earth, half buried, in which may here and there be seen a broken vase, or a brick painted with brilliant colours. We may wander through these galleries for an hour or two, examining the marvellous sculptures or the numerous inscriptions that surround us. Here we meet long rows of kings, attended by their eunuchs and priests,—there, lines of winged figures, carrying fir-cones and religious emblems, and seemingly in adoration before the mystic tree. Other entrances, formed by winged lions and bulls, lead us into new chambers. In every one of them are fresh objects of curiosity and surprise. At length, wearied, we issue from the buried edifice by a trench on the opposite side to that by which we entered, and find ourselves again upon the naked platform. We look around in vain for any traces of the wonderful remains we have just seen, and are half inclined to believe that we have dreamed a dream, or have been listening to some tale of Eastern romance.

"Some, who may hereafter tread on the spot when the grass again grows over the ruins of the Assyrian palaces, may indeed suspect that I have been relating a vision."—Vol. ii, pp. 89–93.

Mr. Layard left Nimroud in the middle of May, and having expended the funds intrusted to him by the British Museum, and made the necessary preparations, took his final departure from Mosul for Constantinople on the 24th of June. With this ends his personal narrative,—one of the most interesting that has lately appeared from the press. Without pretending to elegance or any striking quality of style, it is perspicuous, and bears the assurance of good sense and truth, while the novelty of the scenes it describes is irresistibly alluring. It is fortunate that ruins so likely to illustrate hereafter many points and sayings in the Bible, should have been brought to the notice of the Christian public by a writer so well qualified to awaken a popular interest as Mr. Layard. In proof of the manner in which he executed his trust, and of the importance attached to his discoveries, the newspapers inform us that he has lately been appointed attaché to the British embassy to the Sublime Porte, and that the British Museum have appropriated $15,000 for the continuance of the excavations at Nimroud and Kouyunjik under his supervision.

This fact, as well as the nature of the subject, and the absolute impossibility of showing, without occupying a great deal of space, how much he has thus far actually brought to light, must be our warrant for giving but a few words to Part II. of his book, wherein he treats of the results of his discoveries. The truth is, a great deal has certainly been discovered, but little that is definite; and the chief value of the whole is rather in the promise it gives of what we have yet to learn. Mr. Layard devotes much space to speculations concerning the cuneiform writing, or writing with arrow-headed letters, in which the Assyrian inscriptions are written; but the conclusion of the whole matter is, that he is unable to read it. When,

therefore, he assures us that certain odd-looking marks are the names of kings, we naturally wish to know how he "found it out," and what the names are. It would appear that here something had been withheld, either through his desire to reserve his discoveries until they are more complete, (as he has unquestionably a right to do,) or because the subject was thought to be above the comprehension of the general reader. When nothing definite is known, however, nothing definite can be communicated; and probably Mr. Layard's intention was simply to place before the reader the exact state of his own mind with regard to his discoveries—a condition of embryo knowledge where there are few clear ideas, but many indefinite suggestions and sanguine expectations pointing that way. If so, he has certainly succeeded. We read his speculations with interest, but in a state of doubt, and his conclusions remind one of the concluding chapter of "Rasselas," in which nothing is concluded. If he goes on with his labours, a few months may falsify all that the acutest conjecture might utter upon the subject at present. Upon the whole, therefore, and especially since he has resumed his explorations, it is deemed best to postpone criticism upon what he has accomplished until we hear from him again.

Only this is positively ascertained, that nothing has been yet discovered which does not directly harmonize with the Scripture accounts of the Assyrian cities. Their magnificence, of which the vastness of their ruins was before the only proof, is now confirmed by the exhuming of so many buried sculptures and bas-reliefs. In many other particulars they illustrate sayings and allusions in the Old Testament. Thus there is a coincidence between the sacred symbolical figures found among them, and those of the four living creatures seen in vision by the prophet Ezekiel, which is too remarkable to escape notice. "As for the likeness of their faces, they four had the face of a man and the face of a lion on the right side; and they four had the face of an ox on the left side; they four had also the face of an eagle." Also, "they had the hands of a man under their wings," and "their wings were joined one to another; they turned not when they went." It is impossible not to think of the winged bulls and lions, and the lion and eagle-headed figures found at Nimroud, in connexion with this passage. Also the "wheel in the middle of a wheel" will remotely suggest one of the emblems representing the supreme Deity. And more especially in the prophecy against Nineveh, Nahum ii, 11: "Where is the dwelling of the lions," &c., seems to be rendered intelligible by the constant occurrence of winged lions and lion-headed figures at Nimroud, and appears to us quite as striking an illustration of the sacred writings

as any of those adduced by Mr. Layard. The discovery of the use of colours on the sculptures and bas-reliefs explains Ezekiel xxiii, 14, 15. "If we take," says Mr. Layard, "the four great mounds of Nimroud, Kouyunjik, Khorsabad, and Karamles as the corners of a square, it will be found that its four sides correspond pretty accurately with the four hundred and eighty stadia or sixty miles of the geographer, which make the three days' journey of the prophet." (Jonah iii, 3.) This conjecture is, to our apprehension, the more plausible, on account of the difficulty of accounting for the existence of the ruins in the shape of great isolated mounds.

Many other suggestions and indications will occur to Biblical students on reading these volumes, of customs and ceremonies elucidating passages in the prophets; and it would be more easy than profitable to fill a volume with them. There is a weakness in our minds which leads us to admit a connexion between similarities brought merely into juxta-position, but this kind of proof is only temporary; the understanding, lulled for awhile, awakens, restless, and finds nowhere to repose—nothing *established*. We have neither enlarged the boundaries of our knowledge nor gratified our faith; but, on the contrary, so far as our faith can be affected by such speculations, we have offended and weakened it. Hence, especially in the study of matters of history which come under the head of Biblical literature, we should be careful to deal only with facts and certainties. We should not only repress the natural eagerness to spy coincidences, but be particularly desirous not to seem too eager; lest we produce upon the cavilling the impression of "swift witnesses" in a court of justice. There is no need of our straining points and catching at motes of evidence to justify our belief in the Holy Scriptures; our religion should dwell beyond that, in the inner temple of the soul, where to doubt is not to live; it should be like the virtue of the Roman wife, above suspicion. And there is a certain irreverence in so doing which tends to bring religion into disrespect; it is as if one should go about defending the reputation of his mother or sisters by the cumulation of circumstantial evidence. The Word of God need not be timidly and anxiously supported by the word of man.

Not that we are not at liberty, however, to strengthen ourselves in the faith by all that research can show us of the past, or deny ourselves the pleasurable feeling we so involuntarily experience in having the scenes and events of the Bible brought, as it were, before our eyes; but simply that we should desire to accomplish these things nobly. When we have ascertained that the relic is genuine let us preserve it,—not before.

To apply these observations to Mr. Layard's discoveries, we would simply say that they do not as yet seem to present a sufficient body of clear, definite, historical *facts* to warrant our putting them forward as strong links in the great chain of evidence which surrounds the sacred Writings. We are not able, although they are in this view of the highest interest, and full of expectation, to *conclude* enough from them to enable us to hail them and reiterate them through the press and the pulpit, as we do, and ought to do, with other clearly ascertained historical matter bearing directly upon the Bible. And we ought to be especially cautious, for the reasons above given, how we make use of knowledge that is so weak to strengthen a faith that is not built upon sand, but founded on the Rock of ages.

In fine, we are yet, as regards Nineveh, just in the early twilight; her towers are yet desolate; the light over her is gray and dim, and all that we can discern by it is undefined and indistinct; but there are streaks which portend a coming brightness, and if the researches so happily begun are as prosperously continued, we may hope ere long to behold her in the clearer light of day.

Art. V.—REV. THOMAS CHALMERS.

Posthumous Works of the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D. D., LL. D. Edited by the Rev. William Hanna, LL. D.

Horæ Biblicæ Quotidianæ. Daily Scripture Readings. In three vols., 12mo., pp. 422, 478, 426.

Horæ Biblicæ Sabbaticæ. Sabbath Scripture Readings. In two vols., 12mo., pp. 436, 507. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1848-9.

We have read few works lately that have moved us more than those which stand at the head of this article. It is not that they are eloquent; for, although they give us the dying notes of an eloquence that entranced thousands, the most gifted as well as the most humble, their characteristics are rather plainness and simplicity. It is not that they are learned; for, although they evince the marks of a ripe scholarship, and an extensive scientific culture, they add but little to our exegetical knowledge, and leave most of the *loca dubiaque vexata* of Scripture where they find them. They have many points of excellence, a charming *naïveté* of expression, a rare spirituality, a profound reverence for the revealed will of God, and rapt fervour of devotion at times, that betrays a heart burning with the living fire.

But we value these volumes mainly in their auto-biographical

character, as developments of the author's self,—often unconscious, yet, for that very reason, the more worthy of our reliance. In this respect they remind us continually of Augustine's Confessions. We knew the author before as an eloquent preacher, on whose lips the first minds of the age had hung enraptured; as a philosopher, whose high attainments had obtained for him a reputation which enrolled his name in that august list that appears on the register of the National Institute of France; and as an ecclesiastical statesman whose leadership was acknowledged by thousands, and whose name was identified with some of the most remarkable movements of the present age; but we never before knew him as a man,—as an humble, believing, child-like Christian,—as we know him from these volumes. It is this that throws around them a charm so inexpressible, and rivets us to their pages with so much delight. We are amazed when we think of the stupendous labours of this old man, for many years before his death; but we find the secret of this untiring energy in these volumes. It was the constancy and fervour of his communion with God, in the written Word, and at the throne of grace, that sustained his unflagging energies. In common with Alfred, Luther, Wesley, and every really great reformer, his strength, Antæus-like, was continually renewed, as he was thrown back on the rich maternal bosom from which he drew his earliest life.

These volumes constitute the first part of his posthumous works, now in process of publication under the supervision of his son-in-law, Rev. Dr. Hanna, the eloquent editor of the North British Review. The first three volumes are termed *Horæ Biblicæ Quotidianæ*, and contain his daily meditations on the Scriptures during the last seven or eight years of his life. They were not designed as a learned commentary, or an exercise in homiletics, nor even written for the benefit of others; but composed by the venerable author, as a devotional exercise for the benefit of his own soul. They were his first and readiest thoughts on the passage for the day, clothed in the first and readiest words that occurred to his mind. Hence he used but little exegetical apparatus, and endeavoured simply to bring his mind and heart into warm and living contact with the Word; to look back on the scenes of the olden time, the days of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, with his own eyes; and to gaze at the awful and glorious facts of revealed religion with an eye of light, and a heart of love. Whilst his method often diminishes the depth and value of his criticisms, it yet confers at times a freshness on his remarks that makes them like the first rich gushings of juice from the unpressed grapes.

The *Horæ Sabbaticæ* are Sabbath meditations on chapters of

the Old and New Testaments in order. They rise into a loftier region of devotion, and contain a more absolute unveiling of the heart, than we find in the Daily Readings. During the author's lifetime they were kept sacredly from every eye but his own. We therefore find more frequent allusions to personal and domestic affairs—confessions of sins and tendencies to sin—that could only be made to God, and furnish rich material for a psychological study of this great man. It was, therefore, a matter of hesitation for a time whether they should be given to the public; but higher considerations than those of mere delicacy prevailed, and we are admitted to the most secret privacy of the man. We are allowed to lift the veil that hangs over the closet; to see this gifted spirit in rapt communion with Him who seeth in secret; to hear the broken groans and sobs of contrition with which he confessed the hidden evils of his heart; to see the sweet simplicity with which he bowed himself to the orderings of God's providence; and the earnestness with which he sought for light on the path of duty. We find him bringing his own frailties and passions; the state of his family; the West-Port Mission; the varying exigencies of the Free Church; American slavery; in a word, everything that lay on his mind,—directly to the great Source of wisdom and strength. We rejoice to see so noble a monument erected to his memory as this beautiful edition of his works, appearing simultaneously, in uniform style, on both sides of the Atlantic. It will be a fitter, and, we trust, a more enduring perpetuation of his name than the proudest mausoleum that ever greeted the sun.

As the name of Chalmers belongs now not to any one division of "the sacramental host," but to the whole Church, we embrace the occasion furnished by these volumes, to present some remarks on the life, character, and influence of this eminent man.

Thomas Chalmers was born in Anstruther, a small village in Fifeshire, on the Frith of Forth, March 17th, 1780. He was sent at an early age to the ancient University of St. Andrews, in his native county. During his academic career he manifested many of the traits of character that were afterwards developed on a wider stage of action. His untiring energy, his frank cordiality, his irresistible *bonhomie*, and his commanding superiority of intellect, were conspicuous among his compeers. His old landlady used to tell with great gusto his exploits among his fellow-students; settling by one cleaving word the dispute that had excited protracted wranglings.

There was early developed in his mind an intense love for physical science. Natural philosophy, chemistry, natural history, bo-

tany, geology, conchology, &c., all shared his attention; but it was to mathematics, and especially to its application to astronomy, that his mind was most powerfully attracted. Nor were his excursions here merely those of an amateur. He studied these sciences deeply and thoroughly; and this early scientific training was manifest in all his subsequent intellectual development. His mathematical discipline gave accuracy, discrimination, and the power of patient, continuous thought, to a mind that would otherwise have run wild with excessive imagination; whilst the wonderful facts of natural science furnished the magnificent imagery, which his daring fancy often used with such brilliant effect. His mind was to celebrate the nuptials, or at least to publish the banns, between science and religion, and furnish in its own splendid attainments a prophetic instance of their future alliance. The great importance, therefore, of this prolonged courtship of the sciences, in fitting him for the great work of life, is very obvious.

There is no reason to believe that at this time he possessed more than a speculative acquaintance with religion. It was an age of coldness in the Church, and skepticism out of it,—with Principal Robertson as the type of the one, and David Hume of the other; and we cannot wonder that he, with so many others, had a form of godliness without any of its power. He had not received that fire-baptism that descended upon him with its rushing mighty power at a later period in life, and which sublimated the massy stores of his mind to a purity and splendour that attracted the world.

He was appointed mathematical tutor at St. Andrews about the time he attained his majority, and continued in this post until he was called to be a junior assistant to the minister of Cavers, in Roxburghshire. This position he soon exchanged for the rural charge of Kilmany, in his native county, near to St. Andrews, in May, 1803. Here he had ample leisure for his scientific pursuits; and could wander at will over the bleak hills of Fife, on botanical and geological excursions, startling the rude peasantry in the lonely glens with his hammer and box, as he sought for some rare flower or curious crystal. He soon reappeared in St. Andrews as a lecturer on chemistry. His first appearance as an author was in the great Leslie case,—that created at the time a deep excitement in Scotland. The chair of mathematics in the University of Edinburgh being vacant, among a great many candidates, (Chalmers himself being of the number,) there were two who rallied around them powerful parties. Dr. Macknight received the support of the clergy of Edinburgh; whilst Mr. Leslie was the candidate of the philosophical party. After a bitter and prolonged struggle, the philosophical party triumphed, and

Mr. Leslie was elected. During the pendency of the contest, Dugald Stewart published a pamphlet against the clerical party, containing a letter from Playfair, asserting the incompatibility of mathematical studies with the duties of a clergyman. This letter roused all the ire of young Chalmers, and provoked him to break a lance with the polished academic, who, having himself passed from the mathematical chair, seemed to furnish in his own case a refutation of his position, or lay himself open to the charge of unfaithfulness as a pastor, or incompetency as a professor. Accordingly, he published an anonymous pamphlet, assailing Playfair with no little asperity. This tract has never been reprinted, and is only referred to as a part of his history It possesses his peculiarities of style in their most unpruned and exuberant form, and is pervaded by a fierce and unsanctified spirit. It is characteristic of the unhallowed state of the young pastor's soul, that he contended strenuously that "it required almost no consumption of intellectual effort" to discharge pastoral duty; and "that a minister may enjoy five days in the week of uninterrupted leisure, for the prosecution of any science in which his taste might dispose him to engage." The low estimate he evidently put upon the pastoral office, the appalling unconsciousness of its fearful responsibilities, his evident contempt for the office which he held uneasily as a means of subsistence, while his heart was engrossed with other pursuits, and the bitter, scornful, and sarcastic tone that pervades the whole production, furnish a melancholy picture of both the times and the man; a picture over which, when his eyes were opened, we doubt not he wept many a penitent tear.

His next work was on his favourite science, Political Economy; and entitled, "An Inquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources." The main principle of this work is, that taxation is no evil; a principle which is pushed to such an extravagant extent, that it becomes almost burlesque. The most important features which the work has for us are, the illustrations it gives of his character. Two points are especially prominent,—an intense dislike of the spirit of trade and the influence of commerce, and a burning military ardour.

His suspicion of the commercial spirit, although modified by subsequent experience, was never entirely removed. It reappears in the Commercial Discourses delivered amidst the merchant princes of Glasgow. It arose from a noble principle in his nature. Loving to look at objects in the light of their real value, and their relations to intellectual and spiritual concerns, he feared the debasing influence of that spirit which estimated everything by the commercial standard

of convertibility into pecuniary gain; and believed that the habits of mind engendered by the tricks and lotteries of traffic were essentially ignoble, and must degrade the souls of those who were drawn into this absorbing vortex.

His military ardour was, we presume, much more effectually moderated in after life, than his antipathy to the commercial spirit; but at this time it was very fervent. Fired by the spirit that was awaked all over Europe by the terrible career of Napoleon, it is not a matter of surprise that, with his heart so completely alive to mere worldly things, he should be fascinated by that dread element in them, then so imposing and powerful,—War. So strong was the martial spirit within him, that he was not content with mere paper exhibitions of it, in treatises on economics, but, minister as he was of the gospel of peace, he actually enlisted in a volunteer corps. On one occasion he visited a friend's house, at some distance from home, in his military costume; and it was so near the close of the week, he was easily persuaded to remain over the Sabbath and preach. This accordingly he did, in a garment of more clerical hue, belonging to his friend, which was terribly strained over the brawny shoulders of Chalmers; but on leaving the pulpit he escaped from its confining restraint to his own costume; and the amazement of the honest villagers, which began in the church, at his strange appearance in black, was completed as they saw his stalwart figure striding through their quiet streets on Sabbath evening, in a flame of scarlet. These eccentricities develop the same straight-forward directness of character, and the same indifference to mere appearances, that were afterwards exhibited in more moderate and unexceptionable forms.

His preaching at this period was, as might be expected, of a cold and superficial cast,—mere ethical disquisition, that played around the head without touching the heart. His dissertations were eloquent, and his displays of intellect prodigious; but they were powerless to the pulling down of the strongholds in the human heart. An amusing instance of the felt incongruity of these fulminations was exhibited in the same church that had witnessed the startling phenomena of the clerical red-coat. He was preaching from the text, "Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his colour in the cup;" and descanting most vehemently on the perils of the generous juice of the grape, to a set of rustics whose highest source of inspiration was "honest John Barleycorn," or mountain dew. At length one of them, "puir daft Jean Pirie," who too often had a "drap i' the ee," and whose sense of the incongruity was quickened by a dim perception of an attack on her besetting frailty, after repeated paragraphs rounding off with the em-

phatic words, "Look not thou upon the wine when it is red in the cup," exclaimed, in a shrill voice that rose clear and startling above the thunder of Chalmers, "Red i' the cup! Troth an' it may be ony o' the colours o' the rainbow, for a' that the maist o' us see o't." Poor Jeanie could feel, in the dimness of her clouded mind, what the gifted preacher as yet had failed to see,—that these splendid declamations on mere morality played above the soul like an aurora, beautiful and glittering, but cold and powerless.

But a change was at hand; a change that was not only to give him new views of the Gospel, but was also to breathe into his whole nature a new energy, and transform him into one of the "few mighty," who are raised up by God in every age of the Church to do his work in human history. Hitherto, he knew nothing of the Gospel but its outer courts; the secret shrine and the incarnate mystery were hidden from his sight. But about the year 1809, he was engaged to write the article on Christianity for Brewster's Edinburgh Encyclopædia. His heart was softened by the loss of a dear friend, and prepared for the reception of the good seed. In prosecuting the studies necessary for this article, he was led to examine the lives of the primitive Christians, the writings of modern apologists, and especially Wilberforce's Practical View. He began to perceive that there was something in Christianity which he had never yet comprehended. At this juncture he was laid on a sick-bed; and, by the blessing of God on the truth which had been brought in contact with his heart, and the counsels of a faithful Dissenting minister, the scales fell from his eyes, and he saw THE CROSS. He arose from his sick-bed a new creature. Immediately, conferring not with flesh and blood, he began fearlessly to proclaim the mighty change that had come over his spirit, to confess publicly his previous blindness, and to preach Christ crucified. The quiet parish of Kilmany was stirred to its remotest borders by the words of fire that came from lips so freshly touched with a living coal from the holy altar, and reformations that years of ethical orations had failed to produce, began rapidly to take place under the exhibition of the Gospel.

The fame of this wonderful transformation soon extended beyond his country parish, and acquired for him a metropolitan, and finally a national, reputation. He was accordingly, in 1815, invited by the Town Council of Glasgow to take charge of the Tron Church and parish in that city. It was here, perhaps, that the highest triumphs of his eloquence were achieved. He found a gay, skeptical, money-loving population, whose religious condition was a sort of cross between Blair's Sermons and Hume's Essays,—a barren, hybrid com-

promise between the minimum of piety and the maximum of sin, with enough of the one to kill conscience, and enough of the other to kill fear; with enough of Christianity to keep on good terms with the Church, and yet not enough to interrupt the most perfect understanding with the world.

But the thunder of Chalmers startled them from this dream of delusion. He came to them like one who had gazed on the unseen and the eternal, and was rapt in their awful and transforming visions into a higher element of life and power. The wind, the earthquake, the fire, and the still small voice, had passed before him; his slumbering soul had been startled under the juniper-tree, and he came among them instinct with a living spirit that could not easily be quenched. His scorching denunciations of a spirit wholly given to commercial idolatry; his brilliant vindications of the dignity and grandeur of evangelical religion; his vigorous assaults upon the cold and heartless formalities of the existing Christianity, and his restless activity in devising and prosecuting one scheme of active benevolence after another, gave a new impulse to society in Glasgow, which at length was felt throughout Scotland. The whole city was pervaded with his influence. Men began to feel that there was something in religion worthy the attention of others besides the doting and the dying; and something in Christianity of power and greatness that they had never before conceived. This splendid triumph in Glasgow was the beginning of that third reformation in Scotland, of which the Free Church is so magnificent a monument.

In 1823 he was transferred to the chair of moral philosophy in the University of St. Andrews. To those who knew the stagnant condition of the Scottish universities at this period, so graphically described by Carlyle in his Sartor Resartus, the appointment of the *Jupiter Tonans* of the Tron Church excited the utmost amazement. It was as if the glaciers of Grindenwald had sent for Vesuvius,—so cold and petrified was the one, so fiery and explosive was the other. The effect of this movement was soon seen in the ethical class-room, which, from presenting a beggarly account of empty benches, soon became crowded with classes of eager and enthusiastic students. Throwing aside the thread-bare *loci communes* of Aristotle and Seneca, Hutchison and Smith, and all the previous writers who had anatomized the science of ethics, and furnished students with its polished bones, he brought it forth warm and living from the Gospel, a new creation of beauty and light. Instead of being, at best, a mere arena for cold dialectics, and too often a school for secret skepticism, the ethical class became a new and powerful organ of Christianity. Under his leadership it became a moral gymnasium, where

the spirit of purity and love, the spirit of active benevolence and the spirit of missions, were breathed into the hearts of men, who are now toiling amid the mists and moors of Scotland, the steaming and deadly jungles of the Ganges, and the burning plains of Africa. He was great as a lecturer, not because he made any new discovery, or established any new principle in ethics,—for in these respects he was greatly surpassed by Reid, Stewart, and Brown,—but because he breathed the spirit of the Gospel, and his own earnest, enthusiastic spirit, into his academic labours. His lectures, therefore, instead of being dry and learned prelections, were rich combinations of the eloquence that blazed through his sermons, the humour that sparkled in his conversation, and the energy that pervaded his whole character. It was this rare union of qualities that enabled him to send forth an influence from the grass-grown streets of St. Andrews, unrivalled by that of the most gigantic spirits that had preceded him in the department of ethical philosophy.

Up to this point the influence of Chalmers on the Church of Scotland had been indirect, by means of his pastoral and academic position. Although this was by no means inconsiderable, it was yet greatly inferior to the direct influence he was destined to exert in the next station he was called to occupy. In 1828 the chair of Theology in the College of Edinburgh became vacant. This was, by common consent, the post of primacy in the Church of Scotland,—the summit of ecclesiastical elevation and influence in the National Establishment. To this position Chalmers was called by the unanimous suffrage of the Church, and the admitted claim of pre-eminent qualifications. It was here that he exerted his most direct influence on the national Church, moulding and informing the character of her ministry, infusing his own earnest spirit into them, and preparing them for the eventful scenes that were before them. In this post he continued to labour until the great disruption of the Establishment, and in his labours there we find much of the genesis of that memorable exodus. In order fully to comprehend what we regard as one of the great works of his life, it will be necessary to glance briefly at the history of the Church of Scotland.

There have always existed in the Christian Church two distinct elements of character, arising from the mingling of regenerate and unregenerate men in its organization. These elements have manifested themselves variously, and received different appellations, but have always been essentially the same,—whether they appeared as the religion of form and the religion of spirit; the religion of tradition and the religion of Scripture; or the religion of a cold morality, and the religion of a living piety in the heart.

In the Church of Scotland one of these elements was strengthened by the latitudinarian measures of William of Orange, which enlarged the boundaries of ecclesiastical organization, so as to include the most opposite and irreconcilable opinions, and to admit to a share in the government of the Church those who were avowedly and bitterly hostile to its principles. The two elements became embodied in what were termed the Moderate and Evangelical parties. The radical difference between these parties is the same that exists between High and Low Church Episcopacy, Jesuitism and Jansenism, and all similar dualisms that have at various times existed in the Christian Church,—a difference that touches the very vitals of Christianity. The principal point, however, about which the difference was manifested, was the subject of patronage. The one party affirmed that the absolute power of imposing a spiritual guide upon a congregation, vested in a man who might be an atheist and a scoffer, and who might use that power for the subversion of the Church, was unreasonable and unscriptural, alien to the very nature of the Church, and at variance with the explicit terms on which the Church of Scotland consented to the union. The other party contended that it was founded in justice and expediency, and hence must be maintained.

This discussion obviously resolved itself into one on the nature of the Church, the proper limitations of its authority, and the legal relations existing between it and the State. On these points three distinct theories had been promulgated among those who recognized the propriety of some connexion between the Church and the State. The first was the theory of Popery, which held that the Church was supreme in civil as well as sacred things, and the State bound to submit to its jurisdiction. The second, and antipode of this, was what, from the name of its first expounder, was termed Erastianism; which taught that the State was supreme in spiritual as well as in civil affairs, and that a distinct government in the Church was anomalous and absurd. The third, which was the mean of these extremes, held that Jesus Christ was the only Head of the Church; that he had given her a distinct government, or, in other words, vested in her the inherent right of governing within her own sphere; —a right which she could not yield without unfaithfulness to her Head; that in conducting the affairs of religion she was a co-ordinate power with the State, supreme in spiritual things as the State was in civil; that whilst the State had rightful authority *circa sacra*, that is, in the temporalities of the Church, such as providing edifices, assessing and collecting stipends, &c., it had no power *in sacris*, that is, in the purely spiritual functions of the Church, such as de-

termining rights of membership, ordaining, installing, and deposing ministers, &c., and that the State could not more rightfully assume the spiritual prerogatives of the Church, than the Church could the powers of the State. The second of these theories was held substantially by the Moderate, and the third by the Evangelical, party. The Moderates contended, that when a minister was regularly presented by the patron, whatever objections the people might urge, or however unfit the Presbytery might deem him for the office, they were yet bound to induct him; and that if they refused to do so, they could be fined and otherwise punished by the civil court. The Evangelicals held, on the contrary, that whilst the civil courts had entire control of the temporalities, and could award the buildings, glebe, and stipends, either to the patron or the presentee, if the Presbytery refused to admit the call; yet they had no power to constrain the Presbytery to perform the spiritual acts of ordination and installation, contrary to their convictions of right and duty, and hence no right to fine or punish them for refusal to induct. They held that just as each State in our Federal Union is sovereign in its own sphere, and cannot in that sphere be coerced by the General Government; so the Church was independent and sovereign in the discharge of her spiritual functions, and that to force her to act or not to act within this sphere, was essentially tyranny and persecution.

Such, in brief, was the dispute that agitated the Church of Scotland for more than two hundred years. It was a struggle whether Christ or Cæsar should have the headship of the Church; whether the laws of God or the laws of man should be held supreme; and whether the Church should go forward and do her work as she had solemnly vowed to do it, or only at the bidding and by the sufferance of the civil power. The principles involved appeared in various forms and measures that arrayed the parties against each other. When the Evangelicals desired to send the Gospel to the heathen, the Moderates objected that it was contrary to Church order, fanatical, and reversing the proper order of things, by which civilization should precede Christianization. When the Evangelicals wished to confine the professor to his chair, and the pastor to his charge, alleging that each had a work demanding all his time; the Moderates insisted upon pluralities both of parishes and offices, alleging that the double duties could be easily performed. When the Evangelicals wished to open their pulpits to such men as Whitefield, the Wesleys, and Rowland Hill; the Moderates procured the passage of an ordinance forbidding all ministerial intercourse with any clergyman, not licensed and ordained by the Church of Scotland. When the Evangelicals endeavoured by Sabbath-schools and mission-

aries to reach the "outfield" and degraded population of the large cities and the highlands; the Moderates opposed these efforts as unauthorized by the civil power, and therefore tending to sedition. And when the Evangelicals established *quoad sacra* churches, that is, missionary churches that had no permanent endowment or legalized tithes for their support; the Moderates refused to recognize these churches as belonging to the Establishment, and refused to allow their pastors and elders to sit in any church court.

Such was the position of ecclesiastical affairs when Chalmers first appeared in the General Assembly, in 1816. Although before his conversion he had leaned to the Moderates, especially in the Leslie controversy, he now, with the ardent sympathies of his new heart, allied himself to that party most congenial to his awakened and active religious feelings. He accordingly identified himself openly and fully with the Evangelical party, by avowing his belief in the right of the people to be consulted in the appointment of their spiritual teachers. The Moderate party had at this time complete ascendency, in consequence of the repeated secessions of Evangelical men from the Establishment. But the mind of Chalmers was one that looked not at the numbers holding an opinion, but at its truth, to determine his own course. Seizing, accordingly, the great principles of the spiritual independence of the Church, and her right to do the work assigned her by Christ, untrammelled by civil restraints, he bent all his energies to secure the recognition of these great truths. For twenty years he laboured to infuse his spirit and sentiments into the Church, and to induce her to assert the high prerogatives with which she was invested. At length his labours were crowned with success.

In 1834 the General Assembly passed what was termed *the veto-act*, asserting that no minister should be forced upon a congregation, the majority of which formally declared their opposition to his settlement. Thus, after the struggle of a century, was the Moderate party defeated, and the long-contested principle of non-intrusion declared to be the supreme law of the Church. It was thus at length asserted that the State had not the right to force upon the Church her rulers and teachers, and that the consent of the people was essential to the validity of a call.

This act produced a deep sensation throughout Scotland, and an anxious looking for its results. A case soon arose to test its operation. The patron of the parish of Auchterarder presented a minister to its living, against whom an overwhelming majority of the congregation solemnly remonstrated. The Presbytery refused to proceed with the induction. The patron and presentee appealed

to the ecclesiastical courts, but they sustained the Presbytery. They then appealed to the civil tribunals, and obtained a decree of the court of session, by a vote of eight to five, pronouncing the veto-act illegal, and censuring the Presbytery for obeying it; and afterwards fining it £16,000 for doing what it had solemnly vowed to do,—obey its ecclesiastical superiors. An appeal was taken to the House of Lords, and the decision of the civil court sustained.

Here, then, the ecclesiastical and civil authorities were brought into direct conflict. Other cases soon occurred, involving the same principles; the Church of Scotland insisting that she should not be forced to perform spiritual acts by stress of civil power, and the Government insisting on the right to constrain her to these acts by fines and interdicts. Repeated attempts were made at compromise, by Dr. Chalmers on the part of the Church, and distinguished members of her majesty's cabinet on the part of the Government, but without success. It at length became evident that the Evangelical party must yield, or must renounce their livings, and go forth trusting to Him that feeds the ravens. The Government and the Moderate Party seem never to have supposed it possible that a large number of men could renounce all their worldly maintenance, in support of a mere abstraction. Judging from what they knew of human nature, they felt certain that when it came to the stern issue of sacrificing their all, interest would be paramount to principle, and but few would secede.

Such was the state of public feeling in the beginning of 1842. Some hoped that the Evangelicals would be firm; some that they would yield; some believed that the old and dauntless spirit of the Covenant still lingered about the mountains and glens that were hallowed by the blood of martyred witnesses for Christ's crown, and that this spirit would flame out in their sons; others believed that all this display of determination was mere bravado, that would give way in the stern hour of trial.

The eighteenth of May, 1843, was a memorable day for Scotland. Her gray old capital was crowded with the *élite* of the land, who came pouring in from mountain and lowland, to see the last mighty struggle in that contest so long waged between the might of intellect and piety on the one hand, and the might of power and wealth on the other. The grim old towers of Holyrood are graced with the glitter of reflected royalty, and the deep and narrow streets of the Old Town are thronged with eager faces, which scarcely turn to gaze on the glittering pomp of the magnificent train that swept from the ancient palace of the Stuarts to the Cathedral Church of St. Giles. All feel that this day is big with the fate of interests that

lie near the throbbing heart of Scotland. The General Assembly, that day to meet, would decide before the setting sun the destiny of the noblest and purest part of the Church of Knox, and Melville, and Henderson. The royal commissioner having held his stately levee, and listened with his glittering retinue to the opening sermon at St. Giles, the procession again moves through a wedged and living mass to the Church of St. Andrew's, where the assembly is to meet. For hours this church has been crowded to suffocation, except in the seats reserved for the members. At length these seats are filled. In the chair is seated the polished and classic Welsh, whose pure and glowing spirit seems to shine through his too fragile body like a lamp through a vase of alabaster, and whose knit brow and compressed lip tell of unfaltering resolve. Beside him is seen the white-haired Chalmers, whose massive frame and swollen brow bespeak the profoundest emotion. Around are gathered men, who as they think of the quiet homes where dear ones are gathered in agonizing suspense, homes where so many days of joy had been passed, but which that day were to be abandoned by their own act, and these dear ones taken forth to struggle with the nameless uncertainties of the future, the eye of the husband and father fills with an unbidden tear; but as they remember the high and holy cause in which this sacrifice is to be made, the tear is brushed away, and the heart of the Christian is nerved with new strength for the offering he was now to make on the altar of principle. Soon the bray of trumpets and the clatter of sabres announce the entrance of represented royalty, who is received by the Assembly standing, and greeted by the Moderator as he appears with the customary formalities. The blessing of the Church's great Head is then fervently implored, and there is a breathless pause. A thousand hearts are throbbing with a quickened pulse, and quivering lips are moved with prayer, as the Moderator turns slowly and firmly to the Royal Commissioner, and, for himself and those who shall unite with him, solemnly protests against the organization of the Assembly as not free; against the encroaching acts of the civil power as illegal and unconstitutional; and renounces all connexion with an establishment whose bond of union had become a yoke of bondage. Then, laying his protest on the table, and bowing to the commissioner, he abandons the chair and walks towards the eastern door. It was a moment of intense excitement and suspense. No man knew who would prove firm in the hour of trial, and the Government had been confidently assured that not more than thirty would leave the Establishment in the last issue. Who then will follow the noble Welsh? First, there springs to his side the dauntless Chalmers,

with his flashing eye and his lion port; then another, and another; the men whose names had shed her brightest lustre on the Church; the men who had toiled most faithfully for the destitute and neglected; one by one they rose and swelled the gathering stream, until one hundred and ninety-three seats have been vacated, and the pride and flower of the Church has departed. From the crowded seats and galleries there throng others to share in this glorious exodus, and to lay down their worldly hopes for Christ's crown and covenant, until, to the blank amazement of the startled commissioner, the whole house seems likely to be emptied, in the excited rush that was made from every part of it, to follow those men who now, with nobler than carnal weapons, "struck for their altars and their fires, God and their native land."

Outside of the house the dense and crowded mass was wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement. The old clock on the spire had struck three as the Lord Commissioner entered the hall of St. Andrew's, and the anxious crowd, that could neither see nor know what was passing within, was moved with the most eager anxiety. "They *will* come out," say the sons of the covenant; "they will not prove recreant to us, whom they have led thus far in this contest, and play the craven in the hour of trial."—"They will not come out," say others; "they will not pluck the bread out of the mouths of their children for a mere abstraction." Doubts, hopes, and fears were busy, and many an anxious glance was cast at the dial in the tower. The lingering hands point to half past three, and yet no one appears from within, and no note of indication is given. Have they indeed faltered? Have they proved faithless to the blue banner of the covenant? But hark! there comes a sound from within like the rush of many waters, and the cry flies from lip to lip, "They come! they come!" and the living tide begins to pour from the guarded door. There are Welsh, and Chalmers, and Candlish, and Cunningham, and Gordon, and Dunlop, and noble and honoured names in the Church; pair by pair, score by score, hundred by hundred, they press forth in glorious procession, with hearts to dare and hands to do the mighty work before them. The long agony is over; the Church is safe; and strong men who had faced death unmoved amidst the roar of battle are unstrung, and the big tears gush from their eyes as their lips murmur the "Thank God! Scotland is free!" That dense, compacted crowd, where the bayonets of the escort could scarcely open a passage to the scarlet-robed commissioner, now swayed from side to side, like the yielding waters before the rushing prow; and down that living lane, where sobs and tears were mingled with prayers and blessings on these brave men, strode four

hundred of Scotland's holiest ministers, and as many of her eldership, ready to do and even to die for the crown rights of the Redeemer. Onward they move silently down the crowded streets that descend toward the Water of Leith, their thoughts busy with the past, the future, the absent, and the dear, until they reach the round towers of Canonmills; and there within the spacious Tanfield Hall, crowded to the roof with eager spectators, they solemnly assemble. As the tremulous voice of Welsh led in prayer, the long pent-up feelings of the vast assembly burst forth in irrepressible sobs and tears of mingled sorrow and gladness: but when the whole multitude stood up, and from four thousand voices there went up, until the towers of Canonmills shook with the thunder of the melody, the high and mournful strains of the old Hebrew faith and fearlessness,—

> "God is our refuge and our strength,
> In straits a present aid,
> Therefore, although the earth remove,
> We will not be afraid:"

every heart was nerved with holy fervour to lay down all for the cross and crown of Christ.

The voice of the whole body called Chalmers to the chair; and then it would almost seem, that, after a quarter of a century spent in battling for the spiritual freedom of the Church, "the old man eloquent" might utter his *nunc dimittis*, as he presided over the first General Assembly of the Free Kirk of Scotland.

With the stupendous exertions that were then put forth to erect churches, manses, school-houses, and colleges, to send missions to Jews and Heathen, and to set on foot all the machinery of an efficient Church; with the amazing labours of Chalmers, who travelled over the length and breadth of Scotland, breathing his own burning spirit into every class, whilst he seemed like the eagle to have renewed his youth; and with the wonderful success that crowned these exertions, we cannot be detained without exceeding our limits. Suffice it to say, that in a great measure by the infusion of his own untiring energy into every class, rank, and age, the stupendous structure of the Free Church went up, like Aladdin's palace, as it were in a single night, and the world stood amazed at the unparalleled spectacle.

The last public appearance of Dr. Chalmers was in May, 1847; when he was summoned to give testimony before the Site Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to investigate the refusal of church-sites to congregations of the Free Church, by the duke of Buccleugh and others. We have read the document containing this evidence with mournful interest. He appears in it like a lion at

bay; whilst the hunters on all sides seek to catch him in their toils. Sir James Graham, in whose veins runs the blood of the ruthless Claverhouse, used all his cold and practised subtlety to involve him in difficulty and contradiction, but was baffled by the clear and frank honesty of the old man. His last testimony to the world thus was one for "freedom to worship God."

He returned home to perform a single public act, and then retire to spend his remaining days as a city missionary. He had chosen a crowded spot in the West Port of Edinburgh, the very spot which the infamous Burke had made the scene of his horrid wickedness, and here he intended to apply his theory of aggressive evangelization, and excavate by patient toil the moral filth and obduracy of this region.

The Free Church Assembly met again, and Scotland's ministers and elders gathered from her borders to gaze once more on "the leader of Israel." On the morrow he was to make his final report to the Assembly, and then resign to younger hands the toil of carrying forward the ark of God. His writing materials were arranged by his bedside, that he might spend his earliest waking hours as he was wont, in the use of the pen. But a brighter morning than that which he expected when he closed his eyes was to dawn upon him. In the stillness and solitude of the night the messenger came; and, apparently without a groan, or the moving of a muscle, or a trace of struggle manifest in his position or his bed-clothes, he gently fell asleep; and when morning came, all that met the gaze of love was that noble form in calm repose, that had rested from its labours while the spirit went up to its reward. It was fitting that he should pass away thus when his labours were done, and that the Church should be gathered in her annual convocation to pay the last sad honours to one of her noblest sons. The vast crowd that poured forth to pay the closing tribute of respect to his memory, was composed of every age, and rank, and name in society, and showed that the loss was felt to be one to the nation, and to the cause of Christianity at large. And as the immense throng of silent, and many of them weeping mourners, poured its living tide along from Morningside to the Cemetery, the one thought that pervaded the mass was that which burst from the king's lips at the bedside of the dying prophet: "My father! my father! the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof."

The problem of Chalmers' life and character offers no difficulties for solution. His grand work intellectually was to bring into closer union the higher forms of science, and the deeper forms of spiritual Christianity. This he did, not so much by making any new disco-

veries in either, as by showing the possibility of their union in his own case. He thus, on the one hand, evinced to the austere bigot, who looked with horror on scientific progress as rank infidelity, that in its highest form science was literally the handmaid of religion; and, on the other, demonstrated to the flippant sciolist, who deemed Christianity a mere anile superstition, unable to bear the scrutiny of severe analysis, that the humblest piety and the loftiest intellect could be joined in the most loving and graceful union, each adorning and strengthening the other. The Blairs and Robertsons, the Butlers and Clarkes of a former generation, had shown that intellect and scholarship could co-exist with a decent and "respectable" form of Christianity; but it was left for such men as Chalmers, Foster, and Hall, fully to demonstrate that the most earnest form of evangelical piety was perfectly compatible with the most exalted intellect and the most finished scholarship.

His work in the religious developments of the age was to contend for the spiritual liberties of the Church, and her right to independent self-government. This struggle began with the Reformation, and has essentially continued to the present day. It is at last the struggle of a living Christianity to put forth its roots and branches according to the law of its inherent life. It is the struggle that was begun by the Reformers, carried on by the Huguenots and Puritans, taken up by the Methodists and Evangelicals, and maintained at this day by the great body of the Dissenters and Voluntaries. It involves two things in every national establishment: first, the revival of the principle of spiritual vitality in the Church; second, the ultimate separation of the Church from the State. The former must as certainly produce the latter, as the swelling of the seed will burst the pod or husk that contains it; and which, however valuable to protect when vitality is suspended, is cast off as useless when the hidden life begins to put forth its mysterious powers. Hence we find that in every case when religion has become extensively revived in the English or Scottish Establishment, the result has been a collision of the sovereignties thus forced into so unnatural a union. A state governed by churchmen, and a church governed by statesmen, have presented in all cases the same invariable result;—inefficiency and inaction when the pulse of life beats low, convulsion and misrule when it was in vigorous action. It is joining together by man what God has put asunder,—the ill-starred nuptials of forbidden parties.

The magnificent experiment of the Free Church of Scotland we regard as one of the most important movements made in this great work since the Reformation; a movement which certainly heralds

the first separation of civil and spiritual jurisdiction in the British government. And whilst it is true that Chalmers and his coadjutors continued to hold to the principle of establishments after the disruption, yet it is also true that their own course and conduct furnish the most unanswerable refutation of their speculative principles. Believing then, as we do, that the spiritual independence of the Church is essential to the final triumph of Christianity; that the establishment of the Free Church is the longest stride in this direction that our age has witnessed; and that Chalmers was to a great extent the soul of this movement; we consider this work as not only the great work of his life, but also one worthy of all the energies of his noble nature. If we were to designate any one attribute of his nature by which he was fitted for these high missions, we would say that it was *his earnestness.* Whatever he did he did it with his might; and whether it was gathering minerals and flowers among the hills of Fife, or thundering his magnificent philippics from the pulpit of the Tron; or handling some great argument in his class-room, until his mind kindled with its own motion, and his gray eye glared with a perfect frenzy of excitement; or grappling with the powerful minds of the opposition on the floor of the Assembly; he in every case threw his whole soul into whatever he undertook. This was the grand secret of his power. Men felt, when they came in contact with him, that they were encountering a reality, a man about whom there was neither cant nor sham,—a man who felt what he professed, and felt it intensely. This fervid, impetuous earnestness either imparted its own fire to those around him, or swept away all obstacles in the tide of its vehemence. Hence, when he spoke men felt that the flood-gates of a mighty spirit were opened, whose deep craters reached down to the range of perpetual fusion; and it was with a kind of breathless awe that they gazed at the fiery torrent that poured with consuming and resistless impetuosity from its glowing source. When he acted, it was with a profound conviction of the practicability and vital importance of the plan he proposed; and the enthusiastic confidence which he felt in it himself, went far to remove the doubts and silence the suspicions of others. He possessed eminently that contagious spirit of lofty enthusiasm and fearless confidence in his own conceptions, that have characterized all great leaders of men, and that have made their very rashness often the surest road to success. This *vis vivida* was united in his case to an element of power that many great leaders lack,—a large and comprehensive sympathy with all human interests and sufferings. Never was the "*homo sum*" of the Roman Menander more fully embodied in the energies and sympathies of a human heart. Men

felt that they were in the presence of a spirit that loved its race, and one that spake and acted for others rather than for itself; and this conviction gave a potency to all his efforts that nothing else could supply. It was this profound conviction of his earnest philanthropy, united with admiration of his lofty intellect, that gave him such a hold on the confidence of the Scottish people as to warrant the strong remark of an eminent British statesman,—"Where Chalmers is, there is the Church of Scotland."

When we analyze his intellectual character we find but two prominent peculiarities. The first, is the large development of the perceptive faculties. It was this intellectual peculiarity that directed his mind to natural science, and fitted him to excel in those departments that demanded the exercise of the perceptive powers; that determined his thoughts to the details of economics, poor-laws, statistics, &c.; that furnished him with the exuberance of illustration that adorns his discourses, and led him generally to reason by analogy rather than on abstract principles, or by metaphysical deductions.

The other prominent fact in his intellectual structure was imagination. He did not look at a subject in the cold, dry light of pure intellection, but in the warm and vivid light of a poetic fancy. The "body of divinity" or ethics, which in the hands of other analysts became a skeleton of rattling bones, by his plastic touch was transformed into an image of living, breathing beauty, warm and bright with a glorious life. The abstractions of colder and more logical minds were to him concrete, embodied realities. It was this that enabled him to utter the truths of the gospel with such freshness and power, that they seemed brought forth in a new revelation. It was this that enabled him to toil as a city missionary in the darkest dens of vice in Edinburgh; for he felt that he was not only "excavating" the moral filth of the West Port, but working out a problem for Scotland and the world. This power of investing humble and lowly efforts with large and magnificent relations, enabled him to labour with enthusiasm himself, and impart that enthusiasm to others. The peculiar splendour of his imagination, however, is only seen in some of his grand pulpit efforts, and especially in the Astronomical Discourses, where it flings a blaze of starry lustre over the whole subject, that seemed to the astonished world like the unveiling of a new heavens and a new earth. This power of investing everything he looked at with the gorgeous glow of his many-tinted imagination, was one of the secrets of the unwasting energy he evinced himself, and the amazing influence he had over others.

It was to the rare combination of these powers in his case that he owed his brilliant reputation as a preacher. That this reputation had a solid and permanent basis, is proved by the admiration of nearly half a century; the admiration not of a small clique, or an interested class, but of all classes and ranks throughout the British empire, including such men as Canning, Jeffrey, and Carlyle. Never perhaps in the history of eloquence has such a reputation been acquired and maintained in the face of such formidable difficulties. He had none of the ordinary graces and tricks of oratory. His voice was not remarkable for either compass or tone; his pronunciation was broadly provincial; his gesture was little more than a sawing jerk of the arm up and down in his most excited moments; he always read his sermons, and kept one hand and his eyes most of the time on the manuscript; yet in spite of all these defects crowds of the first minds in England hung enraptured on his lips. Nor was it entirely the matter of his discourses that gave them their power, for we have some of the best of them in print, and can judge of their merits. An enthusiastic admirer thus describes his preaching:— "We seem to see and hear him still, bending forward, with his left hand on his manuscript, and his right clenched and elevated in energetic action, while the wildest expression of the eye mingles strangely with the solemn and almost austere determination of that large, firm upper lip, and broad, knotty forehead; and what lies written before him is enunciated in a voice husky, indeed, and tuneless, but very distinct, and in the highest degree earnest and vehement, so as to make you almost feel the words literally smiting your ear, and fixing themselves in your flesh as if with fangs. There was something in Chalmers' more impassioned delivery that always reminded us of the whizzing of steel upon a rapidly revolving grindstone, with the sparks of fire flying off in showers."

From this and other sources we gather the elements of his power as a preacher. Looking at truth with an eye that saw its relations to all the grand departments of God's kingdom, and with an imagination that clothed it with a more than earthly beauty, he felt it intensely himself, and was thus fitted to impress it deeply on others. When, therefore, he came before an audience, he came possessed, in a sense inspired, with the mighty themes he was to handle. Having also a deep yearning of sympathy for the great brotherhood of humanity in their sorrow and sin, he threw his whole nature into the effort to lead them to the truth. Men forgot the uncouth gesture and provincial accent, as they saw him panting and trembling with the deepest emotion; and as his broad frame heaved, and his deep eye glared with the frenzy of his excitement, they thought of that ancient

and powerful afflatus, in which men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

But when we examine his sermons critically we find much to condemn. They lack the polished elegance and logical strength of Robert Hall; the chiselled, artistic completeness of Andrew Thomson; the antique, Ezekiel sublimity of Edward Irving; and the still, deep thought of John Foster. Yet have they a peculiar strength, beauty, and splendour of their own, with many defects and deformities. There is an utter disregard of all the laws of style and language that custom has ordained. The sentences are long, involved, and tangled. The veriest colloquialisms, the most unauthorized idioms, and, in some cases, even an approach to vulgarisms, appear in his language. Thus, in one of his most magnificent efforts, he tells his hearers that he does not expect by such appeals to break the "*confounded* spell" that chained them to the world. If he had said "tarnation" instead of "confounded," it would have been at least equally classic and authorized, if not equally expressive. There is evinced an overlooking of the minor graces, that, however we may pardon in so mighty an intellect, would yet have strengthened rather than weakened his mental efforts. The roughest sword will do execution in the hands of a giant; but its edge may be made keener, and its stroke deadlier, by a little polish.

The most offensive trait in his style is its endless amplification and repetition. Take, for example, the following, selected almost at random from his sermons:—

"Why, there are some who seem to feel as if nothing more were required for the completion of this work than merely to adjust the orthodoxy of their creed, and then have done with it. To acquire faith is, with them, as simple an affair as to learn their catechism. Let them only impart a sound metaphysical notion into the head, and this they think will bear them upward into heaven, though their treasure is not there, and their heart is not there. To seize upon the title-deed to heaven, they feel as if they had nothing more to do than to seize upon some certain dogma in the science of theology, and that by keeping a firm hold of this they hold a kind of legal or stipulated security for a place in the inheritance above. Faith is, with them, a mere embrace, by the understanding, of one or more articles in an approved system of divinity. It is enough, in their imagination, to have a right to glory, that they be intellectually right about the matter of a sinner's justification in the sight of God. Heaven is somehow looked upon as a reward to the believer for the soundness of his speculative opinions. The faith which is unto salvation is regarded in no other light than as the bare recognition of certain doctrinal truths, and the salvation itself as a return for such recognition. The indolence of a mere theoretical contemplation is thus substituted for the practice, and pains-taking, and perseverance of men, in busy pursuit of some object to which they are bending forward with the desire and the diligence of an earnest prosecution."

Here it will be perceived that the same specific idea is asserted

in every sentence, with scarcely a shade of additional meaning. The whole paragraph, in musical phrase, is a series of variations. This peculiarity in his style gave truth and point to the comparisons made by Robert Hall, likening his style to a kaleidoscope, which presented at every turn the same elements, only in different lights; and to a door on its hinges, in which there was motion, but no progression.

But, in spite of these defects, there is an undoubted charm about his style which we would not deny or depreciate. This charm consists, mainly, in a certain stateliness and gorgeousness that it possesses, combined with an occasional quaintness and alliteration, that make his sentences at times ring like cymbals. His thoughts are rarely clothed in the simple costume of common life, but come forth in the robe and buskin of the boards, with the mien and tread of royalty. Hence the most ordinary conceptions have a *loom* of magnificence by the refracting power of his style, and seem dilated to a magnitude, and robed with a splendour, that belong only to the drapery in which they appear, or the medium through which they are seen. We will not call his style theatrical; for this term would suggest ideas of hollowness and show which did not belong to his mind. He was eminently an earnest, sincere man; and we find as little affectation of greatness, or mere *acting* the great man, in his writings, as we do in any writer of eminence in modern times. He is as simple and unconscious as a child. But yet his style is peculiarly *scenic*. It is picturesque rather than statuesque, owing its power rather to the gorgeousness of its colouring than to the delicacy of its finish. In this respect he stands midway between Edward Irving and Henry Melville, (if he was not in some respects their model, especially of the latter,) having some essential points of resemblance to both, and yet without the wild Pythonic *furor* of the first, or the consummate histrionic art of the second.

We cannot, in the room that is left us, attempt even a summary, much less a critique, on the voluminous writings of Dr. Chalmers. When the eight volumes of Posthumous Works are published, they will amount to thirty-three volumes duodecimo, embracing treatises on Natural Theology, Evidences of Christianity, Didactic Theology, Ethics, Political and Ecclesiastical Economics, Expositions of Scripture, Sermons, Prefaces, Tracts, Essays, &c., &c., covering a vast extent of topics, and illustrating the rare versatility of powers and attainments by which his mind was distinguished.

The work by which his reputation was first widely established, and which we may select as furnishing a fair illustration of his peculiar powers, is his Astronomical Discourses. Few persons will

forget the intense delight with which they first read these remarkable productions; and from this feeling we can understand the enthusiasm with which they were greeted on their original publication. This burst of admiration was owing, in part, to the novel nature of the subject discussed, and the vagueness of the popular conceptions on the subject of astronomy. It was the opening up of a gold region unknown before; a region whose glittering sands were stars, and whose limits "the flaming bounds of space," the boundless sweep of the universe. The very facts of astronomy were but imperfectly known by the great mass of readers; and even when known, there was an uneasy suspicion that there was some undefined danger to be apprehended to the ancient, popular faith, from the startling developments of this wonderful science. On the part of the skeptic there was an undisguised sneer at the old Ptolemean theory of religion, that made the earth the centre of God's government, and all other orders to revolve in their spheres of existence around it. On the part of the believing there was a disposition at least to make a truce with this daring and eagle-eyed discoverer, if not to indulge an absolute and jealous hostility. How profound, then, was the amazement and delight of the Christian world, when the blazing scroll of the heavens was unrolled to them, all glittering with the most magnificent revelations; and yet all tending to confirm the revelation made in the written word! How deep the thrill of surprise when it was found that its mighty constellations included *a cross!* The very infidelity of the age was thunderstruck with this splendid *coup-de-main*, and forgot the bitterness of defeat in the prowess of the victor, and the splendour of the triumph.

But when the magnificent pageant has passed by, and we begin calmly to examine the train of argument pursued, our first enthusiasm will begin to subside. We do not regard it as any objection to these Discourses, that the train of thought, and the principal arguments adduced, had been first struck out by Andrew Fuller, in his Answer to Paine. Fuller's sketch is but a single chapter in his larger work, and possesses but the single merit of clear, cold logic. Chalmers seized the bare conceptions thus furnished, and clothed them with the starry splendour of a mind imbued at once with an intense love of science, and a profound reverence for religion; and, flinging over all the purple light of his gorgeous imagination, he became to Fuller, in the apologetic aspect, what La Place was to Newton in the scientific department of this magnificent field of knowledge. But yet we very much question whether the rigid logic of the argument did not suffer in the translation.

The infidel objection was, that the immense magnitude of the creation, as developed by modern astronomy, reduced the earth to so insignificant a relative position, that it seemed as preposterous to hold it, with Christianity, to be the centre of God's moral universe, as it had been, with ancient science, to believe that it was the centre of God's material universe; and that if the falsity of the latter assumption was demonstrated, it drew after it, by necessary inference, the falsity of the former.

How does Chalmers meet this objection? After a splendid sketch of modern astronomy, he descants on the modesty of true science, a point which the objector will not dispute. He then enlarges on the extent of the divine condescension, as revealed in the discoveries of the microscope. To this the obvious reply of the objector would be, that it was not the extent or minuteness of the condescension alleged by Christianity to which he objected, but to the mode in which it was said to be exerted, and the amazing disproportion between the provisions and the objects provided for; as if it were asserted, not only that God had clothed the animalcule with the most gorgeous vesture, and robed it in a mail of purple and gold, but had created an ocean, or a continent, for the sole and only purpose of its residence. He then dwells on the knowledge of man's moral history, and the sympathy felt for him in the distant places of creation, and the contest for an ascendency over man among the higher orders of intelligence. The evident reply to this would be, that the only proof of these points was to be drawn from the very records under discussion; and to assume their truth by thus arguing on assumptions which they alone furnished, was a sort of *petitio principii*. The Bible is the only foundation upon which these positions rest; to repose the truth of the Bible, therefore, on these positions, was to reverse the natural order, and to begin to build the house at the roof instead of the foundation. The last discourse is on the slender influence of mere taste and sensibility in the matter of religion; a point that of course does not bear directly on the question in discussion. Such is a brief analysis of the argument of these memorable and magnificent Discourses.

To us the ground taken by Fuller seems much more unanswerable. Planting himself on the native dignity of the human soul, he argues that to save a soul is a mightier work than to create a world; and that regarding the superiority of spiritual to material greatness, the work of redeeming a world of immortal souls, perhaps the only world that had apostatized, swelled into a grandeur that threw all material splendour into the shade; and that to object to the smallness of the field on which it is alleged this mighty work was per-

formed, were as absurd as to object to the greatness, or doubt the achievement, of the victories of Marathon or Waterloo, because they were fought on but a few acres of ground instead of measureless square leagues. He then adduces the considerations so splendidly unfolded by Chalmers, to show that the probable exterior relations of redemption fully harmonized with all the discoveries of astronomical science. Had the course of argument thus sketched out by Fuller been more closely followed by Chalmers, we think the power of the Discourses would have been greatly augmented, whilst their splendour would not have been diminished. Their grand defect, beyond the *splendida vitia* of their style, is the want of logical method and compactness in unfolding the argument,—a want which will be readily seen by comparing them with such works as Hall's Sermon on Modern Infidelity, or Campbell's Answer to Hume on Miracles.

As an expositor of Scripture, we cannot assign Chalmers a high rank. His Lectures on Romans, and still more fully his Posthumous Works, prove that his excursions into this vast field were but short and narrow in their range. He exhibits, it is true, the same grasp of mind here that he does elsewhere; but he has evidently not even attempted to master the stupendous materials accumulated by modern exegesis. He could, however, well afford to leave to other minds the mastery of those laborious details. The eagle eye of such a mind was perhaps not constructed to the focus necessary for tracing etymological roots.

We cannot enter on his character as a theologian, for this would lead us greatly beyond our limits; and the complete elements of a proper decision are wanting until the appearance of his Institutes of Theology, in the forthcoming series of Posthumous Works.

Our judgment of Dr. Chalmers may then be briefly summed up. Without being either a great logician, a great rhetorician, or a great scholar, he was a great orator and a great man. Whilst his writings, voluminous and effective though they have been, will do less to mould the important opinions of his generation than those of obscurer men, his life will leave as broad and enduring an impress on the history of the Church and world as that of any writer of his age. Whilst his style is on all hands acknowledged to be seriously defective, it has left its mark on the religious literature of Scotland, with a distinctness that cannot be overlooked. Without perceiving or even desiring the inevitable results of his efforts, he has achieved a noble victory for the liberties of Christ's Church, and struck some of the heaviest blows in that work that must be completed by such men as Baptist Noel and Mr. Dodson. He has shown in his own person the

possibility of uniting the keenest relish for science, and high attainments in some of its departments, with the humblest and purest evangelical piety. As a man he has reminded us of the beautiful prophecy, —"The child shall die an hundred years old." He had all the unconscious simplicity, the sweetness, the filial trust, the loving and joyous spirit of the little child, combined with the rarest attributes of intellect and the ripest fruits of experience. Coleridge has somewhere defined genius to be the susceptibilities and feelings of childhood, carried forward in their vivid freshness to manhood. We know of no more accurate definition of the character of Dr. Chalmers. He grew old in his body, but never in his soul; the snows of age were sprinkled on his brow, but never on his heart; and even when his sun hung low and cold in the distant west, it flung over the whole field of vision the brilliant glow of hope and trust, that brightened the scenes of life's earliest morning. His was a broad and genial nature, that touched in its ample extent the remotest opposites, and shared the enthusiastic love of natures so hostile in their antagonism, that they seemed to know nothing in common but their common affection for him. The cynical Carlyle, the fastidious Jeffrey, the thoughtful Taylor, the skeptic, the scholar, and the philosopher, all mingled their tears with the narrowest textuary of the straitest sect, and the humblest and lowliest of the toiling thousands of Scotland, in weeping over the loss of one who loved and enlightened them all. The Church of the living God has a glorious heritage of noble names, but she has few over which she can hang with a deeper throb of mingled admiration and love, than the memory of the brilliant, the lofty, and the child-hearted Chalmers.

Art.—VI. THE PHILOSOPHICAL STUDY OF LANGUAGE.

THIRD PAPER.

In our former articles on this subject, the Etymological Method (as we entitled it) was judged, chiefly by its fruits, and condemned. A critical examination of its method of procedure would, perhaps, aggravate the condemnation. But we are now, we suppose, authorized to lay the Grammatical form out of the question, and to turn our attention entirely to the science, so called, of Comparative Philology.

And the first question is, Does Comparative Philology conform strictly, as is pretended, to the science of Comparative Anatomy,

from which it has taken its name? We shall first try this assumed analogy on the merits of fact alone. It is an error which we conceive it of primary importance, in view of any effective progress in the philosophy of language, once for all to expose decisively. It is of a nature, moreover, as obstinate as it is mischievous. Illusions of *doctrine*, besides being limited to a particular subject, are liable constantly to be laid bare, even by the natural current of things; but an error of *method* is everlasting as well as universal. The one is an affection of the object; the other, of the eye. While a thousand systems of philosophy, not less attractive nor perhaps more erroneous, had successively arisen and passed away, the logical system known as Aristotle's kept the human intellect in its thralls during twenty centuries.

Comparative philology, then, as at present practised, fails of two conditions which have been rightly deemed by its anatomical prototype as indispensable preliminaries: 1st, an intimate knowledge, individually, of the organizations compared—often so intimate as to enable us to tell, from a single joint, tooth, or tissue, the general structure, species, food, &c., of the corresponding animal, perhaps for ages extinct: 2d, a type whereto ultimately to refer the serial comparison, and which the naturalist has ready furnished him in *man*—as at once the object of the illustration, and the most complicate of natural organisms. But the philologist, so far from possessing any similar data, appears to be unconscious of their logical necessity. Something has, indeed, been accomplished for the organic analysis of language, commenced by Plato, and now known most familiarly as the grammatical division of the Parts of Speech. But some two thousand years, and as many treatises on the subject, seem to have left this inchoative sketch in its original imperfection. A proof of which is, that we meet in none of these treatises with any systematic attempt to explain even practical anomalies; such, for example, as that the Hebrew, Greek, and other languages, have but one article, and the Latin has none; that the latter language has gerunds and supines which most other idioms are without; that the Shemitic languages dispense with a present tense and have but one conjugation; that the Sanscrit and Slavonic have local and instrumental cases, while our modern dialects retain scarce any at all, &c. Or rather, the point they do *not* explain, and the only one to the purpose, is, how these and the like peculiarities, positive and privative, are *compensated* by some other parts, or functions, of the system.

But the case is worse, if possible, in respect to the second condition of a model language, namely, the necessity of a type or stand-

ard. For, besides the well-known pre-eminence with every nation of its own vernacular, philosophers themselves are not agreed upon such a criterion; and this not only as to individual languages, but even as to the two great divisions characterized respectively by Inflection and Auxiliaries. So that our philologists proceed to compare apace, it seems, without comprehending either the *terms* or the *principle* of the comparison, professing all the while, and persuaded no doubt, that they follow the method of the comparative anatomist! The inevitable result is upon record.

But none are to be censured for failing to accomplish impossibilities, whatever reproach may fairly attach to professing, or not perceiving, them. The terms and principle alluded to have no actual existence in philology. The subject of the naturalist (as just remarked) proposes to him, first, a definite *object* of investigation, and then presents him in the whole animal kingdom a collection of terms obviously *different*, which, under guidance of the type, he is enabled to classify in an order of descending simplification, which has the effect of exhibiting the organic structure to be analyzed, drawn out, as it were, in a succession of sections or views. The condition of the philologist could in this respect be analogous only if the other animal species had, or were allowed to have, languages too, and in corresponding diversity, to enter into the comparison. But such a supposition would be repudiated with especial zeal by the school of philology in question; which, on the contrary, proceeds upon the primitive unity of even the human tongue and species. Now the organic unity of language would be a direct consequence of this unity of race. But it rests scientifically on a better established unity, namely, uniformity of organization, mental and physiological. Comparison of this kind, therefore, in philology can be, essentially, but of language with itself; its varieties, due (as will hereafter appear) entirely to secondary and extraneous influences; not entering, consequently, into the present fundamental consideration.

To this utter destitution of the analogous means is further to be added a total dissimilitude of *end*. The Comparative philologist does not propose to analyze a particular idiom; he seeks (or should seek) to establish the general laws of all idioms whatever. So that at present he manifestly proceeds in a vicious circle;—so vicious, indeed, that it would be ludicrously palpable in almost any other department of rational research.

This error involves the second, the logical oversight. In short, the pretended application of this method to languages accumulates the assumptions, (now severally shown to be false,) that the languages compared are organically different; that there is established a stand-

ard language whereby to class them serially for the comparison; that the divers idioms, dialects, &c., are completely known preliminarily; and, what is the greatest absurdity of all, perhaps, that to know the grammatical organization of language is to know its laws, its philosophy; which were as if (to recur to an illustration these writers seem to have challenged) anatomy should pass for the aggregate laws of life, and no account be at all taken of the department of physiology.

The latter analogy, indeed, which suggests already the true philological method, might appear to have been recognized, at least in (for example) the filiation of the tribe of languages denominated Indo-Germanic. But the progression these have proceeded upon is manifestly that of chronology, which is essentially different from the scientific progression of language. It is simply filiation, not development; it is *procession*, not progression. That of the latter there hitherto prevails in fact no distinct conception, is proclaimed by the accredited basis itself of philological investigation,—we mean *vocabularies;* into which are jumbled isolated, and thus unintelligible, fragments of the rudest savage idioms, on quite equal terms with the classical tongues. Even the most celebrated of these collections—consisting of both sorts, to the number of several hundreds, and entitled the *Mithridates*,—though admirable undoubtedly for learning and labour, must yet, as a means of investigating the laws of language, properly so called, appear, we think, to the eye of science, very much as if an anthropologist were to class childhood and old age indiscriminately with manhood, in making an estimate of the normal faculties, mental or physical, of the human species. Nor can it possibly be otherwise without that theoretical guidance, which yet these writers affect to repudiate with a fastidiousness equally perverse and pedantic.

A theory, then, of Language, (by which we mean no more, for the present, than some general conception of its historical manifestations, if only to render possible, provisionally, the systematic consideration of the phenomena,) and secondly a modification of the Comparative Method adapted to the subject, these appear, from the foregoing discussion, to be the two great actual requisites of philological research. The former of these, namely, Theory, has occupied us in a late number of this journal, under the title of the *Progressive Principle of Language;* and we now offer a few observations on the latter, namely, Method.

Method, or Logic—as we have just remarked of language, which indeed is but its sensible manifestation—is essentially one; and its reputed varieties are but mere modifications, spontaneously adapting

themselves to the ascending complexity or particularity of the phenomena. Thus when applied, for example, to astronomy, it is termed Observation; when to physics and chemistry, Experiment. It has received the name of Comparison in its more recent extension to Botany, Zoology, &c. But in fact the process was properly *Comparison* throughout: in the first case, of two phenomena directly; in the second, the same, but indirectly or through change of circumstances; in the third, it is concerned with relations as between the parts of organical systems, and thence is sometimes termed the comparison of Analogies;—the process taking here the generic appellation, because, no doubt, of the greater prominence of its intellectual character; whereas, in the other and simpler sciences, it was originally spontaneous. There is obviously another degree, and no more, in the scale,—the Comparison of the *whole system with* ITSELF *in a* SUCCESSION *of* PROGRESSIVE STATES. This is a mode not yet recognized in logical treatises. It will prove to be just the method we are in quest of, and quite naturally adapted to the peculiar phenomena of language. Upon this alone, therefore, shall we further dwell at present. The general theory of Methodology is a thing too new, not only to our readers, but even to English literature, to be touched, if at all, without detailed explanation. We can here only say that its grand aspects, as destined for scientific classification, are as yet but half developed, even where science has advanced the farthest; and that this is the theatre on which Language, duly prepared, has, as we conceive, awaiting it the most magnificent of its important parts, namely, the *definitive constitution of the moral and social sciences, and the logical education of the popular mind.*

The fourth, then, and final form of this Scientific Comparison—in common indeed with the preceding respectively—can only be adequately conceived in the special nature of its appropriate subject. This remark explains the futility, so long and so generally experienced, of attempting to teach logic from a system of abstract rules; even were these rules not limited, as hitherto they have been, to two at most of the earlier stages.

Of the peculiar phenomena of language it has been already intimated that they are evolved in time, occur in succession; whereas those of anatomy, for example, present themselves in space, co-existently. Language, too, of course, as an organism, offers a phase of co-existence. This is taken, by universal consent, to consist in the syntactic system. But no aid directly applicable to the exploration of the laws of language can (as we have shown) be derived from its grammatical aspect; which indeed depends, even for its own analysis, upon the pre-establishment of a theory of functions. The ex-

planation seems to be, that grammar is in truth a part of these functions; its phenomena are relatively successive, operate in time, quite the same as their collective developments. Similarly too are they arrested (so to speak) and marshalled in space by means of the *art of writing*. This monumental art, accordingly, we have little doubt that time and science will show to be the true organization, the osseous structure of Language; instead of being, as hitherto regarded, an incidental and heterogeneous system.

Meanwhile, there is an oversight, scarce less grave, to be charged to this great psychological division itself. Since the version of it by Kant, it has been repeated under several varieties of formula: that all phenomena may be considered in time or in space—may be viewed as at rest or in motion—as existing simultaneously or successively—as offering uniformities of resemblance or contiguities of sequence. But it is not adverted to that these divisions are all variable according to times and subjects; that the demarcation fluctuates with the progress of science;—to the degree, indeed, of entirely disappearing with the complete co-ordination of the encyclopædic scale. We have an example of the transition already, in the ruder and merely material form of the division into inorganic and organic objects. To characterize, therefore, the proper place of language, some previous explication seems necessary of the general conditions of this variation over the entire scale. This survey will, moreover, introduce us to the fundamental theory of Logic. But especially will it serve to place (for the first time, we dare affirm) the phenomena of language in that historically philosophical point of view, whereby alone we may hope to succeed in ever establishing its principles or classifying its varieties.

What is the fundamental distinction of these two celebrated categories? Is it intellectually arbitrary, or merely relative to the special purpose of the inquirer? Something of this sort would seem to be the notion of English philosophers generally, if we may judge from the accounts they give of the dependent topics of analysis and synthesis, syllogism and induction, about which it is well known no two of them agree with each other, and commonly not with themselves. Or is it grounded, according to the highest logical authorities of the day, upon the particular situation of the mind with relation to the constitution of the external world around it? In consequence of this condition, (say they,) certain objects are better known in the whole than in the parts; others, obvious in the parts, while their aggregates are incomprehensible. But by an axiom of Logic all reasoning is from the known to the unknown. Here there are two methods of procedure, inverse and independent of each other—from

generals to particulars, and from particulars to generals. And, it must be admitted, they coincide exactly with the purely physical division of the sciences above alluded to, into organic and inorganic. Also, that we have a more complete conception on the one hand of a whole animal, for instance, than of any particular organ or function of its system; and, on the other, of gravitation as it is experienced in a stone, than as it holds the planetary system, perhaps the universe, together. So far, then, this division has *happened* to be hitherto sufficiently in harmony with the effectual progress of science. But how should it receive the subjects of language, or logic, or jurisprudence; which, though eminently organic as arts, are, to most men, more familiar in the details? Besides that this priority of acquaintance seems a circumstance too vague and casual for a philosophical demarcation, it gives us, as was justly observed by Leibnitz respecting a kindred subject, not the origin of our notions, but the history of our discoveries.* Evidently, therefore, this principle, too, of the division must at least be shifted. Kant, we think, saw more profoundly;—he withdrew both the categories entirely from the external world, making them mere "forms of the understanding." But, not being acquainted with his writings directly, we are willing to forego his now equivocal authority.

It is undoubtedly a great advance, in a scientific view especially, to have rendered the categories themselves subjective. But the ground of the division would seem only to become still more vague; seeing that time may be turned into space by merely throwing over it the conception of extension. This very circumstance, however, suggests a clue, we think, to our inquiry. It refers us to the idea of motion, which is, so to speak, a function, the common denominator of both time and space; and for the reason that it has been primordially the generator not alone of these conceptions themselves, but of every object they contain, individual as organical, moral as well as material. For man—the species in like manner as the individual—begins, of necessity, with perceiving everything in motion. It is only successively the mind can take in, or the sense travel over, the parts of an extended whole; and the action, the motion thus experienced subjectively by the percipient, is illusorily referred to the thing perceived. Hence the vague, unsteady gaze with which infants are observed to regard objects however still; just as adults do objects in rapid motion.

It is also the same illusion of infancy, settled into a *sentiment* in the adolescence of the race, that gives poetic *life* to the material world. Even bodies themselves are to us but a succession of similar

* *Nouveaux Essais sur l'Entendement humain.*

impressions referred to a common source called a substrate. Natural groups are but the same thing, with perceptible intervals between the parts, and one of the objects for centre of reference. The objects termed abstract are likewise results of the same operation; that is to say, of mental action. For what we really behold in action, of whatsoever sort, is merely a succession of effects, or changes of state; even as a succession of impressions constituted our notion of material substances:—the only difference being, that in the latter case the changes take place in the mind; in the former, in external objects.

The series, too, of science, what are they but a creation, entirely similar, of a vast moral organism? So that science is simply a prolongation of the natural procedure of sense. Here, then, we find the co-existences, mental and material, present themselves in the character of results of this conceptual motion of the mind. The degree of its effectual progress, therefore, determines the general principle of the distinction in question, and designates, of a given subject, the place in the scale, or the proportions assignable to each of the categories.

But before applying the criterion thus obtained to the subject of language, with the present purpose of elucidating its appropriate method, it is important to our general theory to note, in advance, a few of the fundamental consequences which the preceding exposition suggests. For instance, it gives us the necessary terms of the entire evolution of the human mind; which, as it began with viewing all things in motion absolutely, so tends unceasingly to conceive them all as relatively at rest. Under the former view, man is necessarily the universal unit of all his perceptions. Every phenomenon is referred to a particular cause or force, such, at first, as he finds, or rather fancies, in himself; and after, those that too decisively transcend his notion of human power, he ascribes, from the same necessity, to certain preternatural agents; which in turn are substituted successively by others, according as their imaginary efficiency is belied by the course of events; their number diminishing while their attributions are extended, in proportion as the subject phenomena fall into classes more and more general, until the procession terminates in a single will—the Destiny of Paganism, for example—supposed to direct and dispose of all things by its sovereign decree.

Here, however, commenced a new order. Around the primordial basis of *inflexibility* arranged themselves those phenomena which were observed to recur with a uniformity that excluded all arbitrary, because it resisted an expected, intervention. Hence the earliest idea of *invariable* laws; which, thus discovering themselves first in the

most obvious, the simplest subjects, (such as astronomy, conversant with but the two notions of position and motion,) have continued gradually to descend upon the more complex and particular, and tend—like the earlier procedure, though by a route we have seen to be directly inverse—to the same principle of Unity, which is the great exigence of the intellect; the difference, however, (an immense one,) being that the one was the unity of a chimerical causation, of mere consistence; the other, the unity of positive co-ordination, of scientific system. This was, too, the dawn of science; which, like the great luminary of the physical world, brings to light, with its rising rays, only the mere summits of the mountains; but, as it culminates to the meridian, diffuses its influence down the declivities, rolling back the delusive and distorting mists of ignorance and error, until it shall finally wrap in a uniform radiance hill and vale alike.

It is remarkable that Bacon, who so forcibly characterizes both these extreme points of view, in the following passage, should at the same time have overlooked the intermediate progression, which he, moreover, in fact contributed so eminently to advance. Omnes perceptiones (he observes) tam sensus quam *mentis, sunt ex analogia hominis, non ex analogia universi;* estque intellectus humanus instar speculi inæqualis ad radios rerum, qui suam naturam naturæ rerum immisset, eamque distorquet et inficit. This is finely descriptive, it will be seen, of our primitive period of the intellect, when all its "perceptions" were subordinated to man. But when the perceptions of the "mind" come, as they daily do with the progress of science, to be submitted to the universal laws of nature,—to be ex analogia mundi,—assuredly the rays of knowledge become so far exempted from future diffraction or discoloration.

Now a mental revolution thus embracing modes of *conception* diametrically opposed, must inevitably have induced a corresponding transition in the form of *expression*. Accordingly it would furnish the rational basis for a classification of languages. It would account not only for the anomalies remaining still refractory, but also for the triple type of the established division, into Monosyllabic, Synthetic, and Analytic. These would be found to correspond with the three stages of this mental cycle characterized by the predominance of Sense, of Imagination, and of Intellect. Whence we might judge—aside from the evidence already so abundantly adduced, both of fact and argument—of the necessary manner and results of those inquiries into the principles and mechanism of Language which have taken absolutely no account of this fundamental transformation. For the rest, we notice the oversight less to censure an omission hitherto indeed universal, than to exhibit a rational ground of more

auspicious expectations for the real science of philology, while warranting, in some degree, provisionally, the scientific pretensions of the present suggestions.

And now for the application of our criterion of subjective motion or perceptional succession, to the special phenomena of language. To this end we may conveniently imagine the mind, individual or general, in the great intellectual evolution just explained, as bisecting the whole sphere of human contemplation, and thus distributing along its transit the several subjects, in whole or part, into either of the divisions or categories, according to the greater or lesser complication of the phenomena. In this way, for example, mathematics entirely, and, in large part, physics, chemistry, &c., would fall at present within the section of (subjective) co-existence, that is to say, science; while the more particular or complex subjects of organic existence remain as yet essentially absolute and afloat in the chaotic region of empiricism. But eminently so, of course, is that class of these systems termed moral or abstract; of which language is evidently one of the most complicated, and, for this reason, the most destitute of scientific cohesion. Nor is it entitled (as we have already explained) to a place in the category of co-existence even to the extent of its grammatical organization. Politics would have an equal claim, in virtue of their constitutional organism called the State; which likewise consists of parts, both co-existent and correlative. Now, the objects of the material world co-exist; but the perception of them, thus simply, is not therefore science. To object that Syntax is, on this ground, to be classed among the sciences, were to overlook the distinction we have been labouring to recommend—between things as they co-exist or succeed each other *objectively*, externally; and as they co-exist or cohere *subjectively*, scientifically. But worse than this; it would be to mistake the character (merely instrumental) of the principles of organization, for the essential laws of the phenomena. The former, we repeat, is, for practical ends, but the vessel that holds the spirit, the vase wherein the flower or fruit-tree is inserted; to the philosopher, but the scaffolding whereby to build his structure. This, however, is strictly applicable to the human species alone; of which it is perhaps the noblest distinction from the other animals, that the vegetative system is made subservient to the development of the moral and intellectual; whereas it retains, throughout the rest of organic creation, its primitive and natural predominance. This preliminary necessity of attaching *effects* (which are the sole concern of human inquiries) to substances—at first material objects, and subsequently moral organisms—together with the greater natural obviousness of the phenomena of this kind, gave them spontaneously an ear-

lier development in all the departments of knowledge successively, which has mischievously passed them, often for ages, as the real and whole science of the subject. Even Anatomy did not escape this preposterous abuse; as was well remarked by Fontanelle, who used to say of the anatomists of his day, "That they resembled the porters of Paris, who were familiar with all the streets of the city, down to the most obscure and suburban purlieu, but knew nothing of *what passed in the houses.*" But our grammarians are constantly losing their way even in the open streets, each having an essentially different chart. The fundamental rectification of a point of view productive of such confusion and error would seem, of itself, a sufficient proof of the soundness and importance of the modification we have proposed; and which, as a final result of the discussion, places philology as yet entirely in the second and unscientified section, which might now be termed the category of Empiricism.

There are two terms sometimes applied to the categories of space and time, or organization and function, in the current and objective sense, which might be conveniently applied to them in our subjective acceptation. We have ourselves employed the word *statical* to designate the organic aspect of language. The correlative term *dynamical* is likewise borrowed from mechanics, where, for reasons abundantly explained, the logical importance of the distinction was earliest evolved. To "staticize" a phenomenon would import, then, to reduce it under scientific laws—to *integrate* it, if we may use the expression designative of the same procedure, in its application to transcendental Algebra, and the invention of which application was deemed, not over a century ago, of importance enough to illustrate the rival geniuses of even a Leibnitz and a Newton. The term "dynamical," which needs no verbal reform, will denote the region of knowledge, which, being in a condition of absolute particularity, or of uniformities merely empirical and sporadic, must be regarded, scientifically, as in a state of fluxion. Thus would be precisely characterized, we think, the operation of science, as turning the dynamical into the statical, the concrete into the abstract, quality into quantity; and science itself be placed in the imposing attitude of the divine spirit of Milton, reducing to order the rude materials abstracted from chaos, or (in the sublime language of the philosophic poet)

"Won from the void and formless infinite."

The inquiry is then reduced to a single point, to wit: By what *method*, by what mode of comparison, is this process to be performed upon language, destitute, as we have shown it to be, of the collateral media of philosophical investigation? The answer has been already

suggested: by a comparison of its successive states, which, by an admirable logical compensation, come in to supply the absence of an organical series. Of course, these states cannot now be all traced in the vicissitudes of a particular language; but they may be sufficiently represented, by the infinite variety of dialects to be found in almost all the grades of development. The problem then turns upon determining the *order* of the *succession*. But this cannot, of course, be even attempted rationally without a type, a theory; to which, by the way, we are thus again brought around by a new route, as the fundamental postulate. This once furnished, the investigation would proceed by a mutuality of impulsion; the laws of progression analyzing the organization indirectly, in explaining the corresponding functions or connotations; while the grammatical organization in turn serves to sustain and illustrate successively the logical march of the development. This is, then, the new modification of comparison sought, and which we expected to result naturally from an adequate explication of the special nature of the subject. It might be termed the *Historical*, or the Dynamical Method.

There now remains but to propose some principle for the preparatory arrangement of the subject, and to characterize the special extent to which it is to be considered.

Such an arrangement, we have seen, would present itself spontaneously, could any one of the forms of language be now traced consecutively from the primordial state to that of any of our modern dialects. How, then, may we best approximate this unattainable model? Obviously by selecting the language, or family of dialects, which may be similarly followed, with most sequence and certainty, through the largest section of the accomplished evolution. In this way, (instead of drifting chartless on the chaos of vocabularies and grammars,) having first prepared a sketch of the most general laws of the subject from the broadest historical basis, we shall have a nucleus and a criterion for the classification of the subordinate varieties, which in turn will react upon the main series, in rectifying or elucidating the corresponding subdivisions. The anomalies which might still resist this accessary co-ordination, would necessarily find their place at the primitive extremity of the line; thus happily bridging over the vacuum, otherwise impassable, in the infancy of speech, or at least planting it with stakes, over which philosophy may draw the chain of theory in attaching it to the primordial elements.

There exists an admirable resource of this description in the great family of languages known as the Indo-European, coeval with the whole historical existence of our race, and diffused beneath almost

every diversity of climate. This grand natural series is unbroken from the Sanscrit to the French. Beyond the Sanscrit, however, which some would still be found to consider the more perfect of the two languages—such is the utter absence of all philosophy upon this subject; beyond this, we say, there is certainly left at present a vast *terra incognita*. But we have to fill it up both the monosyllabic and the polysynthetic families; of which the Chinese and the American Indian idioms may be taken respectively as the extreme types. The co-ordination might then be made somewhat after the following manner: The Indo-European family would exhibit two of the three typical forms; its modern dialects presenting the sole specimens of the analytic structure, while the fountain idiom of Sanscrit offered, at the other extremity, the synthetic form in its utmost maturity of inflection. Accordingly this would be the proper place of the American group, which presents us the same synthetic system, but in that less freely inflected stage which led William Von Humboldt to designate them by the happy term "agglutinated." Still a ruder form of this agglutination, a more imperfect condition of verbal composition and syntactic connexion, is known to characterize the Shemitic branch; and it should therefore be assigned a lower and more primitive place on the scale. After this, and last in order, should rank the Chinese, &c.; wherein all grammatical combination entirely disappears into the primordial elements of significant syllables.

Slight as is this sketch of a natural classification of languages, and insufficiently as it could be introduced and developed within the compass of two or three articles, yet the reader, we trust, will find no difficulty in deciding upon its merits, in comparison at least with the only accredited attempt of the German philologists; a scheme which is chargeable with the double absurdity of taking what are only the extreme divergencies of form, for so many *kinds* of language, independent in origin and co-ordinate in constitution: whereas they are, we see, in reality, the complementary sections of one and the same progressive series.

But to the latter part of our arrangement there is a much more plausible objection. How, it may be asked, can the Chinese and Hebrew be assigned a lower position on the scale of language than the American-Indian idioms, seeing that the latter are the invention of segregate and savage tribes, while the others have been and are the tongues of semi-civilized nations? The explanation has been often broached in reference to the Chinese idiom; though never, we believe, firmly insisted upon, probably because not fully understood. It is, that the Chinese and the Shemitic groups had been arrested in their syntactic development, both prematurely, though at widely dif-

ferent stages, by the supervention of the art of writing; whereas the Americans, dissevered from all the rest of the world, were left to draw out and elaborate their verbal tissue unimpeded or unrelieved by the anticipated expedients of civilization; even as the Hindoos had been, we doubt not, amid the primeval solitude or savagedom of the old continents. It is curiously confirmatory to remark in the disparity of development between the Chinese and the Hebrew, for instance, an exact correspondence to the two successive stages of the alleged obstacle also, at the periods of its introduction to either people; these stages of the art of writing being well known to be, in the case of the Chinese, the symbolical: in that of the Hebrews, the much later one denominated the alphatic. In short, the manifest effect of such an importation upon an infant community must have been, by furnishing it an *objective* and *material* medium of combining its vocal signs, to dispense the feeble intellect from the painful effort to combine them orally by the abstract ties of syntax. And an effect again of this artificial medium would be to divert the oral development into a different channel—for to suppress it would be impossible, save in so far as its place might be supplied. Accordingly, we find it pullulate in the vowel-points of Hebrew; which this observation would of itself prove to be a modern invention, and necessitated by the grammatical rudeness of this idiom. It has branched forth in the Chinese into a system of accentuation, which makes that anomalous tongue, to the eye at least, one of the most copious of languages. In fine, we have no doubt that this solution of the anomaly is quite susceptible of demonstration, and will one day be attested by history. But this is not the place or time to enter upon either line of evidence. And moreover, the facts themselves, which cannot be denied, are all we were concerned with for the purpose of classification.

Art. VII.—THE JORDAN AND THE DEAD SEA.

Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea. By W. F. Lynch, U. S. N., Commander of the Expedition. With Maps and numerous Illustrations. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1849.

The most sacred and revered portions of the earth are mountains and rivers. The first awaken the religious sensibilities of man by their sublimity, and the last by their beauty and beneficence. In remote and superstitious ages the emotions they inspired assumed the form of religious adoration, which, by a very easy transition, invested the objects of worship with divine virtues. Hence religious

houses have clustered upon the sides, and crowned the summits of sacred mountains; and the most precious possessions, even children, have been cast into the waters of holy rivers. While the Nile is revered by the Mohammedans, the Ganges worshipped by the Pagans, the Christian's respect and worship are attracted by the Jordan. With the exception of the environs of Jerusalem, there is not on earth any scenery that awakens such deep and varied emotions in the Christian's heart as the scenery of the Jordan. Its relation to the most sacred mountain in the world; the grandeur, beauty, and gloom of its banks; the recollection of divine events it has witnessed, and of heroic deeds which have been done upon its borders, and its connexion with the life of the Saviour, may well invest it with wondrous interest to the intelligent Christian, and inspire with over-mastering superstition the heart of the man of ignorant and implicit faith. From its source to its termination, it is written all over with deeds which lie at the foundation of society, and illustrate the wonderful providence of God towards man.

A glance at the map will show, that in the original formation of the earth a vast mountain-range stretched from the Lebanons, on the north, to the Indian Ocean, on the south. The subterranean fires which upheaved it subsequently cleft it lengthwise, beginning at the foot of Mount Hermon, on the north, and extending southward to the Straits of Babelmandel. In this deep cleft, which the Arabs of the country still call the Ghor, or chasm, now lie the Jordan, the Dead Sea, the Wady Arabah, and the eastern arm of the Red Sea; and each side, throughout its whole length, is bordered by precipitous mountains. It will be subsequently seen, that the researches of Capt. Lynch strongly support the suggestion of Laborde, that before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, as recorded in the Bible, the sweet and fertilizing waters of the Jordan ran through this whole valley, and found an outlet into the Red Sea. Upon its borders to the southward probably lay the land of Uz, the country of Job; while we know that "all the plain of the Jordan was well watered everywhere before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt." Gen. xiii, 10.

It is the upper regions of the Jordan, above and around the Lake Gennesareth, and the lower portion of it, near the Dead Sea, that have such intense interest for the Christian. The snow-waters of Mount Hermon, percolating through the rock formations on its southern slopes, collect into ponds, from which rivulets flow southward, and concentrate in the little lake Huleh, about seven miles north of Gennesareth. These waters enter the Huleh by two streams run-

ning nearly parallel through a morass. The eastern one gushes from the rocky cavern of Banias, at the base of Mount Hermon. This is the Jordan.* The crystal waters flow from the cave still dignified by the name of a heathen deity, (Pan,) to whom the fountain was consecrated in the time of the Romans, and whose memorials may still be traced on the impending cliffs.

From the Hulch, which is the *Merom* of the Bible, the Jordan runs southward about seven miles, and then expands into the Lake Gennesareth, which is about twelve miles long by six or seven broad. Its clear, sweet waters lie deeply sunken amid the surrounding limestone mountains, every one of which was hallowed by the presence and gaze of our Saviour. Let us sail slowly over this Sea of Galilee, the chief scene of the miracles and ministry of Jesus. Far to the north, we see the summit of the snowy Hermon leaning high up against the azure sky. Close at hand, a little to the west of north, the white and sacred city of Safed impends high over the sea. To it, probably, our Saviour pointed when he said, "Ye are as a city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid." The cone-like summit of Mount Tabor, on which our Lord is supposed to have been transfigured, is seen to the south-west, peering above the subordinate hills, and commanding a view of Gilboa and the fountain of Jezreel; to the west, looking immediately down into the lake, we see the Mount of Beatitudes, where Jesus taught in a sermon the essence of his holy religion. As we sail slowly around the shores, we behold the ruins of Bethsaida, Capernaum, and Chorazin crumbling in the deep shadows of the overhanging mountains, amid whose desolate gorges and cliffs we seem still to hear the terrible words of Jesus: "Wo unto thee, Chorazin! wo unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works which have been done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have remained unto this day. Verily I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for you."

But we must not linger upon this beautiful sheet of water, amid these absorbing associations. We must drift southward to the outlet of the Jordan, and follow its course, led, we believe, by the only sure guide known to Christendom; we mean the narrative of Capt. Lynch, of the United States Navy, who commanded the expedition to explore the Jordan and the Dead Sea, under the authority of the late national administration. The only official, and therefore only authentic narrative of this very remarkable and important expedi-

* Commander Lynch considers the larger and more copious stream to the west the Jordan. In this respect they are like the Mississippi and Missouri: the shortest bears away the palm.

tion, is that named at the head of this article. It is not only a valuable contribution to Biblical knowledge and the cause of science, but it is also a book of great interest, fraught with thrilling passages of personal dangers, and abounding in picturesque and striking description.

On the 10th of April, Lieut. Lynch and his party, in two boats belonging to the ships which had been left at Acre, and one small frail craft purchased at Tiberias, passed from the Sea of Galilee into the Jordan. At first the river was three-quarters of a mile wide, with a sloping and undulating country on the west, and the eastern bank broken up into gullies and alluvial hills. In an hour it narrowed to seventy-five feet, banks thirty feet high, and rising and retiring away to the mountains which border the valley of the Jordan on either side. On both sides of the river, the banks and hills were covered with grass and a profusion of wild flowers, among which were the lily, anemone, oleander, and marigold. The water was clear, and from eight to ten feet deep. Scarcely were our travellers satisfied in gazing on this sweet scene, when they heard the roar of a cataract; and in a few minutes they saw, with astonishment and dismay, the waters rushing and leaping headlong down the narrow rocky channel. During their seven days' voyage on the Jordan, they encountered more than a score of these dangerous cataracts; and that the reader may have an idea of them, I give the author's description of the descent of one or two:—

"We halted at the ruins of an old bridge, now forming obstructions, over which the foaming river rushed like a mountain torrent. The river was about thirty yards wide. Soon after we halted, the boats hove in sight around a bend of the river. See! the Fanny Mason attempts to shoot between two old piers! she strikes upon a rock! she broaches to! she is in imminent danger! down comes the Uncle Sam upon her! now they are free! the Fanny Skinner follows safely, and all are moored in the cove below!"

Scarcely had they recovered from the excitement and fatigue of this first descent, when, the Lieutenant records,—

"The current at first about two and a half knots, but increasing as we descended, until at 8.20 we came to where the river, for more than three hundred yards, was one foaming rapid; the fishing-weirs and the ruins of another ancient bridge obstructing the passage. There were cultivated fields on both sides. Took everything out of the boats, sent the men overboard to swim alongside and guide them, and shot them successively down the first rapid. The water was fortunately very deep to the first fall, where it precipitated itself over a ledge of rocks. The river becoming more shallow, we opened a channel by removing large stones, and as the current was now excessively rapid, we pulled well out into the stream, bows up, let go a grapnel, and eased each boat down in succession. Below us were yet five successive falls, about eighteen feet in all, with rapids between,—a perfect breakdown in the bed of the river. It was very evident that the boats could not descend them."

By clearing out a side canal, which had been cut to conduct the water to a mill now in ruins, the boats were brought below the worst part of the rapids; and by making a breach in the canal, so as to let the water flow into the river, they were again launched on the current. In this way the party cleared three successive cataracts. Others they descended by fastening ropes to bushes on the banks, and thus easing the boats in their descent.

Capt. Lynch describes the Jordan as a very tortuous river, (as will be seen by the sketch from his chart on the next page,) measuring at least two hundred miles by its channel from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea, while it is only sixty miles in a straight line. It flows in a deep bed, in some places from thirty to forty yards wide, and in some two hundred. When narrow, the depth was from five to eight feet in the middle of April, and the current from four to six miles an hour; when wide, from two to three feet deep, and from two and a half to three and a half miles an hour. In the wide portions of the river there are many little islands, some of them thickly covered with shrubs, reeds, canes, and wild flowers; others only sand-bars. The banks are generally steep, often perpendicular, composed of loam, clay, and limestone, and from twelve to thirty, and even fifty feet in height. The loam, clay, and gravel, in the form of alluvial deposits, increase as the river advances to the Dead Sea, and accordingly the water becomes more and more discoloured. During the first and second day's descent it was clear, then became milky, and finally turbid. From the bluff banks which border the stream, a fertile lower or second bottom, in some portions quite level, in others rolling and filled with low hills and shallow gullies, extends on each side to a second plain, much higher, and which is much wider, more hilly, and less fertile, and extends back to the mountains which enclose the valley of the Jordan. The upper portions of the valley, say for twenty miles from the Lake of Gennesareth, is wider, and the hills and mountains lower and more fertile. Descending southward, the valley narrows, the second bottom or plateau becomes lower and lower, the hills and mountains increase in elevation and are more sterile and forbidding, being composed chiefly of volcanic rocks; the temperature increases, and vegetation becomes more tropical in its character. The valley on the west side is narrower and more sterile and broken, and bounded by higher and gloomier mountains than on the east; and yet the whole plain of the Jordan is naturally fertile, and was populous and powerful not only under the Romans, but also under the Mohammedans, both of whom have left the evidences of their presence and power in the ruined bridges, dilapidated mills, and crumbling khans which are everywhere found in the valley, espe-

SEA OF GALILEE
Semakh
Camp Apl 10
Jesir Umel-Kanatir
Ruined Bridge
Mill
Camp Apl 14
Mill
El-Abâdiyeh
W. Hamma
W. el-Malakh
El-Bukah
Apl 11
Camp
Ed Delhimiyeh
Riv. Yarmuk
Jesir Mejâmia
Camp Apl 12
W Ailûn
Supposed Mouth of R Jabok
Camp Apl 15
W Zurka
Arab Tents
Camp Apl 13
W Jalûd
Doir
Camp Apl 11
Pilgrim's Ford
DEAD SEA

cially in the upper portion. Our travellers frequently found the upper plains covered with grass and wild flowers. The narrow lower bottoms, dipping to the water, were covered with thickets, in which the willow, the acacia, and some other trees mingle, rising above the almost impenetrable jungle of undergrowth, composed of grasses, flowers, vines, and canes. These thickets mingle with the water, and abound with birds of varied and beautiful plumage, and with wild beasts, among which are the tiger and the boar. The lion also, perhaps, yet lies down, as in ancient days, by the margin of the consecrated Jordan.

Commander Lynch does not discuss the "swellings of Jordan," but incidentally mentions that drift-wood was lodged so high up in the trees that border the water, as to leave no doubt but that it overflows the secondary, or lower bottom. Between the 10th and 17th of April, he observed that during one day the river fell two feet, and he found it necessary to hasten his voyage, lest there should not be water enough to float the boats over the cataracts.

The tributaries to the Jordan are inconsiderable. With the exception of the Yarmakh and the Jabok, there were in April only occasional rills reaching the river. The Yarmakh is described as entering the Jordan on the east, about four miles, in a straight line, below Lake Gennesareth. It rises in the Hauran Mountains, (the Bashan of Scripture,) and at its mouth is as wide and as deep as the Jordan. ("Forty yards wide, with moderate current."—P. 191.) The author says the mouth of the Jabok is not correctly laid down in the maps. He places it only twelve miles north of the Dead Sea, while the maps place it thirty-five. He says it is "a small stream trickling down a deep and wide torrent bed; water sweet; is incorrectly placed upon the maps."—P. 253. As the eastern portion of the valley is wider, and the mountains farther removed and more broken and fertile, the principal tributaries to the river flow from the east, as the Yarmakh and the Jabok; while on the west only little rills or rattling rivulets descend from the nearer, sterner, and steeper mountains. This is the case also, as we shall see, in respect to the Dead Sea.

The inhabitants on either bank are Bedouin Arabs, who live in black hair or skin tents, and subsist upon the produce of their scanty flocks. They are not numerous, but of the fiercest and most savage character, often plundering each other, and making incursions into the cultivated portions of the Holy Land. They are divided into tribes, each having its territory, which sometimes occupies both sides of the river. The tribes are small, the largest mustering not more than five hundred warriors, and others fifty. The men scorn

to cultivate the soil; and when one of the chiefs was asked why he did not, he scornfully replied, "Do you think I am a fellah?" i. e., a husbandman. And when told the most powerful and honourable men of our country tilled the ground, he replied by a smile of mingled incredulity and contempt. The women, like the donkeys and camels, are the camp-drudges, and perform their labour the more easily, as they are encumbered by only one scant and thin garment; while the children, "naked as cherubim in a church picture," sport with the young camels and the dogs. Their kitchen and their evening meal are thus described:—

"We were amused this evening at witnessing an Arab kitchen in full operation. The burning embers of a watch-fire were scraped aside, and the heated ground scooped in a hollow to the depth of six or eight inches, and about two feet in diameter. Within this hole was laid, with scrupulous exactness of fit and accommodation to its concave surface, a mass of half-kneaded dough, made of flour and water. The coals were again raked over it, and the fire replenished. A huge pot of rice was then placed upon the fire, into which, from time to time, a quantity of liquid butter was poured, and the compound stirred with a stout branch of a tree, not entirely denuded of its leaves. When the mess was sufficiently cooked, the pot was removed from the fire, the coals again withdrawn, and the bread taken from its primitive oven. Besmeared with dirt and ashes, and dotted with cinders, it bore few evidences of being an article of food. In consistency, as well as in outward appearance, it resembled a long-used blacksmith's apron, rounded off at the corners. The dirtiest ash-pone of the southern negro would have been a delicacy compared to it.

"The whole party gathered round the pot in the open air, and each one, tearing off a portion of the leather-bread, worked it into a scoop or spoon, and, dipping pell-mell into the pilau, made a voracious meal, treating the spoons as the Argonauts served their tables, eating them for dessert. With a wash in the Jordan, they were immediately after ready for sleep, and in half an hour were as motionless as the heaps of baggage around them."—Pp. 250, 251.

And yet these savages have some sacred points of honour, and are susceptible of the tender sentiments of love. On several occasions, when the evening meal was finished, the camp-fires lighted, and the watch set, some one of the party would make rude music on the rudest of stringed instruments, (one string,) accompanied with sentimental poetry, of which here is a specimen, translated and versified:—

"At her window, from afar,
I saw my love, my Bedawiyeh,
Her eyes shone through her white kināa,
It made me feel quite faint to see her."

As a specimen of the point of honour, take the following incident between 'Akīl, the powerful sheikh who had command of the caravan, and the Nassir, or chief of one of the powerful tribes in the valley of the Jordan:—

"Last year, while in rebellion against the government, 'Akīl, at the head

of his Bedawin followers, had swept these plains, and carried off a great many horses, cattle, and sheep; among them the droves and herds of the Nassir. There had, in consequence, been little cordiality between them since they met at Tiberias; but, to-night, Nassir asked 'Akîl if he did not think that he had acted very badly in carrying off his property. The latter answered no; that Nassir was then his enemy, and that he, 'Akîl, had acted according to the usages of war among the tribes. The Nassir then asked about the disposition made of various animals, and especially of a favourite mare. 'Akîl said that he had killed so many of the sheep, given so many away, and sold the rest; the same with the cattle and horses. As to the mare, he said he had taken a fancy to her, and that it was the one he now rode. This the Emir knew full well.

"After some further conversation, Nassir proposed that they should bury all wrongs and become brothers. To this 'Akîl assented. The former, thereupon, plucked some grass and earth, and lifting up the corner of 'Akîl's âba, placed them beneath it; and then the two Arabs, embracing, with clasped hands swore eternal brotherhood.

"When questioned, immediately after, upon the subject, 'Akîl stated that so obligatory was the oath of fraternity, that should he hereafter carry off anything from a hostile tribe, which had once, no matter how far back, been taken from the Emir, he would be bound to restore it."—P. 237.

On the 18th of April, the eighth day of their voyage on the Jordan, the Expedition emerged into the plain of Jericho, with the Mountains of Moab on their left, the terrible wilderness of Judea on their right, and the Dead Sea before them. They encamped at the Pilgrims' Ford, where the Christian crowds were to bathe on the following morning. A beautiful engraving illustrates this interesting scene. Let us take our stand on the bank, where the pilgrim host is seen descending to the water, while the American boats, with their crews, are anchored in the stream. All are evidently filled with wonder and reverence. And well they may be; for on the distant range of the Mountains of Moab, seen beyond the river, the hosts of Israel appeared more than three thousand years ago, under the conduct of Moses and Joshua. Upon one of those perceptible summits stood Moses and gazed upon the Promised Land, while the Lord said unto him, "This is the land which I sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither." Moses cast his eyes down the western declivity of the mountain, and saw his people encamped "in the plains of Moab," by the side of the river. He gazed for a moment, sad, yet full of hope and resignation, and then died in peace over against the Promised Land. For him, during thirty days, the sighing of the old at evening, and the wail of the young in the morning, were heard along the banks of the river.

The time of possession had come: God had conducted the people to the gate of their future home. But it was harvest-time, and the

swellings of the Jordan were at their height. (Joshua iii, 15.) As the day dawned the whole camp was in motion; the tents were struck; each tribe marshalled under its own banner; while at the edge of the rushing flood stood Joshua, pointing with the "rod of God" to the spot where the advancing priests, bearing the ark, were to step into the water. With unwavering tread they approached; and as their sacred feet touched the whirling flood, it recoiled backwards, and stood as a high wall above them, while below it rolled away to the Dead Sea, laying bare the deep bed of the river. Here the ark of God rested on the bottom until the whole host had "passed over on dry ground," and stood in silent wonder on the very spot where the pilgrims are seen in the foreground of the picture. As the ark came up from beneath the wall of water, the floods returned. Then the air was rent with a shout of triumph which startled the city of Jericho at hand, and died away amid the hills of Palestine.

More than a thousand years passed away, when on this same spot appeared an austere man, of commanding form and powerful voice, whose life had been spent in the terrible wilderness which borders the plain of Jericho to the west, and, lifting his hand on high, he cried to his guilty countrymen, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." He required them to be baptized in the Jordan, as a symbol of the cleansing power of this kingdom. The pungent reproofs, and the earnest faith of the Baptist, drew the whole country to the river; and the streets of Jerusalem became silent, because in penitence and hope the inhabitants had gone down to be baptized. Suddenly the Baptist paused in his holy work; and, agitated and silent, he stood looking intently on a meek but heavenly form that was approaching for baptism. John recoiled from the holy and mysterious person, and "forbade him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me? And Jesus said, Suffer it to be so now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." The vast multitude breathed not, as these two mysterious beings descended into the water. As the sacred person of Jesus ascended from the river, a mild illumination, in the form of a "dove," crowned his blessed head; and the multitude was suddenly awakened to a comprehension of the great event, by "a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear ye him."

Nearly two thousand years have rolled away since this great event, and yet its powerful associations are felt throughout the Christian world. By the 15th of April of each year, a vast crowd of men, women, and children, from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America,

are assembled in Jerusalem. As the morning dawns on Mount Olivet, the Mohammedan governor of the city, with an imposing military brigade, is seen deploying through the Damascus gate, while the pilgrims, some on foot, some on horseback, some on camels, some on donkeys, are assembled outside of St. Stephen's gate: the aged and sick, the women and children, are in baskets or large panniers slung over the backs of camels. As the gay cortége of the Turk winds round the western and southern slope of Olivet, the Christian host, in the most picturesque confusion, follows in his train for protection. At eventide they are on the plains of Jericho, about a mile from the Jordan. The gay tent of the governor is the centre of the thousand groups which, under the open heavens, are assembled around their little fires. These die out as the night advances, but sleep comes not to the weary and excited multitudes; for they are to bathe tomorrow morning in the Jordan, where the Lord of life and glory was baptized. At three o'clock, A. M., the camp is in motion, and the columns advance, in eager disorder, to the margin of the river. The lusty swimmer leaps into the sacred flood—the timid female seizes the branch of a willow-tree, and lets herself down three times beneath the water—the feeble old man's step is steadied by his brawny son, and as he comes up from the stream he feels that he is content, for the purposes of his life are accomplished. Suddenly a faint shriek is heard, and a shiver, first of horror, and then of joy, runs through the multitude. The rapid current has carried away a pilgrim; and she finds an enviable burial in the holy river.

Scarcely two hours have elapsed, and the vast multitude is retracing its steps across the sandy plain, bearing on high branches of willow, acacia, or cane, which they have plucked from the banks and dipped into the sacred waters. An hour more, and the rear portions of that wonderful throng have disappeared high up in the dark craggy mountains of the wilderness of Judea, and at night will sleep under the walls of Jerusalem, around the garden of Gethsemane and the tomb of the blessed Virgin—in the valley of the Kidron.

Let us now return to the Expedition on the banks of the Jordan, and accompany it while it explores the mysterious and fearful Dead Sea, whose waves cover Sodom and Gomorrah, the accursed of the Lord.

The caravan moved away to the south-west, with instructions to encamp at Ain Feshkhah, or the Fountain of Feshkhah, situated on the margin of the Dead Sea, about five miles south of the north-west corner. The boats descended the Jordan from the Pilgrims'

Ford, which is about four or five miles from the mouth of the river. At first the width was about thirty to thirty-five yards, and from ten to twelve feet deep; the shore was bluff on the right, and composed of red clay; the bottom was of blue mud; while the left bank was low and marshy, and covered with cane. As they advanced the river widened, depth lessened, bottom soft mud, banks lower, until at the mouth it was one hundred and eighty yards wide, three feet deep, banks low and marshy, recently overflowed; mud islands in the mouth of the river, which projects some distance into the sea, with low banks of mud on either side. Behind the left or eastern bank quite a bay makes up, while the western bank falls away westward a little north, and then sweeps round to the south, forming the northwest corner of the Dead Sea.

The Expedition was eight days on the Jordan, and had sailed two hundred miles, and yet were but sixty miles from the lake of Gennesareth, at the south end of which they entered the river. In their descent they had "plunged down twenty-seven threatening rapids, besides a great many of lesser magnitude." P. 265. The difference between the level of the river at its outlet from Gennesareth and its entrance into the Dead Sea, is not given in the Narrative; but other authorities make it 984 feet, the lake being 328 feet below the Mediterranean, and the Dead Sea 1312. (*Royal Geog. Soc.*, London, 1843.) And yet the reader is requested to bear in mind that the mountains, and indeed the general level of the country, on either side of the river, rise, rather than decline, from the Lake to the Sea. It is this increasing elevation of the mountains, and rapid sinking down of the river, that produces the tropical, indeed almost equatorial climate of the Ghor, and the caldron-like appearance of the Dead Sea. A single glance at the region will convince any intelligent man that it is volcanic.

Fairly launched on this deep and fearful gulf, they steered to the south-west, intending to make the encampment at Ain Feshkhah, about six miles distant, in a straight line; but they were suddenly greeted by that mysterious discouragement, which has passed into a saying among the Arabs, that "no man can sail on that sea, and live." The commander confesses that he thought of the fates of poor Molyneaux and Costigan, both of whom had lately perished by their expeditions. The Narrative says:—

"The sea continued to rise with the increasing wind, which gradually freshened to a gale, and presented an agitated surface of foaming brine; the spray, evaporating as it fell, left incrustations of salt upon our clothes, our hands, and faces; and while it conveyed a prickly sensation wherever it touched the skin, was, above all, exceedingly painful to the eyes. The boats, heavily laden, struggled sluggishly at first; but when the wind freshened in its fierceness,

from the density of the water, it seemed as if their bows were encountering the sledge-hammers of the Titans, instead of the opposing waves of an angry sea.

"At 3.50, passed a piece of drift-wood, and soon after saw three swallows and a gull. At 4.55, the wind blew so fiercely that the boats could make no headway; not even the Fanny Skinner, which was nearer to the weather shore, and we drifted rapidly to leeward: threw over some of the fresh water, to lighten the Fanny Mason, which laboured very much, and I began to fear that both boats would founder.

"At 5.40, finding that we were losing every moment, and that, with the lapse of each succeeding one, the danger increased, kept away for the northern shore, in the hope of being yet able to reach it; our arms, our clothes, and skins coated with a greasy salt; and our eyes, lips, and nostrils, smarting excessively.

"At times it seemed as if the dread Almighty frowned upon our efforts to navigate a sea, the creation of his wrath. There is a tradition among the Arabs that no one can venture upon this sea and live. Repeatedly the fates of Costigan and Molyneaux had been cited to deter us.

"But, although the sea had assumed a threatening aspect, and the fretted mountains, sharp and incinerated, loomed terrific on either side, and salt and ashes mingled with its sands, and fetid sulphurous springs trickled down its ravines, we did not despair: awe-struck, but not terrified; fearing the worst, yet hoping for the best, we prepared to spend a dreary night upon the dreariest waste we had ever seen.

"At 5.58, the wind instantaneously abated, and with it the sea as rapidly fell; the water, from its ponderous quality, settling as soon as the agitating cause had ceased to act. Within twenty minutes from the time we bore away from a sea which threatened to engulf us, we were pulling away, at a rapid rate, over a placid sheet of water, that scarcely rippled beneath us."—Pp. 268, 269.

Shallow water and a fetid marsh prevented a landing at the camp; they therefore debarked at some distance south of it, at eight in the evening. As the water was neither good nor plentiful at Feshkhah, the commander determined to go down the coast southward some fifteen miles to Ain Gidy, (the Fountain of Engedi of the Bible,) where they found abundance of sweet water for cooking and bathing. Here they established their depot: and set up their tents; and from this place they made their explorations. This was their home, and they dignified it with the name of *Camp Washington*. It was placed under the protection of Sherif, the sacred Arab who had continually accompanied the Expedition, assisted by a detachment of four soldiers sent for the purpose by the governor of Jerusalem. Some half a hundred of lean, feeble, ragged Bedouins of the neighbourhood hung around the camp to bring water, gather wood, and do any drudgery required.

We shall not follow the Narrative in our subsequent pages, but rather group the results of the observations on this hitherto unexplored Sea. It stretches from the mouth of the Jordan, nearly due south, a distance of forty miles, and is of a nearly uniform breadth of between eight and nine miles, being quite nine in the middle parts,

and a little less than eight at the north and south ends. The line of coast on the east and west is somewhat serpentine, but there are no bold or far-projecting promontories, except the peninsula at the south end. At each point where the several principal gorges reach the sea, the torrent, during the rainy season, has brought down much débris, and spread it along the beach in a low projecting bar, sufficient to alter the line of the coast, and form what the Arabs call a *ras* or promontory. This is particularly the case at the entrance of the Kidron on the west, and the Wady Zerka Main, the Callirhoe or Warm Springs of Josephus, and the Wady Mojeb, or Arnon of Scripture, on the east. At the mouths of these ravines, and wherever sweet water moistens the cliffs or shore, there is vegetation luxuriant in proportion to the abundance of the water. At Ain Gidy, about midway of the western coast, there is an abundance of sweet water, and a luxuriant vegetation, consisting of various kinds of trees, shrubs, canes, and wild flowers. They adorn the path of the water as it comes down the cliff from the copious limestone fountain, four hundred feet above the sea. (*Robinson.*) On the south-east coast, at the entrance of Wadys Safich and Kerak, there is a still more abundant vegetation, and some tillage; and also on the eastern coast, at the entrance of Wadys Mojeb (Arnon) and Zerka Main, (Warm Springs,) there are canes, flowers, and shrubs. And in various spots along the shore, where sweet water moistens the beach, there are patches of canes and wild flowers.

The eastern and western shores are bordered with lofty, gloomy, sterile, incinerated mountains, chiefly of limestone, which impend over this Bahr Lût, (or Sea of Lot, as the Arabs call it to this day,) leaving only here and there a little space between their bases and the water. They are more precipitous and lofty on the eastern than on the western shore, and have less beach at their base. To look upon at a little distance, they seem to be a compound of iron slag and ashes. The northern end of the Sea, where the Jordan enters, is bordered chiefly by the Plain of Jericho, and the mountains fall away somewhat to the west and east; while towards the south end the mountains sink down gradually, are more broken, and recede a little to the east and west, thus opening to view the great Wady Arabah, or Sandy Valley, which extends southward to the Red Sea. At the south-west corner of the Sea stands a remarkable subordinate ridge of salt, about one hundred feet high, which the Arabs still call *Hajr Usdum*, or Stone of Sodom. It was on this salt mountain Commander Lynch discovered the remarkable pillar of salt, which, by some means or other, yet without any authority on his

part, he has been supposed to affirm was Lot's wife. His account of it is this:—

"At 9, the water shoaling, hauled more off shore. Soon after, to our astonishment, we saw on the eastern side of Usdum, one-third the distance from its north extreme, a lofty round pillar, standing apparently detached from the general mass, at the head of a deep, narrow, and abrupt chasm. We immediately pulled in for the shore, and Dr. Anderson and I went up and examined it. The beach was a soft, slimy mud, incrusted with salt, and, a short distance from the water, covered with saline fragments and flakes of bitumen. We found the pillar to be of solid salt, capped with carbonate of lime, cylindrical in front and pyramidal behind. The upper or rounded part is about forty feet high, resting on a kind of oval pedestal, from forty to sixty feet above the level of the sea. It slightly decreases in size upwards, crumbles at the top, and is one entire mass of crystallization. A prop, or buttress, connects it with the mountain behind, and the whole is covered with débris of a light stone colour. Its peculiar shape is doubtless attributable to the action of the winter rains.

"At 10.10, returned to the boat with large specimens. The shore was soft and very yielding for a great distance; the boats could not get within two hundred yards of the beach, and our foot-prints made on landing, were, when we returned, incrusted with salt."—Pp. 307, 308.

The southern coast is low and marshy, rising very gradually southward into the mouth of Wady Arabah, and terminating against a lofty precipitous chalk bluff, from six to ten miles distant. The consequence is, that the water-line varies here from one to three miles, as the sea is full or low. The marshes are almost inaccessible, being composed of salt, bitumen, marl, and the most intensely bitter salt water, thickened with slime, and every dry thing incrusted with salt; and this horrible compound at a very high temperature. It is bordered to the south, under the chalk bluffs, by a thicket of canes and shrubs. Farther to the east, where Wady Safieh comes down from the mountains of Moab, there is sweet water, and cultivation not far from the sea. About ten miles north of the southern coast, and attached to the eastern shore, is a remarkable peninsula, formed by the upheaving of a desolate precipitous chalk-hill, extending northward some six miles, with a bay lying between its northern portion and the eastern shore. The peninsula extends westward to within two and a half miles of the western coast, and thus cuts off the southern end of the sea in the form of a bay, which is very shallow, being (April 20th) at no place more than two fathoms deep.—(*See Chart on the following page.*)

The depth of the sea, and the conformation and quality of its bottom, are matters of great interest, as they are peculiar, and tend to throw light on the Scripture history. The narrative is illustrated by a fine map on a large scale, having all the soundings marked.

The accompanying map is sketched from the author's, but has not all the soundings and places, nor the mountains. The Expedition spent twenty-two days on this gloomy and pestiferous sea, encountering its deleterious siroccos, inhaling its fetid exhalations, sweltering under its burning sun, and often covered with a greasy, bitter salt, deposited from the mist or the spray in which they were often enveloped; and their conclusion is as follows:—

"The inference from the Bible, that this entire chasm was a plain sunk and '*overwhelmed*' by the wrath of God, seems to be sustained by the extraordinary character of our soundings. The bottom of this sea consists of two submerged plains, an elevated and a depressed one; the first averaging *thirteen*, and the last about *thirteen hundred* feet below the surface. Through the northern, the largest and deepest one, in a line corresponding with the bed of the Jordan, is a ravine, which again seems to correspond with the Wady el Jeib, or ravine within a ravine, at the south end of the sea.

"Between the Jabok and this sea, we unexpectedly found a sudden break-down in the bed of the Jordan. If there be a similar break in the watercourses to the south of the sea, accompanied with like volcanic characters, there can scarce be a doubt that the whole Ghor has sunk from some extraordinary convul-

sion; preceded, most probably, by an eruption of fire, and a general conflagration of the bitumen which abounded in the plain. I shall ever regret that we were not authorized to explore the southern Ghor to the Red Sea.*

"But it is for the learned to comment on the facts we have laboriously collected. Upon ourselves, the result is a decided one. We entered upon this sea with conflicting opinions. One of the party was skeptical, and another, I think, a professed unbeliever of the Mosaic account. After twenty-two days' close investigation, if I am not mistaken, we are unanimous in the conviction of the truth of the Scriptural account of the destruction of the cities of the plain. I record with diffidence the conclusions we have reached, simply as a protest against the shallow deductions of *would-be* unbelievers."—Pp. 379, 380.

The deep ravine lying in the bottom of the northern portion of the sea, seems to be the bed of the Jordan extended southward, and violently depressed some thirteen hundred feet. It has very precipitous banks, as the soundings show. Take the line sounded across the middle, from Ain Gidy to Wady Mojeb. The first line, after leaving the western shore, gave thirty fathoms; the second, seventy-three; the third, one hundred and twenty-seven; the fourth, one hundred and forty-five; and two-thirds across the sea, one hundred and eighty-eight fathoms. The increase of depth on the eastern shore was still more striking. The first sounding off Wady Mojeb was thirty-four fathoms; and, within one or two hundred yards, the second sounding was one hundred and forty-one, and the third one hundred and seventy-one. From this line of soundings the depth increases gradually northward, nearer the eastern than the western shore, until, at the distance of about eight miles, it reaches two hundred and eighteen fathoms. This is the deepest sounding noted on the chart, and is a little to the south of the mouth of the Kidron, and nearer to the eastern than the western shore. Here then, a little less than one-third of the length of the sea, or about ten miles below the mouth of the Jordan, the Expedition found the bottom of that deep caldron in which lies and simmers, over the deeper volcanic fires, the sea of God's indignation against Sodom and Gomorrah. Advancing northward towards the mouth of the Jordan, the depth gradually decreases to within two or three miles of the mouth, where the deepest sounding was one hundred and sixteen fathoms. From this point northward, the depth decreases gradually to one or two fathoms, owing to the mud brought down by the river. Throughout this northern portion, and indeed everywhere except in the southern bay,

* There is a similar break-down in the great valley which lies south of the Dead Sea. About ten miles from its southern shore a high range of perpendicular chalk cliffs extends across the Arabah from west to east, through which Wady el Jeib breaks down, and is the water-drain for the Arabah from far to the south, where it descends through the cliffs. Its sides are nearly perpendicular, and from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet in height.—*Robinson's Res.*, vol. ii., pp. 495, 498.

the plummet occasionally brought up crystals of salt—occasionally blue and yellow mud.

Returning to the line sounded from Ain Gidy to Mojeb, or the Arnon, and advancing southward towards the peninsula, the soundings gave less and less water, so that from one hundred and eighty-eight fathoms, in a distance of five miles, they found one hundred and twenty; and two miles farther, which brought them up with the northern end of the peninsula, they found fifty fathoms. Here, evidently, is the line that divides the two "submerged plains." Here the plummet came up out of the northern and deeper plain, and began to sound the southern or shallower one. From this point the depth decreases rapidly southward. Between the western shore and the peninsula it decreases, in a distance of six miles, from fifty to three fathoms; and from the southern point of the peninsula to the southern extremity of the sea, the depth nowhere (April 25th) exceeded two and a half fathoms; and at the extreme south, the water covering a large space was from one to one and a half feet deep, being nothing more than the seething mixture of slime, bitumen, marl, and bitter water, mentioned above. Beyond the water-line southward, they found the broad level shore to be composed of salt, marl, bitumen, and slime, into which they sank up to their knees, and which scorched them like "hot ashes."

It is generally thought by the learned and scientific that the Cities of the Plain occupied the southern portion of the sea; and we know that they occupied a valley watered and fertilized by the sweet floods of the Jordan. It would seem probable, therefore, that this river then flowed southward, through the valley of the Arabah, to the Red Sea. The catastrophe which overwhelmed these cities was evidently accompanied by violent volcanic action and conflagration, which have left their impress on every part of this gloomy and guilty region, as any geologist will easily see. The probability therefore is, that the whole area now occupied by the sea was sunk down, as we now find it, into a deep and hot chasm, into which the waters of the Jordan flow from the north, and the rain-floods of the Arabah and the adjacent countries flow from the south, through Wady el Jeib. Thus the Arabah has become arid for the want of the fertilizing waters of the Jordan, and the land of Job a desert.*

Having finished the exploration of the Dead Sea, Commander Lynch prepared, on the 30th of April, to visit Kerak, the "Kir Moab" (or capital of Moab) of Scripture. It is situated high up in the mountains, some ten miles distant from the south-east coast

* The waters of the sea pass off by rapid evaporation, caused by the intense heat of its peculiar climate.

of the sea. He had made arrangements for this visit by sending 'Akīl across the Jordan, and down the country on the east side, to inform the Kerak people of his coming. 'Akīl had to fight his way through one of the tribes, the Adwans; yet he with his escort, some twelve of them wounded, made his way to Kerak, and, true to his engagements, sent a messenger to meet the boats at the mouth of the Wady Beni Hamed, which enters the sea at the head of the bay which lies between the peninsula and the eastern mountains. Their voyage from Ain Gidy across to this bay was one of great suffering, from the intense heat of the sun, the sulphurous atmosphere, which cracked and parched their skin, and from the irresistible stupor which forced all to sleep, except the commanders of the boats, who steered them. Although the length of the sail was only eleven miles, yet, the narrative says,—

"The fierce angel of disease seemed hovering over them, (the men,) and I read the forerunner of his presence in their flushed and feverish sleep. Some, with their bodies bent and arms dangling over the abandoned oars, their hands excoriated with the acrid water, slept profoundly;—others, with heads thrown back, and lips cracked and sore, with a scarlet flush on either cheek, seemed overpowered by heat and weariness even in sleep; while some, upon whose faces shone the reflected light from the water, looked ghastly, and dozed with a nervous twitching of the limbs, and now and then starting from their sleep, drank deeply from a beaker and sank back again to lethargy."—P. 388.

It was some distance from their landing-place to the mountains, and the country around, particularly to the south, was pretty well watered, and covered with groves of cane and tamarisks, and along the streams were luxuriant oleanders from fifteen to eighteen feet high, in full bloom. There also was the village of Mezra-ah, whose people cultivated millet, tobacco, and indigo. They were a savage race, more dark, hair more wiry, and their features and complexion more of the African type than the Arabs of the Ghor generally.

At the appointed day, true to his engagement, 'Akīl had sent a trusty messenger to meet the boats. With him came the son of Abd' Allah, the Christian sheikh of Kerak, who, hearing that Christians were on the Dead Sea, and about to visit their town, came to welcome them. Yet it was thought best to send to the Moslem sheikh for horses and protection to go to the town. In due time these arrived under the charge of Mohammed, the young prince; and the party prepared to ascend the mountains to Kerak, some twelve miles distant in a straight line. As they had seen enough already to know that their safety depended upon their strength and arms, they took the precaution to prepare themselves thoroughly. The ascent was toilsome, and sometimes dangerous; and when they reached the town they found it strongly placed, and defended by a

wall, within which was a very strong fortress.* The houses are described as "stone huts, built without mortar, with flat roofs, surrounded by low walls." They are all one story, and about eight feet high; without windows or chimneys, and blackened inside by smoke. The population is thus described:—

"Kerak contains a population of about three hundred families, three-fourths Christian. By paying an annual tribute, and submitting to occasional exactions, the latter live amicably with the powerful tribe of Kerakiyeh, whose encampment is a short distance without the walls. The latter are so averse to houses, that some, then on a visit to the town, had pitched their tents in the yards of vacant dwellings.

"The Muslim inhabitants are wild-looking savages, but the Christians have a milder expression. The males mostly wear sheepskin coats; the women, dark-coloured gowns; the Christian females did not conceal their faces, which were tattooed like the South-Sea islanders. The priest, in his black turban and subdued countenance, acted as our cicerone. He took us to his little church, a low, dark, vaulted room, containing a picture of St. George fighting the Dragon, two half columns of red granite from the ruins of the castle, and a well of cool water in the centre."—P. 357.

"In the course of a long conversation to-night, Abd' Allah gave us a history of the condition and prospects of the Christians of Kerak. He said that there were from nine hundred to a thousand Christians here, comprising three-fourths of the population. They could muster a little over two hundred fighting men; but are kept in subjection by the Muslim Arabs, living mostly in tents without the town. He stated that they are, in every manner, imposed upon. If a Muslim comes to the town, instead of going to the house of another Muslim, he quarters himself upon a Christian, and appropriates the best of everything: that Christian families have been two days without food—all that they had being consumed by their self-invited guests. If a Muslim sheikh buys a horse for so many sheep, he makes the Christians contribute until the number be made up. Their property, he said, is seized at will, without there being any one to whom to appeal; and remonstrance, on their part, only makes it worse.

"Already a great many have been driven away; poverty alone keeping the remainder. They have commenced building a church, in the hope of keeping all together, and as a safe place of refuge for their wives and children, in times of trouble; but the locusts and the sirocco have for the last seven years blasted the fields, and nearly all spared by them has been swept by the Muslims. They gave me the following appeal to the Christians in our more happy land, which I promised to make known. The following is a literal translation:—

"'By God's favour!

"'May it, God willing! reach America, and be presented to our Christian brothers,—whose happiness may the Almighty God preserve! Amen!

"'8642. BEDUAH.

"'We are, in Kerak, a few very poor Christians, and are building a church.

"'We beg your excellency to help us in this undertaking, for we are very weak.

"'The land has been unproductive, and visited by the locusts, for the last seven years.

* These were all the works of the Crusaders.

"'The church is delayed in not being accomplished, for want of funds, for we are a few Christians, surrounded by Muslims.

"'This being all that is necessary to write to you, Christian brothers of America, we need say no more.

"'The trustees in your bounty,

"'ABD' ALLAH EN NAHAS, Sheikh,

"'YAKOB EN NAHAS, Sheikh's brother.—Page 363.

"'*Kerak, Jâmad Awâh*, 1264.'"

Can nothing be done for these Christians? The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions could receive and transmit contributions to assist these poor oppressed disciples of Jesus. Will not the American Board make such a proposition? We are satisfied it would be responded to.

Captain Lynch found Muhamed, the Muslim Sheikh of Kerak, a surly, savage fellow, determined, by force if necessary, to exact from the Americans a large present, which they determined not to give. So they managed to take the sheikh prisoner, and carry him down to the boats; and when they pushed off they left him standing on the shore, very submissive, indeed, amid his astonished people, and willing to receive humbly the smallest bucksheesh.

ART. VIII.—DR. DIXON ON AMERICA.

Personal Narrative of a Tour through a Part of the United States and Canada; with Notices of the History and Institutions of Methodism in America By JAMES DIXON, D. D. 12mo., pp. 431. New-York: Lane & Scott. 1849.

IN our July number we briefly characterized Dr. Dixon's new work on America, founding our remarks on the English copy. The American edition has now appeared from the press of the Conference. It is very neatly printed, and bound in 12mo., and is accompanied by a good mezzotint likeness of the author.

The *first part* of the work, containing the "Personal Narrative," is the only portion of the book in which Dr. Dixon can be compared with other English travellers who have written upon this country, and he shows to eminent advantage in the comparison. No one of them, except Sir Thomas Lyell, approaches him in fairness of mind, in aptness of apprehension, in correctness of observation, or even in ability to see and describe what he sees. Over most of them he has this great advantage—that the very nature of his mission gave him opportunities of seeing American society in many phases which ordinary travellers never get a glimpse of; opportunities to note something more, and more important, than the size of the forks or the colour of the finger-glasses at table, or the like petty minutiæ, which go to fill up the pages of

tourists whose range of observation is confined to the dining-rooms of taverns or the saloons of steamboats. He sees in the American people an earnest, active, religious race, friends of education, of temperance, and of public virtue; enjoying a degree of social prosperity such as the world never saw, and deserving to enjoy it, because they acknowledge God as its great giver. He sees that the occasional irregularities, follies, and even crimes, of which so much is made by the enemies of republican institutions on the other side of the water, are committed, in most cases, by emigrants from that very side of the water, and *not* by genuine, home-born Americans. He does not look for ancient cathedrals in the backwoods, nor even for palaces and smooth-cropped lawns on the Alleghany Mountains. He is content to behold the signs of freedom, growth, and progress everywhere; and does not repine because the American people, in the fresh youth of this growth and progress, are self-relying and independent, even in their individual life. Nay, the outward signs of this "living power" delight him:—

"There is an air of perfect independence and freedom, consciousness of strength and power, repose in the midst of activity, calmness and dignity with profound emotions. An American, more than any character it was ever my happiness to study, looks like a man who is sensible that he carries his own destinies about him; that he is complete in himself; that he is a self-acting, self-moving intelligence; that he has to shape his own course, and become the architect of his own fortune. He does not seem to be looking without to catch the chances of some stray events by which to fashion his life: his thoughts are steadily fixed upon strengthening his own resources, and he is always laying in a stock for the voyage he is upon. The effect of this is to produce (I hardly know what to call it) a rotundity, a fulness, a completeness of manhood, not seen in other societies; and to those who do not comprehend him, or who have only been accustomed to the fawning flatteries—and as false as they are fawning—of other nations, all this is extremely offensive.

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"Instead of moving and acting like the members of the body at the bidding of some other head or will than his own; instead of being dragged along, like the helpless travellers of a railroad train, by forces independent of himself, the American chooses to consult his own counsels, to examine his own course, and to move the machine intrusted to him by his Creator by his own free volitions. All this may either be good or bad. In case the forces which are thus put in motion are fitted to move aright, it is easy to see that the results must be vastly important. Man, free, unfettered, acting on his own convictions, supposing them to be wise and good, must possess a power which men in chains, or working in gangs like slaves in a plantation, cannot enjoy. This individualism is, in point of fact, the leading feature of American character. The true son of the soil never parts with it. The combinations, confederations, unions, and committees into which politics or commercial enterprises drive him, never despoil him of his identity."—Pp. 182–184.

But we must let him tell what he *did* see on the Alleghanies:—

"Our long train of 'stages,' with their brilliant lamps, reflected by the foliage, presented a singular appearance, and not devoid of interest and beauty. It became very cold as we ascended the mountain, and we were glad to halt for supper. This was served, considering the character of the place, in very good style; and, no doubt, we did it justice. After a good warming, we again renewed our journey. The road is designated 'national,' being prepared at the public expense; but unpleasantly rough. The shaking and jolting, the up-and-down kind of exercise we had to endure, made sleep in my case quite out of the question. Hearing a remarkable noise as we proceeded, I inquired of my companions what it meant; and was informed that it arose from the merry-making of frogs. The sound was not a *croak*, but a *chirp*, very much like that of crickets by our fire-sides, only much louder. For many miles the mountain was perfectly vocal with the music of these happy creatures.

How good is God! All things serve him in their season. This concert of frogs broke the tedium of the journey and the gloom of night; and it became my business to listen to this singular melody for several hours.

"All my companions, being accustomed to this kind of travelling, slept soundly; but I 'watched for the morning' with great desire. At length it came. We had reached the summit of the mountain, and were now beginning to descend. The sun rose; and it was never my fortune to behold such a sunrise. As he ascended the skies, they appeared tinged by the most beautiful and variegated colours imaginable. They were clothed in the most gorgeous dress; the deep blue being relieved and diversified by banks of clouds, their edges being tinged with all the colours of the rainbow. But on looking out on my left hand, I saw something which I took to be a prodigious lake; and, being surprised at so singular a phenomenon appearing on the top of a mountain, roused one of my fellow-travellers, and asked, 'What lake is that on the left?' He rubbed his eyes, and grumbled out, 'I reckon there is no lake here.' He closed them again, and I could obtain no information. I continued to gaze; and felt certain that the object seen was the waters of a lake or sea, stretching to an indefinite extent, and losing itself in the distance. After ruminating in this uncertainty for some considerable time, it occurred to me that possibly it might be the MIRAGE, so often referred to by eastern travellers. So it turned out. We were at a great distance from either lake or sea; but the sun had given the rising mist this peculiar appearance. No wonder that the pilgrims of the desert, in imagination, quenched their burning thirst, and plunged their weary limbs, in one of these illusive seas. Attracted by the promise of water, they rushed towards a blessing which retired as they approached, and left them still a prey to thirst and misery. Had it been my lot to command a steamer, or vessel of any kind, I should not have doubted for a moment that the sea I fancied I saw, would furnish depth and space enough for her navigation.

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"But a more gorgeous deception awaited us. Turning my eyes to the other side of the mountain, I beheld another most magnificent spectacle. This arose from the agency of the same causes; the mist lying on the side of the mountain, and the beams of the rising sun shining upon it. But in this instance his rays were not absorbed, but reflected, and the appearance was not that of water, but of fire. How shall a description of this wonderful scene be attempted? We have no analogies. It was unlike anything ever beheld by me. Nothing either in the heavens or on the earth can furnish any terms of comparison or modes of illustration. The point of observation in surveying the beauties of the heavens is from below. We see all their glories over our heads. But in this case we were elevated above the phenomenon; we did not look up, but down; the magnificent spectacle lay at our feet,—like the *mirage* on the other side the mountain,—stretching to an indefinite distance. Again, this spectacle had not the appearance of mountains of clouds, heaped one upon another, variegated by tints and hues of many colours, their edges dipped in gold, and reflecting every possible form of beauty; it was uniform, presenting the same aspect and colour; the intensity of its brightness seemed not to admit of variation, the one element swallowed up all inferior forms, and absorbed them in its own indivisible purity and lustre. The arch of heaven, the rainbow, the rising and setting sun, the brilliant noonday,—none of these can give a notion of this splendid illusion. Its position was longitudinal; its surface, its bosom, like that of the ocean, seen from a lofty elevation, presented itself to view as at a great distance below;—reflecting the sun's beams back again to their fountain, and giving their dazzling brightness as if in emulation of the parent orb. To what shall we compare it? *It looked like a sea of glory!* I gazed and gazed on this lovely object, till dragged by the rumbling motion of our vehicle beyond the sight of the deceptive vision. We were soon lowered to the common level; and, leaving these regions of splendour and magic grandeur, were called to move along the common road, in the midst of clouds and shadows."
—Pp. 79–82.

Our readers will be glad to see the following in regard to Bishop Soule. It puts him before us in a new light, so far as his anti-slavery feelings and aims are concerned:—

"In a few days after my arrival, Bishop Soule made his appearance, and took up

his abode, at our hotel. This to me was a most pleasant incident. We had much intercourse and conversation. He had not lost his English impressions. His sojourn in our country, his reception and treatment by the conference and people, had left a very grateful recollection on his mind. He entered fully into the subject of his connexion with the South; saying, he supposed we should be surprised at the event. He avowed that he acted from the dictates of his conscience, believing that he should be best enabled, in the section of the Church he had chosen, to advance the interests of his Master's kingdom. Everybody who knows Bishop Soule must receive this testimony. He is incapable of equivocation, or of anything dishonourable. He avowed that his convictions of the evils of slavery had undergone no change; it was as much the object of his abhorrence as ever. His explanations of his conduct amounted to this:—that, in his opinion, the only possible way of ever reaching a measure of emancipation lay in bringing the population of the South, masters and slaves, under the influence of the Gospel; and that the only means of accomplishing this was, not in agitating the question, but in quietly preaching the truth to both, leaving it in the providence of God to work its own results: moreover, that for ministers to agitate the question of emancipation, would infallibly cause the planters of the South to shut the door against all attempts at evangelization, and have the effect of leaving masters and servants in their sins."—Pp. 89, 90.

Dr. Dixon mentions the universal testimony of English travellers to a *difference* felt on crossing the boundary line between the United States and Canada, remarking that this change seemed always to be represented in favour of Canada. It does not seem so to have struck him:—

"Let us look at the case. On the American side, the people are all life, elasticity, buoyancy, activity; on the Canadian side we have a people who appear subdued, tame, spiritless, as if living much more under the influence of fear than hope. Again: on the American territory we behold men moving as if they had the idea that their calling was to act, to choose, to govern—at any rate to govern themselves; on the Canada soil we see a race, perhaps more polite than the other, but who seem to live under the impression that their vocation is to receive orders, and obey. Then, on the American side, you are placed in the midst of incessant bustle, agitation; the hotels are filled, coaches are in constant movement, railroad trains passing and repassing with their passengers, while men of business are seen pushing their concerns with impassioned ardour. On the Canada shore we have comparatively still life; delicate, genteel, formal. Moreover, on the American territory, all along the shores of the lakes, the country is being cleared, houses and villages built, works put up, incipient ports opened, and trade begun. On the Canada shore, unbroken forest appears for miles, while the small openings which have been made present themselves to view in a very infantine and feeble state of progress.

"All this was exhibited at once at our hotel itself. We had been put down in the town of Niagara on the American side, in the midst of an active population, and hastened at once to one of several large hotels. Besides being splendidly fitted up, it was full of people. In my ignorance I had imagined that we were to take up our residence at this place, and hastened to engage a room: in this attempt I found it difficult to obtain accommodation at all, and failed altogether in securing a chamber which commanded a view of the Falls. We crossed over to the Canadian village, and found an equally commodious inn; but the contrast was most striking. The saloon to which we were directed was equal to one of the American dining-rooms, capable of accommodating from one hundred and fifty to two hundred persons. What was the company? When dinner was announced, about ten persons sat at one end of a prodigious table, receiving the good things of Providence in perfect silence, except as broken by some common-place phrases of politeness."—Pp. 122, 123.

Our author seems to be as well convinced that Canada will one day be annexed as any "manifest destiny" American:—

"Canada and the United States are now placed, as nearly as possible, on an equal footing with regard to commercial transactions with this country; the one being a colony of the British empire, and the other the greatest rival this nation has to con-

tend with in the world. How long this state of things can last, is for statesmen to consider. Canada now only belongs to Great Britain by a figment, a tradition, a loyalty, a recollection of heroic deeds; and not by any material interest or benefit. Nay, in the present state of things, cast off by the mother country, and left to their own resources, with the United States just by their side, possessing vast political power and influence; a growing credit, and monetary resources; a prodigious mercantile and commercial navy; an active, industrious, and virtuous people; a government capable, in all respects, and equally disposed, to foster, protect, and strengthen all its possessions;—we say, with all these things staring them in the face, the policy of this country has made it the plain, palpable interest of the Canadians to seek for annexation. This is as clear as any problem in Euclid. How long the tradition and the loyalty will weigh against the interests now put in the balance against them, nobody need be at a loss to determine. Perhaps the non-election of General Cass will settle the question for the next four years; but, had that gentleman obtained the presidency of the States,—why, the world would have presented itself in different phases at the end of the above period."—Pp. 157, 158.

But we are warned by our narrow limits to hasten on. Part II., containing "Historical Notices of Methodism in America," gives a very clear account of the origin and progress of our Church, with many wise and philosophical observations upon the means by which that progress has been secured. Our readers will err greatly if they suppose that this and the remaining sections of the work are made up wholly of extracts and statistics. They abound in lessons of wisdom for the Methodist Church on both sides of the water—lessons which, we trust, will be duly heeded on both sides. His view of the moral and political results of the American Revolution (pp. 238–240) is one of the finest and boldest, as well as wisest, passages in the book. We should gladly quote it did our space allow, as we should also his sketch of the character of Bishop Asbury, which, though brief, is eminently apt, just, and comprehensive.

Part III. treats of the Institutions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, showing, first of all, that it differs from the Wesleyan body in England in having a settled doctrinal basis fixed in the Articles of Religion, and then setting forth its federal character as well as its unity. Its federal character Dr. Dixon finds "developed in the establishment of the Annual Conferences—their rights and immunities—connecting with the General Conference. Its unity is a unity of several parts, possessing almost independent rights." The first element of unity he finds in the doctrinal basis of the Church; the second, in its central power of legislation—the Conference; the third, in its Episcopacy. After a summary view of the subdivisions in the Church organization, he proceeds, in Chapter VIII., to give his impressions of the General Conference, as derived from his attendance on its sessions at Pittsburgh, in May, 1848. The account is certainly, to us, a very gratifying one; the more so, as there is so broad a contrast between the mode of transacting business in our body and that of the British Conference. We cannot help fancying that certain portions of this chapter are intended as lessons to the British Conference; and, in good truth, we must confess that we think them needed, although we would speak with care and caution on points so delicate and so easily misunderstood. The following passages are significant:—

"No man is bound to the opinions or the interests of another; and, right or wrong in his judgment, certainly every one acts for himself, and gives a sincere and consci-

entious vote. There is no embarrassment in consequence of this state of things. No preacher ever thinks of impugning another's character as something analogous to *radical*, because he gives his suffrages in a particular way. He speaks, votes, *stands up*, in perfect fearlessness as to the consequences of the side he takes. There is no low Methodism and high Methodism, no *ins* and *outs*, no *government* and its partisans to keep in office, or to remove. Methodism is one; and every person seems intent on giving it his best support.

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"The rules of debate and good order are admirably preserved. There was not, in my presence, an instance of the least confusion. No man ever interrupted another, except very occasionally, on a point of order, and the interposing party invariably did it in the most courteous manner; the appeal was always to the chair, no third party ever interfering; and, when the chair had decided, no one ever disputing the award. In listening to these ministers of religion for a fortnight, truth obliges me to say, that I never heard an angry tone, an uncourteous word, the employment of a single sarcasm, the use of any kind of personality, any, the least attempt, to throw odium upon an opponent, or refer to the opinions of others otherwise than with the most perfect respect. If good breeding constitutes a Christian gentleman, then most certainly this assembly of ministers may be pronounced most emphatically as Christian gentlemen."—Pp. 297–299.

Dr. Dixon's account of the debate on the boundary question, and of its issue, is quite inaccurate; but it is to be remembered that the subject was almost, if not quite new to him at the time, and his opportunity of gathering information at Pittsburgh was, as we learn from the book itself, very limited. He left the Conference, it will be remembered, on the 17th of May, *before* the principal argument on that question was held, so that he never heard the views of the strong men of the body at all! Since that time his reading on the subject seems to have been confined, strangely enough, to the documents issued by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South—sources not the most likely, certainly, to correct any misapprehensions which he might have imbibed, in conversation or otherwise, at Pittsburgh. But we shall have a word more to say on this matter at the end of our article, and therefore drop it for the present.

In Part IV., Dr. Dixon gives us what, on the whole, we must call an admirable summary of the Territorial Progress of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The investigation, he remarks, has cost him great labour; and we may well believe him, for no attempt of the sort has been made by an American hand, to our knowledge. A geographical division—the best possible for the purpose—is adopted, and the state of Methodism in America is examined under the four heads of the Conferences on the Atlantic sea-board, those on the line of the Hudson and the Lakes, those on the Ohio, and those on the Mississippi. This division of the work, like Part III., abounds in sagacious remark, as well as in statements of fact. The statements, it is true, are sometimes erroneous; but it is only marvellous that they are not more so. It would be invidious, and it is unnecessary, for us to note such occasional mistakes. One passage, however,—an inference, or sort of prediction, rather than a statement,—deserves a moment's remark:—

"Dr. Lee, the nephew of Jesse Lee, is, as we see, Editor of the Richmond Christian Advocate. These Christian Advocates, in these times, are fearful things. One cannot help deploring, that talents competent to the highest studies and investigations of theological and sacred truth, should be devoted to partisan warfare. This is unhappily the case now. This fine young man, Dr. Lee, and another at New-

York, not as young, but of equally excellent spirit, Dr. George Peck, must now be pitted against each other in deadly warfare, on the points at issue between the North and the South. It makes one's heart bleed to think of men like these spending their time and their talents in service so wretched."—P. 333.

If Dr. Dixon had enjoyed the opportunity of reading the Christian Advocate and Journal during the period that intervened between his visit to Pittsburgh and the publication of his book, he would have struck out this passage. The "pitting" of Dr. Lee against Dr. Peck existed only in his own imagination;—indeed, there has been almost *no* "controversy" between the two editors from the date of the Pittsburgh Conference to this present writing; and that because Dr. Peck has sedulously avoided it.

But we must bring our remarks to a close with a word or two in regard to the omission of Part V. of the original work in the American edition. We have been amused by the opposing objurgations that have been heaped upon us for this omission. In some northern quarters it has been insinuated that it was a "base bowing down to the dark spirit of slavery," in the slang which unfortunately passes for strong language with some people. Our southern friends, on the contrary, are sure that Dr. Dixon vindicates their separate organization, and taunt us with cowardice on that head. To gratify both parties, and to show our *courage* in the cheap way so much in vogue among demagogues in Church and State, we put upon record here the strongest passage against slavery, and the strongest in favour of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, or rather, against the action of the General Conference of 1848, which we can find in the omitted chapters:—

"Slavery in itself is one thing, and the relations of men to it another. As to slavery, in its own nature, nothing can be said, but that it is the grossest evil existing under the sun. It is, in truth, every possible personal wrong in one. Rob a man of his watch, his clothes, his purse, his house, his lands,—is not this a moral evil, a sin? If not, what of the laws of civilized communities, jails, and the gallows? But is it not a greater crime to rob man of himself, than to strip him of his coat, to pull down his house, and to drive him from his home? The degrees of evil in each case can bear no comparison. Slavery is robbery in its highest possible enormity. But it is a lingering injury. It is inflicted for life,—a life of conscious wrong; for to imagine that these wretches are not sensible of their condition, is to add calumny to injury. It is robbery, torture, degradation, misery, mental and physical, dealt out by the moment, the live-long day, the whole period of existence. It is as if, by some infernal contrivance, existence were sustained—as with the damned—while the operations of the whip, the iron, the fangs of slavery, were constantly at work upon their tortured and lacerated limbs. This is not all. The wretched slave is obliged to bequeath his inheritance to his offspring. That which was pronounced a blessing, the ties of family, the relations of wedded life, the parental state, is by this system perverted into an unmitigated curse. All the political, all the social, all the municipal laws of civilized society are perverted. That cruel code which makes a man a thing, identifies him with the beast, classes him with farm-stock, places him among lumber, reduces him to the condition of household furniture, treats him as the canes, the tobacco, the cotton, the indigo, which his hands cultivate; then buys and sells him in the market like any other stock, or goods; is—but we are afraid to call it by its true name.

"To say that villany like this can in any way be identical with Christianity, is to degrade our holy religion to a co-partnership, or a connivance, with man's greatest, most concentrated, and unmitigated crimes against his fellow. There is not a truth, a doctrine, a principle, a precept, of the Gospel, which, if fairly carried out, would not annihilate slavery. The very existence of the Church is fundamentally opposed to the spirit and injustice of this evil. How can a slaveholder make his servants his property, and then meet them in the Church, at the Lord's table, as his brethren? It

would be a curious thing to see one of these gentlemen receiving the Lord's supper, the emblem of Christian brotherhood, with one of his slaves on the Sabbath, and then on Monday morning selling him as a log of wood."

A very vigorous and spicy passage. That which follows is not much less so:—

"Up to the session of 1844, the evident predominant doctrine and practice of the Methodist Episcopal Church went to consider the General Conference as possessing two functions only, namely, the legislative and judicial. This is seen in its Discipline, its constitution, its relations to the Annual Conferences, its distribution of administrative power among the bishops, presiding elders, elders, and Quarterly Meeting Conferences; and, in fine, by its entire action. We cannot but look upon this as a very wise and judicious arrangement; as embodying the only true principle of liberty, and as securing the equable administration of discipline and order.

"Did not the proceedings of 1844 trench on these constitutional, these fundamental principles? Doctrines were broached regarding the power of the General Conference which, in effect, and if acted upon, would raise it above law; put it in a position beyond the pale of the constitution; give it the power of parliamentary omnipotence; and place the destinies of all imaginable interests within its grasp. The best analogy which I can think of, is the claim of 'parliamentary privilege' in this country; that monstrous usurpation of power, by which one of the Houses of Parliament claims for itself the right, on the ground of its privileges, of setting aside the other branch of the legislature, the courts of law, the law itself, and, by its own majority, to deal summarily with any of Her Majesty's subjects offending against this power. Something like this was certainly claimed for the Conference at the above period. Such power can neither be possessed nor exercised safely. It must degenerate into a despotism. No human virtue can prevent this. And of all the despotisms in the universe, the undivided, unchecked power of one chamber, one aggregate body, is the most certain, the most fearful, the most crushing. The Annual Conferences, and the other divisions of the Church into separate administrative bodies, held this power in check, in the General Conference, up to the time in question. The sooner the North returns to the old soundings of the Church the better. A unit is a fearful power; bad enough in one tyrant, but when existing in a conclave, a council, a Conference, it is next to infinite; nobody can resist, nobody can escape. The only happiness left in such cases is, that the despotism is certain to break down by its own weight.

"In dealing with the case of Bishop Andrew, these notions and claims were brought into practical operation. The bishop was not put upon his trial according to the law of the case; the matter did not come up for adjudication from a lower court, according to the practice in appeal cases; he was not accused, formally and judicially, of having broken any law,—and it is doubtful whether, in point of fact, he had done so;—in a word, all the usual forms of dealing with analogical cases—for charges against a bishop had never occurred before—were all broken through, and the General Conference is seen in the—in America—novel position of dealing out justice by a vote of its majority, *on motion*, without any of the forms of trial. A dangerous precedent this. It evidently involves the rights of more parties than bishops. Let the General Conference claim to be the one, indivisible, omnipotent administrative body in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and exercise this function, and then that which, next to her religion and devotedness to evangelic work, we have most admired,—namely, her episcopal superintendence, and division of power,—must, as we fear, suffer irretrievable damage."

We allow this passage to go to our readers without comment, except the remark that there is not a position in it, we believe, that has not been fully met by the various publications that have appeared on the side of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this country. Our own reason for not publishing Part V. may be given in few words. It contains one hundred and six pages, of which *eighty-five* consist of extracts from Dr. Bangs' "History of Methodism," from the "Journals of the General Conference," and from the "History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church South." It would have been

simply absurd for us to encumber the American edition of the work with matter already accessible to them at little or no expense,—matter, too, which has become a thrice-told tale in the course of the controversies, newspaper and other, which have arisen out of the division of the Church. We must, however, say a word or two for the special behoof of Dr. Dixon and our friends in England. He has published, almost in extenso, the most important documents issued on the side of the Methodist Episcopal Church South in this controversy, but has not given *one line* from those put forth by the friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Indeed, so far as we can judge from his own statements, he has not even read these documents at all; and of the reply to the Protest, he expressly says that "he has not seen it." Our British brethren will understand us when we say that it is as if an American traveller, in writing a history of the recent expulsions from the Wesleyan Conference, should take his cue and make his quotations *entirely* from the "Fly-sheets" and the "Wesleyan Times." We emphasize "entirely," because it would be perfectly right in such a traveller, nay, we think it would be his bounden duty, to read the "Wesleyan Times" as well as the "Watchman," in order to gather fair and just views of the case in question; and so it would, in our opinion, have been entirely proper for Dr. Dixon to read everything that our southern friends have had to say on their side of the Church controversy. But this is a very different thing from a course of reading, thinking, and quoting, so entirely one-sided as Dr. Dixon's has been in the present instance.

Yet in all this we do not wish to be understood as finding fault with Dr. Dixon. He has given us a noble, large-minded, warm-hearted testimony, and one which will do more to remove false impressions, and to inspire kind and fraternal feelings toward us among our British brethren, than any book that has yet been written. Already its effects are visible in such passages as the following from the *London Watchman*, with which we must close this inadequate notice:—

"In sober historical fact, American Methodism is the foremost ecclesiastical prodigy since the day of miracles closed. Never has such a number of human beings been brought in a like time to attach themselves, by their sole free choice, to a particular form of Christianity, without any one impulsion from State will, or public authority. It stands at this day the largest Church of voluntary members in all the Protestant world. Where national law has given to a particular form of religion all the children of a nation, or the children of all parents who led not their offspring to a special choice, there we find more numerous enrolments than the Methodist Episcopal Church has to exhibit; but, in the entire round of what begin to be called 'Free Churches,'—Churches where free choice alone has led to adherence,—we find no body equalling in numbers that which, less than a century ago, took its rise from the obscure labours of an emigrant female, and an emigrant Local Preacher.

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"The whole effect of that most interesting portion of this noble book, is to leave upon the mind a happy and elevated sense of the power of Christianity, which has in so short a time, and among a people so active, carried vital piety over such a prodigious territory, and fortified it with such a glorious host of disciples, and such an array of subsidiary institutions. On the other hand, it will inevitably lead English Methodists to search why it is that we, acting on a denser population, have not reached to more than one-third the number of our American brethren. Here is ground for speculation to those who love to speculate, and ground of incitement to those who think it better to labour."

Art. IX.—THE NEW HYMN-BOOK.

Hymns for the Use of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Revised Edition. New York: Lane & Scott, 200 Mulberry-street. 1849.

We can now honestly and joyfully congratulate the Methodist Episcopal Church on the possession of the best collection of Hymns, for Public, Social, and Private Worship, in existence. There may be others larger, though of this we doubt; others which are better specimens of *poetry*, (and of this we are by no means certain;) but as a collection of Hymns to be sung in the congregation, in point of spirituality, purity, good taste, Scriptural character, brevity, and earnest devotion, this book is, we sincerely believe, unsurpassed. That it will meet at once with universal welcome, is not to be expected. Many will doubtless be distressed at the loss of favourite hymns, associated in their minds with a thousand blessed recollections; many will be surprised to find hymns sacred to them in one form reproduced in another; many will regret the difference of arrangement, even though the advantage be as great in favour of the book as between a dictionary of words thrown together helter-skelter and one alphabetically arranged. But when these first impressions have subsided, and the unequalled merits of the new book, in point of breadth of scope, skilfulness of arrangement, adaptation to popular use, and thorough Wesleyan as well as Scriptural character, come to be fully known, all objections will be done away, and the originators of the new Hymn-book, with all concerned in its preparation, will be blessed as benefactors to the Church in supplying one of her highest wants, and aiding in one of the highest of her acts of worship.

The deficiencies of our Hymn-book have been felt for many years, and many schemes for its improvement have been set afloat in private circles; but the first *public* proposition, so far as we know, for a complete revision of the book, was put forth in an able article, written by Dr. Floy, on the "*Methodist Hymn-Book*," in the number of this Journal for April, 1844. To that article we refer for an exposition of the necessary elements of a good Hymn, and for the essential requisites of a good Hymn-book. It is a most searching, just, and appreciative article;—such, indeed, as no man could have written who was not possessed at once of a cultivated taste and a thorough knowledge of the subject. It elicited a great deal of discussion, in the Christian Advocate and Journal and in the Zion's Herald, from various writers; in which discussion it was made apparent that many minds in different quarters had been simultaneously at work upon the subject. No one, however, showed a more complete knowledge of Wesleyan Hymns, and indeed of the whole subject, than David Creamer, Esq., of Baltimore, whose valuable volume on Hymnology was the ripe fruit of long years of labour and study. In the mean time, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, prepared and published its new Hymn-Book, in which many of the suggestions made in Dr. Floy's article and in the newspaper criticisms were carried into effect. By the time of the session of the General Conference of 1848, at Pittsburgh, the public mind was ready for action on the subject; and that body, accordingly, at an early period of its session, took it up for consideration. We quote from the Journal:—

"May 2, on motion of J. Floy, it was resolved that a committee of seven be appointed, to take into consideration the revisal of the Hymn-Book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and report whether they deem any improvement necessary."—P. 12.

On the next day the Committee was announced to consist of C. Elliott, M. Simpson, W. Hosmer, J. Floy, David Patten, G. F. Brown, and Nelson Rounds. On the 6th of May this Committee presented a report, which, after considerable debate, was slightly amended, and then adopted by a large majority of votes, as follows:—

"The Committee to whom was referred the subject of revising the Hymn-Book, respectfully report that in their opinion such revision ought to be made; and from the best information before them, they believe it to be the general impression among our people that this General Conference will provide for such revision. The Book Committee at New-York, consisting of representatives from the New-York, the Philadelphia, and the New-Jersey Conferences, associated with our official Editors, unite in requesting such revision; and we have before us a resolution, adopted with great unanimity by the Genesee Conference, requesting this Conference to take immediate measures for this object. At the same time, your committee are deeply impressed with the absolute necessity of intrusting such revision to those who will make it with good taste and sound judgment. We present, therefore, for the consideration of this body, the following resolutions:—

"1. Resolved, That this Conference appoint a committee of seven, to whom shall be intrusted the duty of preparing a revised edition of our standard Hymn-Book.

"2. Resolved, That when said committee shall have finished their labours, the result shall be submitted to the Editors and Book Committee, at New-York, and the Bishops; and when approved by them, the new Hymn-Book shall be published at our Book Concerns, simultaneously, at New-York and Cincinnati.

"3. Resolved, That all expenses necessarily incurred by the Committee in making this revision be defrayed by the Book Agents."—P. 25.

And on the 23d of May the laborious task of revising the Hymn-book was laid upon seven brethren, selected from different portions of our work, with special reference to their fitness for the duty, consisting of five preachers and two laymen, namely:—David Dailey, Philadelphia Conference; J. B. Alverson, Genesee Conference; James Floy, New-York Conference; David Patten, jr., Providence Conference; F. Merrick, Ohio Conference; Robert A. West, of Brooklyn, and David Creamer, of Baltimore.

The Committee commenced their labours on the 8th of August, 1848, and have only completed them, by the passage of the final proof-sheets through the press, within the last few weeks. Repeated meetings of the full committee were held, at which every hymn, and indeed every stanza in the book, came under separate and careful examination. No men ever worked harder in the time than did these unpaid labourers for the Church of Christ. Besides the critical investigation of separate hymns, there were new hymns to be added, the whole were to be arranged on a just system under proper heads, separate titles were to be furnished for each, the authors' names to be affixed, where they could be traced by any exercise of ingenuity and industry, and indexes to be made to the entire work. Any one conversant with literary labour will see that a vast task was here laid out, and that none but men familiar with the subject from long investigation could execute it within a reasonable time. As the members of the committee lived at remote distances from each other, the Rev. James Floy, D. D., and R. A. West, Esq., were appointed a sub-commit-

tee, to digest the labours of the whole committee, to suggest new hymns, and to prepare the work for the press. It is no disparagement to the other able and industrious members of the committee to say, that from the very necessity of the case, the chief burden of toil fell upon these two brethren, and that to them the Church is greatly indebted for the perfection of the new Hymn-book. We cannot set forth the extent and the result of their labours better than by stating, briefly, the characteristic points of excellence in our new Collection.

1. The first point to which we would call attention is the *number* of the hymns. In the old book, including the Supplement, there were six hundred and ninety-seven hymns; in the new, there are *eleven hundred and forty-eight*, besides the seventy-nine Sunday-School Hymns in the Supplement. It was long ago remarked by an eminent divine, that "too great a variety of evangelical hymns for public worship is a thing scarcely conceivable." In the new book this variety is secured, not so much by an enlargement of the bulk of the work—a result sedulously guarded against by the Committee—as by a judicious retrenchment of superfluous verses, by the omission of many hymns of inferior value, (especially those from un-Wesleyan sources,) and by the division of those of undue length into two hymns, or even, in extraordinary cases, into three. This was a most delicate, as well as most laborious, task; but, although we have followed the Committee with a close scrutiny, and, we must confess, with not a little jealous fear lest they should go too far, we must say, fully and freely, that we are not more surprised than delighted with the singular success of their labours. One feature deserves special remark. The old Hymn-book was overloaded, to an extent which those who have not examined the matter will hardly credit, with hymns in *particular metres*. More than *one-eighth* of the book was in *six lines eights*, and nearly *one-sixth* was in the different varieties of *sevens;*—indeed, of the former class there were more than of either Common, Long, or Short-metre Hymns. Now, as nine-tenths of the singing in our churches is done in these last metres, a great part of the book was almost absolutely useless for public worship; yet many of these hymns were in an exalted strain of poetry, and almost every phase of religious experience is illustrated in them, taken as a whole. The Committee have succeeded in preserving many of the best of these, and yet obviating the difficulty of metre, by changing the most difficult into Long, Short, and Common Metres. This delicate work was executed, we deem it right to say, entirely by Dr. Floy, and how well it was done can be seen by a few examples:—e. g., Hymn 210 of the old book (7s and 6s) changed to Short Metre in Hymn 90 of the new; Hymn 208 of old book similarly changed in 97 of the new:—a happier alteration still, in the alteration of Hymn 24 from *sevens and sixes* to Common Metre in Hymn 414 of the new book. Hymn 449, also, affords a good specimen of *six lines eights* altered to Long Metre. These instances might be multiplied, but space is not afforded to us.

2. The *arrangement* of the hymns was one of the most difficult tasks devolved upon the sub-committee. The new table of Contents embodies a clear, progressive, and scientific outline of Christian Theology in its relations to church worship:—

Introductory to Worship	
The Divine Perfections.	
Jesus Christ.	Incarnation and Birth
	Sufferings and Death
	Resurrection and Ascension
	Priesthood and Intercession
The Holy Spirit	
Institutions of the Gospel.	The Ministry
	The Church
	The Sabbath
	Baptism
	The Lord's Supper
Provisions and Promises of the Gospel	
The Sinner.	Depravity
	Awakening
	Inviting
	Penitential
The Christian Life.	Justification by Faith
	Adoption and Assurance
	Sanctification
Means of Grace.	Prayer and Intercession
	Family Devotion
	The Closet
	Reading the Scriptures
Christian Fellowship.	Communion of Saints
	Love-Feast
Duties and Trials.	The Warfare
	Patience and Resignation
	Steadfastness and Growth in Grace
Humiliation.	Unfaithfulness Mourned
	Backslidings Lamented
Rejoicing.	In Deliverance from Trouble
	In Communion with God
	In Prospect of Heaven
Special Occasions.	Erection of Churches
	Missionary
	Sunday-Schools
	Miscellaneous
Time and Eternity.	Watch-Night and New-Year
	Brevity and Uncertainty of Life
	Death and Resurrection
	Day of Judgment
Close of Worship	

But besides the adoption of a general division, the harder task remained of classifying the several hymns under their appropriate heads. This has been so well and thoroughly done, that hardly any difficulty will exist in finding a hymn suited to almost any subject within the range of the pulpit, or to almost any occasion in which singing is introduced. We trust that our friends will give ample study to the new arrangement. It only *needs* careful investigation to secure approval.

3. The prefixing of a brief and condensed *title to each hymn*, is another point in which the new book is far superior to the old. The advantage of this is so obvious, that but a word need be said about it. The only question is, whether the titles are apt, just, and comprehensive; and here, too, we have followed the Committee carefully through the proof-sheets, and have no verdict to render but that of unqualified commendation. We fear that this part of the labour performed by the Sub-Committee will never be duly appreciated—none, perhaps, but those who have tried to do the same thing can imagine how much time and toil must have been expended in framing suitable titles for *eleven hundred and twenty-nine* hymns.

4. The decidedly *Wesleyan character* of the collection is, for us, one of its strongest recommendations. By far the greater proportion of the newly introduced hymns are pure gold from the mint of Charles Wesley; and, if we have counted correctly, six hundred and four out of the eleven hundred

and forty-eight hymns were written by members of the Wesley family! Watts, Doddridge, and Montgomery furnish most of the remainder; and among the new hymns we find names so dear to every lover of sacred poetry as Ken, Heber, and Keble, besides many others.

5. Not the least important feature of the new book is its *copious Indexes.* There is, first, an Index to the Hymns, (occupying twenty-one pages;) then an Index of Subjects, (twelve pages;) an Index of Texts of Scripture Illustrated, (eight pages;) and, finally, an Index of First Lines to every verse of every hymn, (eighteen pages in triple columns.) With these *adminicula,* our friends can rarely be puzzled to find *anything* that can be found in the Hymn-book.

6. The *Sunday-School Supplement* contains seventy-nine hymns, containing (what we wish our readers especially to note) "*nearly all the choice hymns in our language that are peculiarly suited to the capacities of the young and the wants of Sunday-schools.*" Most of the Sunday-school hymn-books are swelled by the use of hymns taken from the ordinary congregational hymn-books; but this Supplement is *exclusively* filled with proper children's hymns. It can be had now either separately, or bound with the Hymn-book; and in this latter form it furnishes what has long been a desideratum, namely, a book that may be used in common by both Sunday-schools and churches. We trust that *all* our Sunday-schools will endeavour to supply themselves with the whole book—Hymns and Supplement together.

7. The *sizes and forms* of the new edition deserve notice. Beginning with the smallest, we have first the 72*mo.*, or pearl edition, which will be sold at a very low price, and will probably be most widely used among young persons and in the Sunday-schools. Next to this is the 32*mo.*, intermediate between the old 48mo. and 24mo.,—a very commodious size, and one for which, in view of its neatness and low price, we augur great popularity. The type is not so small as that of the old 48mo., nor the bulk of the book so great as that of the 24mo. The next size is an entirely new one,—a beautiful 18*mo.*, admitting of a large and bold type,—the *beau-idéal* of a hymn-book for use in the congregation. Then we have the 12*mo.*, in a pica type so clear and full as to delight the eyes. This will be the favourite size for elderly persons, and will perhaps be commonly used in the pulpit. Largest of all will be the *octavo*, being the same plates as the 12mo., printed on large and fine paper, admitting a wide margin, and forming a magnificent book. All these varieties, we are told, will soon be on sale, in every desirable style of binding.

We have thus briefly noticed the distinctive characteristics of the new book, or rather such of them as are open even to a cursory examination. To give a just view of the merits of the book, would require a full review instead of a hasty notice.

It will be seen that no pains or care have been spared in securing accuracy and completeness for this new book, when it is remembered that the work of the Sub-Committee was carefully examined by the General Hymn-Book Committee in repeated meetings; that the results of their labour then underwent a thorough scrutiny from the Book Committee and the Editors; and, finally, that the Bishops examined the whole, page by page, hymn by hymn, and, we believe we may say, line by line. From all these sources suggestions of va-

rious improvements and modifications arose. The General Conference could do no more than it has done to obtain for the Church a complete and permanent Hymn-Book.

A suggestion as to the best mode of introducing the work into use may not be out of place. It will perhaps be judicious, and even necessary, for some time to come, for our ministers to make use of both books in public worship. This can readily be done by taking pains to select such hymns as can be found in each, and by announcing the page in each before reading the hymn. Many of our people may be unwilling to purchase a new book while they have their own in good preservation; and to some, it might even be a hardship. A few years will do away with the awkwardness inseparable from such a measure as the introduction of a new hymn-book; and then the songs of our Zion, in the length and breadth of the land, will be uniformly sung from the noblest collection of HYMNS, we believe, that it has been the privilege of any portion of Christ's Church to employ.

ART. X.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) SIR CHARLES LYELL'S "*Second Visit to the United States of North America*," (2 vols. 12mo., 60 cents each, Harper & Brothers, 1849,) though not quite so flattering in its notices of American life and society as the record of his first tour, is yet a very agreeable narrative. No writer has succeeded so well in combining scientific information with pleasant narrative as Mr. Lyell. In reading his pages, you pass so easily from a clear description or a well-told anecdote to a geological survey or inquiry, that you are hardly disposed in any instance to *skip*, as is the ordinary wont of readers who look to books of travel merely for amusement. Mr. Lyell's occupations as a geologist carried him into regions rarely or never visited by ordinary travellers, and gave him opportunities of intercourse with every class of our population. The result is a testimony so high and so full, as to the general diffusion of intelligence and virtue among the American people, that the work cannot fail to dissipate many of the absurd notions of American life and manners that have so long prevailed in England. At the same time the book is entirely free from anything like fulsome flattery, and indeed it conveys many good lessons for us, sometimes even sharp ones, to which we should do well to take heed. The only thing we have to complain of in the book, is the affectation of philosophic indifference and superiority in which Sir Charles speaks of religion and its institutions. It never amounts to irreverence or scoffing; but there is an undertone, of which, perhaps, the writer himself was unconscious, that offends a religious mind in spite of the decorous language always employed in the book. Take the following oracular passage, on a subject of which Sir Charles Lyell could, from the nature of things, know little or nothing:—

"On the way I conversed with the driver of our carriage about the village churches, and, being very communicative, he told me he was a Free-will Baptist, but had only

become a Christian five years ago, when he was awakened from a state of indifference by a revival which took place near Bethlehem. This meeting, he said, was got up and managed by the Methodists; but some Baptists, and one orthodox (Independent or Congregationalist) minister had assisted, in all sixteen ministers, and for twenty-one days in succession there had been prayers and preaching incessantly from morning to night. I had already seen in a New-York paper the following advertisement: 'A protracted meeting is now in progress at the —— church in —— street. There have been a number of conversions, and it is hoped the work of grace has but just commenced. Preaching every evening: seats free.' I was surprised to hear of the union of ministers of more than one denomination on this occasion, and, on inquiry, was told by a Methodist that no Episcopalians would join, 'because they do not sufficiently rely on regeneration and the new man.' It appears, indeed, to be essential to the efficacy of this species of excitement, that there should be a previous belief that each may hope at a particular moment 'to receive comfort,' as they term it, or that their conversion may be as sudden as was that of St. Paul. A Boston friend assured me that when he once attended a revival sermon, he heard the preacher describe the symptoms which they might expect to experience on the first, second, and third day previous to their conversion, just as a medical lecturer might expatiate to his pupils on the progress of a well-known disease; and 'the complaint,' he added, 'is indeed a serious one, and very contagious, when the feelings have obtained an entire control over the judgment, and the new convert is in the power of the preacher. He himself is often worked up to such a pitch of enthusiasm, as to have lost all command over his own heated imagination.'

"It is the great object of the ministers who officiate on these occasions to keep up a perpetual excitement; but while they are endeavouring by personal appeals to overcome the apathy of dull, slow, and insensible minds, they run the risk of driving others, of weaker nerves and a more sensitive temperament, who are sitting on 'the anxious benches,' to the very verge of distraction."—Vol. i, pp. 73, 74.

And also the following:—

"The Methodists had just been holding a protracted meeting in Montgomery, and such is the effect of sympathy and of the spirit of competition, that the religious excitement had spread to all the other sects."—Vol. ii, p. 43.

Here is a passage, in relation to the effect produced on the condition of slaves by the division of the Methodist Episcopal Church, containing a profound truth, though it displays, again, ignorance of the subject:—

"Until lately, the humblest slave who joined the Methodist or Baptist denomination could feel that he was one of a powerful association of Christians, which numbered hundreds of thousands of brethren in the northern as well as in the southern States. He could claim many schools and colleges of high repute in New-England as belonging to his own sect, and feel proud of many celebrated writers whom they have educated. Unfortunately, a recent separation, commonly called 'the north and south split,' has severed these bonds of fellowship and fraternity, and for the sake of renouncing brotherhood with slave-owners, the northern churches have repudiated all communion with the great body of their negro fellow-Christians. What effect can such estrangement have on the mind, whether of master or slave, favourable to the cause of emancipation? The slight thrown on the aristocracy of planters has no tendency to conciliate them, or lead them to assimilate their sentiments to those of their brethren in the faith, with whom formerly, throughout the northern and free States, they had so intimate a connexion; and as for the slaves, it is to them a positive loss to be thus rejected and disowned. The rank and position of the negro preachers in the south, whether Baptist or Methodist, some of them freemen, and of good abilities, is decidedly lowered by the severance of the northern churches, which is therefore adverse to the gradual advancement of the African race, which can alone fit them for manumission."—Vol. i, pp. 270, 271.

We quote the following passage, showing up, in company, a *Protestant* (!) Episcopal minister and a coloured Methodist minister in Louisville, Ky.:—

"On Sunday we attended service in an Episcopal church. The young preacher dwelt largely on the supreme authority of the Church, and lamented that many dogmas and pious usages, which had received the unbroken sanction of fifteen centuries, should have been presumptuously set at naught by the rebellious spirit of the sixteenth century, the great intellectual movement of which he described as marked by two characteristics, 'nonsense and philosophy;' nor was it easy to discover which of these two influences, in their reference to matters ecclesiastical, were most evil in his sight. After a long dissertation in this strain, he called up to him a number of intelligent looking young girls to be catechized, and I never saw a set of children with more agreeable or animated countenances, or who displayed more of that modest reverence, and entire, unreflecting trust in their teacher, which it is so pleasing to see in young pupils. That some of the questions should have reference to the doctrines just laid down in the preceding discourse was to be expected. One of the last interrogatories, 'Who wrote the Prayer-book?' puzzled the whole class. After waiting in vain for an answer, the minister exclaimed, 'Your mother;' and made a short pause, during which I saw the girls exchange quick glances, and I found time to imagine that each might be exclaiming mentally to herself, 'Can he mean my mother?' when he added, in a solemn and emphatic tone, 'Your mother, the Church!' Had his congregation belonged to any other than the Anglican Church, I might simply have felt regret and melancholy at much that I had witnessed; as it was, I came out of the church in a state of no small indignation. I had heard, in the course of my travels, several discourses equally at variance with the spirit of the Reformation, but none before in which the Reformation itself was so openly denounced, and I could not help reflecting on the worldly wisdom of those who, wishing, in the middle of the nineteenth century, to unprotestantize the members of a reformed church, begin their work at an age when the mind is yet unformed and plastic—dealing with the interior of the skull as certain Indian mothers dealt with its exterior, when they bound it between flat boards, and caused it to grow, not as nature intended, but into a shape which suited the fashion of their tribe.

"In the evening we were taken, at our request, to a black Methodist church, where our party were the only whites in a congregation of about four hundred. There was nothing offensive in the atmosphere of the place, and I learned, with pleasure, that this commodious building was erected and lighted with gas by the blacks themselves, aided by subscriptions from many whites of different sects. The preacher was a full black, spoke good English, and quoted Scripture well. Occasionally he laid down some mysterious and metaphysical points of doctrine with a dogmatic air, and with a vehement confidence, which seemed to increase in proportion as the subjects transcended the human understanding, at which moments he occasionally elicited from his sympathizing hearers, especially from some of the women, exclamations such as, 'That is true,' and other signs of assent, but no loud cries and sobs, such as I had heard in a white Methodist church in Montgomery, Alabama. It appeared from his explanation of 'Whose superscription is this?' that he supposed the piece of money to be a dollar note, to which Cæsar had put his signature. He spoke of our ancestors in the garden of Eden in a manner that left no doubt of his agreeing with Dr. Prichard, that we all came from one pair—a theory to which, for my own part, I could never see any ethnological or physiological objection, provided time enough be allowed for the slow growth of races; though I once heard Mr. A. W. Schlegel, at Bonn, pronounce it to be a heresy, especially in an Englishman who had read the 'Paradise Lost.'"—Vol. ii, pp. 212, 213.

(2.) We know of no work in which scientific subjects are so well adapted to the popular mind, as "*Popular Lectures on Science and Art*, by Dionysius Lardner:" (tenth edition: New-York, Greeley & M'Elrath, 1849, 2 vols. 8vo.) The greater part of Dr. Lardner's life has been spent in the practical application of the physical sciences to the uses of life, and in communicating the elements of these sciences to the public in oral lectures. No course of training could have better fitted him for the preparation of a work designed to make the most abstruse subjects clear, and the driest topics of science attractive. Substituting proofs expressed in common language, and within ordinary com-

prehension, for rigid mathematical demonstrations, and setting forth his topics in an order of progressive difficulty, he has succeeded in producing a book, which, for simplicity and perspicuity of style, and abundance of felicitous illustration, stands unrivalled among works of its class. Our readers can thus obtain, for a few dollars, a cyclopedia of information on almost all branches of physical science.

(3.) "*History of the American Bible Society, from its Organization to the Present Time*, by W. P. STRICKLAND, one of the Society's Agents. With an Introduction by Rev. N. L. Rice, D. D." (New-York, 1849, Harper & Brothers, 8vo., pp. 466.) Such a work as this has long been needed. We have often been put to trouble for want of some information in regard to the Bible Society, which could only be attained by searching the voluminous reports and documents of many years. We have here a digest of such information, elaborately yet simply set forth in consecutive order, and arranged under appropriate heads. Every minister of the gospel, every advocate of the Bible Society, nay, every friend of the Bible and of its distribution, should possess himself of this volume. At some future day we hope to give a more extended review of its contents, with a survey of the vast work of benevolence and love which it commemorates.

(4.) THE first American edition of Gieseler's "*Compendium of Ecclesiastical History*," translated by Cunningham, met with a most favourable reception, and was, indeed, regarded by the best authorities as *the* text-book on that subject. Since that translation appeared, a fourth edition of the first volume of the original has been published, and from this edition a new translation has been made by SAMUEL DAVIDSON, LL. D. (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1849, 2 vols., 8vo.) With those who know Professor Giesecler's work it is needless for us to say more; but for those who do not, we may state, that it is beyond question the most learned, faithful, and impartial *Compendium* of Church History that has ever appeared. Its most marked features are, the judicious arrangement of the periods of history, the close, compact narrative in the text, and, most of all, the abundant *sources* of information given in the notes. In this last particular no other work resembles it;—it does not merely give *references*, but on all difficult or controverted points, the quotations bearing on the subject are given at length, thus enabling the reader, who has not at command the treasures of a vast library, to consult, in no slight degree, the original sources for himself. The two volumes already published, (which are brought out in Messrs. Harpers' very best style,) bring the history down to the eleventh century, and the two that are to follow will bring it nearly to our own times. The student who has Gieseler and Neander on his shelves, may congratulate himself on possessing a better apparatus of church history than his less favoured teachers enjoyed years ago in rows of huge folios.

(5.) To dismiss such a book as "*The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, by JOHN RUSKIN," (New-York, J. Wiley, 1849, 12mo., pp. 186,) with a brief notice, is almost literary treason. All who have read "Modern Painters, by an Oxford

Graduate," will remember how they were charmed and spell-bound by the eloquent enthusiasm of that work; and this has all the eloquence and all the enthusiasm of the author's former work, with far more directness and instructiveness. It is as if the highest genius of Painter and Poet had been combined to make an Architect—or rather, to make a teacher and inspirer of architects. The "Seven Lamps" figure the moral and spiritual laws under which the architect must work in the highest works of his art—the laws, namely, of Sacrifice, Truth, Power, Beauty, Life, Memory, and Obedience. And although we cannot sympathize with the highest tones of feeling in the book, and feel occasionally sure that the artist's enthusiasm is excessive, sometimes even absurd, yet we know no book of art whose influence is likely to be more refining, elevating, and ennobling, than the Seven Lamps of Architecture.

(6.) "*The History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent to the Organization of Government under the Federal Constitution*, by RICHARD HILDRETH:" (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1849: 8 vo., vols. 1 and 2.) It is Mr. Hildreth's design, as stated in his preface, to "set forth the personages of our colonial and revolutionary history, such as they really were in their own day and generation, living and breathing men," and to condense, into three volumes, an accurate account of the progress of the country from the first settlements down "even to the present times." This last part of his purpose will doubtless be accomplished; in the former he has failed. There are no "living, breathing men" in his book: but there is abundance of clear statement, and of accurate narrative. He has succeeded in combining "a mass of materials, generally dry, sometimes defective, and sometimes contradictory, into a harmonious and well-proportioned whole;" but not in narrative even "*somewhat* picturesque and lifelike." We do not bring this against him as a reproach; on the contrary, a history of the United States, to be compressed within the limits to which he has restricted himself, must, of necessity, be little else than a bald recital of facts. His work fills a want, and is therefore most welcome. Its positive merits, in addition to those already mentioned, are impartiality, steadiness of view, clear appreciation of character, and, in point of style, a terseness and conciseness not unlike Tacitus, with not a little, too, of Tacitean vigour of thought, stern sense of justice, sharp irony, and profound wisdom. We think this judgment can be justified in a full review of the work, which we hope to offer to our readers after the appearance of Mr. Hildreth's third volume. In the mean time, if we were in Mr. Hildreth's confidence, we should urge him to study carefully the use of the *adverbs of time* in the English language. He almost invariably uses relative adverbs, (for example, *past*, *since*, *hitherto*) which can only refer to *present* time, in connexion with the preterite; for instance, "Pitt, for some time past withdrawn from public affairs, was unconnected, &c." Such cases occur on almost every page. There is also a singular obscurity in occasional sentences, (the more remarkable as the style is generally so clear,) arising from a careless use of the personal pronouns: for example, "A brutal assault by a commissioner of the customs, whom he met in a tavern, in which James Otis had been almost killed, and from the effects of which he never fully re-

covered, deprived Massachusetts of his services." We defer further notice of this timely and important contribution to American literature, until the appearance of the third volume.

(7.) The Rev. R. W. Landis, who is known as a writer of considerable merit on theological subjects, has just put forth *an Epic poem in twenty-nine books*, called "*Liberty's Triumph.*" (New-York: J. Wiley. 12mo., pp. 544.) In the "Induction" we find the following:—

> "Reader, if you 've ne'er heard from me before,
> Be grateful; for it ne'er has been because
> I have not written Poems in abundance;
> But simply that I 've done what had been well
> For many other Poets too to have done,—
> I gave my minor offspring to the fire,
> Instead of troubling critics to impale them,
> And then to write their epitaph. (And they 'll
> Determine whether it had not been well
> So to have done with this.)"—P. xii.

We shall *not* judge, but let our readers decide from a specimen or two what it "had been better" for Mr. Landis "to have done with this."

After the French war, we are told that—

> "Peace at home
> Gives Albion time the States to tempt again
> To upyield their liberties. * * * * *
> Yet still the Colonies, unwilling all
> That any strife with their loved fatherland
> Should be upraised, for seasons long endure
> Th' unkind oppression; and endeavour long,
> By mild remonstrance with her, to refrain
> From the dire course which ultimately must
> Produce a severance never to be healed.
> But their complaints unheeded she; and then
> Ere long the Stamp Act passed; and, knowing well
> The law would wholly disregarded stand
> Throughout the Colonies, unless were means
> Adopted to enforce it, she decrees
> That penalties for violations be
> Recovered in the Admiralty Courts."—P. 49.

Here is an account of the Boston Tea-party, and its results:—

> "Now England on the States essays t' enforce
> The goods whereon had Parliament assessed
> The duty; but resistance meets from all.
> Her ships, tea-ladened rich, arrive the port
> At Boston, but the citizens forbade
> Aught effort them t' unload; yet it perforce
> Attempted is; when they the vessels board
> And the commodity cast to the waves:
> At which resistance Parliament in ire
> Upcloses Boston port; and, too, removes
> Its charter from the Massachusetts State,
> Declaring it rebellious: Then to crush
> The city 'neath the Albion arm for aye,
> Proffers to Salem city Boston trade,
> Who nobly spurns the proffer. While the States
> Permitted ne'er their Massachusetts friends

Such sufferings to endure sans sympathy;
But every effort made to mitigate
Their great severity: yea, e'en the day
Whereon the cruel injuries began,
They thence a day of public mourning hold.
While, too, in England, souls humane, aroused
By the unkind oppression, likewise seek
To mitigate the woes by Boston borne:
In aidance of whose poor, by London now
Myriads thrice five of dollars are bestowed."—Pp. 59, 60.

Mr. Landis thus celebrates Washington's disinterested refusal of pay when nominated as Commander-in-chief:—

"As to the stipend, sir,
I shall decline it. For as no reward
Pecuniary could have me induced
To accept the employment arduous, I shall be
E'en amply recompensed and more, if Heaven
Shall with success herein our efforts crown."—Pp. 87, 88.

We cannot afford room for further specimens.

(8.) Messrs. Harper and Brothers have republished (from the London edition, noticed in our last) "*Mornings among the Jesuits at Rome, being Notes of Conversations held with certain Jesuits on the Subject of Religion in the City of Rome*, by the Rev. M. Hobart Seymour, M. A." (12mo., pp. 237.) Mr. Seymour visited Rome, not merely to behold its monuments, its sculptures, and its ruins, but also, and chiefly, in order to "see and study the true genius of the Church of Rome, and judge for himself as to her nature and character." The results of his observations upon the *public* services, ceremonials, processions, &c., have already been published in his "Pilgrimage to Rome." But besides these open sources of information, he became, incidentally, acquainted with a number of Jesuits, professors in the Collegio Romano, with whom he held a series of conversations on the points controverted between the Churches of England and of Rome. They were desirous of making a proselyte, and, it seems, thought themselves in a fair way to secure one in Mr. Seymour, who at first very frankly told them that he was perfectly satisfied with his own religious convictions, but seems afterwards, not without the appearance, at least, of disingenuousness, to have tacitly allowed them to retain their own views and hopes. To secure accuracy, he wrote his notes of the conversations on the very day on which each was held; and this book, he states, is little else than accurate transcript of his memoranda.

The work is full of interest. It shows one fact which many Protestants will be slow to believe; namely, that great intellectual power and high culture may be found united in Romish priests with the extreme of credulity, amounting, indeed, almost to anility. Doubtless there are many eminent men in the Church of Rome who are unbelievers not only in their creed, but in all creeds. But this book shows that it is grossly uncharitable to consider every educated and intelligent priest as a hypocrite. At the same time, what is gained for their personal honesty, is lost for their system. A system which can thus prostrate and crush lofty minds *must* be a terrible one. Here is a conversation in re-

gard to the efficacy of "miraculous" pictures and images. Remember that the Romish interlocutor is a man of learning, intelligence, and high position:—

"I referred to the miraculous picture of the Virgin Mary in the Church of S. Maria Maggiore; to the miraculous image of our Lord as a child in the church at Aracœli; to the miraculous image of the Virgin Mary in the Church of the Augustines; and to several other pictures and images, which were said to be miraculous, and which were worshipped with a special and peculiar devotion—were crowned and carried in procession precisely as the ancient heathens of Rome used to carry the images of their gods. I stated that these things seemed very gross, and that usually, in England, the advocates of the Church of Rome got rid of all objections derived from them by disavowing all these things as abuses, as exaggerations, as bad or superstitious practices, which were not acknowledged or practised by the well-informed, and were not approved by the Church. I therefore would take the opportunity of asking him, living as he did at the fountain-head, and capable of informing me with some authority, whether others or myself could be justified in setting the objection aside in that way, namely, by attributing these things to the ignorance of the foolish and superstitious.

"He answered without the least hesitation, and in a manner that took me by surprise. He answered that I had taken a very wrong view of these particulars in regarding them as extravagant or absurd; for, although they might appear strange to me, as at one time they had appeared to himself—so strange, indeed, as sometimes to be absolutely loathsome to his feelings—and although he felt himself unable to justify them in themselves, yet there was no doubt of their being approved in practice by the Church; that they were no exaggeration or caricature, but real verities, which at one time were a stumbling-block and offence to his own mind. He added that there was much that might be said in their favour, for that the Italians were a people very different from the English; that the English loved a religion of the *heart*, and the Italians a religion of the *senses;* the English a religion of the *feelings*, and the Italians a religion for the *taste;* the English *an inward and spiritual religion*, and the Italian *an outward and visible religion;* and that it was the intention of the Church, as well as her duty, to arrange all the rites, ceremonies, acts, services of religion, so as to be suitable to an outward and visible religion, and calculated for the mind of Italy; and thus those particulars concerning the crowning and processions of miraculous pictures and miraculous images, however strange and absurd to the English, have been sanctioned by the Church as both natural and wise to the Italians."—Pp. 36–38.

And again:—

"His explanation led me to advance a step in our argument, and to say that his statements seemed to imply that there was something peculiar to those images and pictures, something inherent in them as compared with others, something not in the saint or angel represented, but in these very pictures and images themselves. I endeavoured to illustrate my meaning by suggesting two pictures of the Virgin Mary placed side by side, and asking whether one being supposed to be miraculous, the people would pray before that one rather than the other; and whether he believed the Virgin Mary would interfere with a miraculous answer for those who prayed to her before that one rather than the other. I added, that if such was the case, it went to prove a belief that there was something peculiar, some virtue or power, something miraculous in such a picture, in one rather than the other, and that the distinction proved that the people did look for something in pictures and images more than the persons whom they were designed to represent.

"He gave the fullest assent to this, saying that they looked first of all to the saint represented in the picture or image, and that then, in case there was a miraculous character, they looked also to that power or virtue. He added, that his full belief was, that the Virgin Mary was more partial to some representations of herself than to others; and that, in order to induce the devout to pray before these her favourite ones, she heard and answered the prayers so offered, while she neglected those that were offered elsewhere; answering the prayers offered before one picture which she liked, and refusing those offered before a picture which she did not like."—Pp. 40, 41.

Another conversation referred to a poor Swiss soldier, a Protestant, who was visited on his dying bed by the priest, and who "moved his lips" when

the "Hail, Mary" was repeated in his hearing. The man was speechless, and the fact that he *seemed* to follow the priest in the "Hail, Mary" was taken as proof of his conversion. In concluding his account of this wonderful "conversion," the priest said,—

"'I baptized the man conditionally, and then I had him immediately confirmed, and he received the communion, and then the extreme unction, and thus he received almost at once no less than five sacraments!'

"He spoke this in a tone of exultation and triumph, as if some great and good achievement had been accomplished. I must confess that I was amused, notwithstanding the sadness of his statement and the solemnity of the subject. It seemed so strange a proceeding for a man—a minister of Christ, at the bed of a dying man, merely to offer as a prayer the 'Hail, Mary;' it seemed so simply said that when a Protestant prays to the Virgin Mary he must be very far gone; it seemed so necessary to apologize for rebaptizing a Protestant; it seemed so absurd to speak of a speechless man making a confession of his sins so as to receive absolution; and, above all, it seemed so inconsistent with all our views of true religion to regard it as necessary, and even to make a boast of it, that this speechless man had in so short a time received the five sacraments, penance, baptism, confirmation, communion, extreme unction!

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

"I asked why, on so solemn an occasion as a death-bed, when an immortal soul was about passing into the presence of God, why did you pray to the Virgin Mary instead of praying to Jesus Christ? In common with all Protestants, I would have prayed to Jesus Christ, or to God through Jesus Christ.

"He answered that it was their opinion—the opinion, too, of many of the fathers —*that God hears our prayers more quickly when they are offered through the blessed Virgin than when offered through any one else.*"—Pp. 100–102.

We should be glad to quote further, but our limits forbid. The book, we hope, will be widely read.

(9.) Of all the books upon Hydropathy which have come under our notice, the most lucid and satisfactory is "*The Domestic Practice of Hydropathy*," by Edward Johnson, M. D., (New-York, John Wiley, 1849, 12mo., pp. 467.) But the title will mislead many. The danger of *domestic* medical practice, whether of the drug or water school, cannot be overrated. Indeed, the present writer says in his preface, that "it forms no part of the objects of this work to lead the suffering to believe that they can altogether dispense with the services of medical men;" but surely the best way to tempt them to this is to put into their hands a book of Domestic Practice. The book bears marks of scientific culture; Dr. Johnson does not write like a charlatan or a quack. Those who wish to study the system of the water-cure will do well to read the work.

(10.) "*The Singer's Manual, for Teachers, Pupils, and Private Students*," by F. A. Adams, G. F. Root, and J. E. Sweetzer, (New-York, J. Wiley, 1849,) is a neat 18mo. of 254 pages. It appears to be the Ollendorff of musical text-books, not exhibiting scientific principles in formal array, but presenting them one by one, as they are called for by the points successively reached in developing a system of culture for the voice. "In this way," says the preface, "each elementary principle is learned through the process of discovery and practice, and hence learned well; while the special aim of the book—the training of the singer—is steadily carried forward."

(11.) Mr. Wiley has republished the fourth volume of "*Half-Hours with the best Authors, selected and arranged, with short Biographical and Critical Notices*, by Charles Knight." (12mo., pp. 616.) With this volume there is furnished an index to the whole four, thus making the work a complete commonplace-book of specimens from the choicest writers of Old and New-England. Our readers who have furnished themselves with the former volumes, need not be told with how much taste and skill the selections are made; those who have not, will find here a half-hour's reading for the six days of the week, and a religious extract for Sunday—three hundred and sixty-five in all—forming a year's reading, easily and quietly done, of the *best* of English literature.

(12.) When reviewing "Forster's Life of Goldsmith" in our July No. we found cause to complain of the intolerable prolixity of that work. We also confessed that in that vast mass there was much real gold, though somewhat mixed with foreign matter. It was plain that the work needed to be reduced in size, though it was not so plain that this could be satisfactorily accomplished. But now our ideal is more than realized in a work just issued by Mr. G. P. Putnam, entitled, "*Oliver Goldsmith: a Biography*, by Washington Irving." The author's name is itself sufficient to secure for the book a favourable reception by the public; but it will not need such aid after it has been once read, and thus becomes known. Mr. Irving, like all writers of real genius, has his favourite departments in literature, of which biography is the chief; and of all men, Goldsmith is the most fitting subject for his pen. Accordingly we have a vivid, life-like picture of that wonderful congeries of inconsistencies, sketched with truthful fidelity, though slightly coloured by the genial charity of the author; and instead of Mr. Forster's seven hundred octavo pages, the whole is comprised in less than four hundred, duodecimo. Henceforth the names of Goldsmith and Irving will be still more closely conjoined, as doubtless this will continue to be *the* Life of Goldsmith. This volume forms No. XI. of the uniform edition of Irving's Works, now in process of publication by Mr. Putnam.

(13.) We have received from Messrs. Gates, Stedman, & Co., three volumes of the "*Natural Series of School-Books*," being a Primer, a First Reader, and a Second Reader. The peculiarity of the method employed in these books is, that the child is instructed fully in the sounds or powers of the letters at the beginning, and made to get all knowledge of reading by gradual lessons, each thoroughly intelligible to the pupil at his incursive stages of advancement. We commend the series to the careful attention of teachers.

(14.) The time has not yet arrived for the *history* of the French Revolution of 1848; still, every contribution to its memoirs is valuable, not merely, or mainly, for present use, but as material for future history. In this view we may regard as important even so light a work as the "*History of the National Constituent Assembly, from May*, 1848, by J. F. Corkran, Esq." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1849. 12mo., pp. 377, price 75 cents.) Its chief value

lies, not in its record of facts, nor in political or philosophical wisdom,—for to this it has little claim,—but in its description of the personal appearance and bearing of the chief actors in the stirring scenes of the year of revolutions, and in its graphic accounts of the movements of that eventful time. Mr. Corkran attended the National Assembly almost daily for months as a reporter, and took notes of many of the speeches, so that his work is "an original effort at painting a series of scenes which it was given to but few of his countrymen to witness." As such it is successful; and our readers who desire a connected and very readable sketch of the men and the deeds of 1848, will do well to purchase the book.

(15.) "*The Claims of our Country on its Literary Men*," is the title of the oration delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa of Harvard University, by Rev. GEORGE W. BETHUNE, D. D. No man has succeeded more eminently than Dr. Bethune in the difficult task of College Orations; and no one of his successes, we judge, has been greater than that achieved in July before the Phi Beta Kappa. Its most striking feature is its healthiness of tone, both moral and mental;—there are no affectations, no transcendentalisms, but the most manly good sense, expressed in a style as pure and transparent as it is fresh and vigorous. We should gladly quote certain parts of this admirable address, but our limits forbid; and must content ourselves with the brief and inadequate testimony we have given of its excellence.

(16.) "*The Theological Lectures of the late Rev.* DAVID BOGUE, D. D.," edited by Rev. J. S. C. F. FREY, have been republished in a handsome octavo volume (806 pp.) by Messrs. Harper & Brothers. They consist of naked skeletons, probably taken from the notes of one of Dr. Bogue's students at the Missionary Seminary, Gosport—certainly never meant to be printed, and never worth printing. There are some strange freaks of orthography in this edition: Rapin is sometimes *Rappin;* Quinctilian oscillates between Quintilian and *Punctilian;* Belles-Lettres is now *Belle Letters*, and then *Bell's Letters;* Limborch is invariably curtailed into *Limbock;* while Bates swells into *Baites*, and Witherspoon into *Whitherspoon.*

(17.) WE have received at the last moment the "*Descriptive Catalogue of the Sunday School Publications and Tracts of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*" (New-York: Lane & Scott. 8vo.) It forms a fine octavo of *one hundred and eighty-three* pages, a noble monument of the energy and fidelity of the men to whom the interests of our Sunday-School cause have been intrusted, and, most of all, to the industry, good taste, and judgment of the present editor, Rev. D. P. Kidder. The Catalogue is classified under eleven heads, as follow:—I. *Sunday-School Requisites,*—Books of Registry, Spelling and Reading Book, Catechisms, Question Books, Notes and Commentaries, Lesson Books, Manuals, &c., Dictionaries, Hymns and Music, Scriptures, Maps, Cards, Certificates, &c.; II. *Sunday-School Rewards,*—Children's Tracts, in 48mo.; Children's Books, in paper covers,—Class I., arranged in packages; Class I., arranged according to size. Books, in paper covers,—Class II., arrangement in

packages; Class II., arrangement according to size; III. *Choice Gift Books*,—Books in 18mo.; IV. *Books for Reading*, alphabetically arranged; V. *Libraries, Numerically Arranged*,—Children's Library, Series A and B; Youth's Library; VI. *Classification of the Youth's Library;* VII. *Adult Library;* VIII. *Tracts;* IX. *Publications in German;* X. *Libraries;* XI. *Periodicals;* so that any article, book, or tract can be found with ease, and, moreover, a complete survey of the supply for *each* department is given at once. The Catalogue is beautifully printed in fine, bold type, and illustrated by numerous wood-cuts. A more extended notice will be given hereafter.

(18.) Dr. Bangs' Letters on Slavery, which have appeared within the last few years in several of our Church papers, are now collected under the title of "*Emancipation, its Necessity and Means of Accomplishment, calmly submitted to the Citizens of the United States.*" (Lane & Scott, 1849. 8vo., pp. 101.) The work treats briefly of the history of slavery, and of its introduction into this country, and proposes a plan for its removal; the substance of which is, that "Congress make a proposition to the several slave States that so much per head shall be allowed for every slave that shall be emancipated, leaving it to the State legislatures respectively to adopt their own measures for effecting the object." The objections to this plan are next considered, and then follows an array of motives to emancipation, strong enough, one would think, to rouse all but the dead to the importance of the task. The book is written in a most earnest spirit, but in language singularly calm and moderate, furnishing an excellent model, in this respect, for all who write on either side of this exciting question.

(19.) Mr. John Ball, of Philadelphia, has sent us copies of his portraits of *Asbury and M'Kendree*, beautifully engraved by T. B. Welch. These are among the best specimens of portrait engraving that we have seen. The memory of our fathers is precious, and it is good to keep memorials of this sort before our families and our children. We should be glad to see these portraits in every Methodist family.

(20.) "Southey's *Common-Place Book*," (or rather the "First Series" of it,) edited by his son-in-law, J. W. Warter, has been republished by Messrs. Harper & Brothers, (8vo., pp. 416, price $1 00 in paper.) The world knows that Southey was an omnivorous reader, and this record shows that he was an equally omnivorous collector. The "editing" has been no editing, so far as we can see, except in the last half of the volume, and the Index; but it is due to Mr. Warter to say, that he is "editor only from page 203." Had the various excerpts been classified, and arranged under appropriate heads, the value of the book would have been indefinitely enhanced; but even as it is, with the aid of the Index, we can get at Southey's reading (or rather a small part of it) on a vast variety of topics, from "cravats" to "Christianity," from "earrings" to "ethics." We have been struck, in looking over the volume, with the danger of making hasty or doubtful excerpts. Many foolish and many false things are printed and perpetuated in this book which would else

have fallen into comparative oblivion. Here is one of silly Horace Walpole's gossiping stories, which no man believed less than Southey; yet it now goes forth, without note or comment, in a book with his name on the title-page, and many, in the absence of better knowledge, will swallow it for truth:—

"'The apostle Whitefield is come to some shame. He went to Lady Huntingdon lately, and asked for forty pounds for some distressed saint or other. She said she had not so much money in the house, but would give it him the first time she had. He was very pressing, but in vain. At last he said, 'There's your watch and trinkets, you don't want such vanities; I will have that.' She would have put him off; but he persisting, she said, 'Well, if you must have it, you must.' About a fortnight afterwards, going to his house, and being carried into his wife's chamber, among the paraphernalia of the latter the Countess found her own offering. This has made a terrible schism: she tells the story herself. I had not it from St. Frances,* but I hope it is true.'—*Private Correspondence of Horace Walpole*, vol. ii, p. 255."

The editor tells us that he had "added a few notes on doubtful passages, but on reflection crossed them out." It had been well to make a note on this slander, and *not* to have crossed it out.

(21.) Messrs. Harper and Brothers have published a new edition of "*Typee, a Peep at Polynesian Life, during a Four Months' Residence in the Marquesas*, by Herman Melville." (12mo., pp. 307, 75 cents.) This fascinating narrative can now be recommended to our readers almost without reserve, as the offensive and unjust observations on the Missions in Tahiti and the Sandwich Islands, which detracted so much from the credit of the first edition of the work, are entirely omitted in this. After the failure of "Mardi," Mr. Melville may have reason to felicitate himself on a re-appearance of the sparkling and delightful narrative which first gained him fame.

(22.) "*History of Julius Cæsar*," by Jacob Abbott. (Harper & Brothers. 18mo., pp. 278.) Another of Mr. Abbott's series of narratives for youth. We have only to repeat the almost unqualified commendation given to these books in former numbers of this journal.

(23.) In addition to the volumes of Chalmers' Posthumous Works, noticed in the extended review contained in this number, we have received the first volume of "*Institutes of Theology*, by the late Thomas Chalmers, LL. D." (12mo., pp. 542. Harper & Brothers, 1849.) The two volumes will contain the substance of Chalmers' Course of Lectures to his Theological Class, put by himself into the form in which they are here presented. In that course he did not follow the usual routine of systematic Theology, but began with preliminary ethics and metaphysics, and treated of Natural Theology and the Evidences of Christianity before entering upon the "subject-matter of Christianity," under which head he exhibits, first, the "Disease for which the Gospel Remedy is provided;" and, secondly, the "Gospel Remedy" itself. Though Chalmers was not a master of Biblical literature or criticism, his broad views of Christian theology, his amplitude of illustration, and his fervent spirit, give a value to his Institutes which many more profound and scientific treatises lack. We regret that this volume arrived too late for a fuller notice.

* Lady Frances Shirley.

Art. XI.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

England.

Wesleyan Methodist Conference.—The one hundred and sixth Annual Meeting of the Wesleyan Conference was held in the Oldham-street Chapel, Manchester, beginning the 25th of July, and closing on the 14th of August. It was in many respects the most exciting, as well as the most important, conference that has been held for many years. . . Thirty-seven young men were admitted into full connexion, and sixty-seven came forward as candidates for examination, but one of whom was rejected. . . . Twelve members of the hundred had died during the year. . . . The net increase of members in Great Britain, Ireland, and the foreign stations was 8,747. Ninety-eight chapels have been built and twenty-two embarrassed chapels relieved during the year. There have been 21,367 young persons under catechetical instruction, of whom 1,913 have been added to the Church. The number of Sunday-schools is 4,344; of children, 461,197; and of teachers, 18,972. In the Wesleyan Day Schools there are 38,962, including boys, girls, and infants.

The most painful feature in the proceedings of the Conference was the expulsion of three of its members,—Rev. James Everett, the Rev. Samuel Dunn, and the Rev. Wm. Griffith, junr., preachers severally of forty, thirty, and thirteen years' standing in the Conference. The causes that led to this sad result may be thus briefly traced. Between the years 1844 and 1847 certain publications appeared, without name, place, or date, entitled "*Fly Sheets*," in which violent attacks were made upon the eminent men at the head of the various administrative branches of the Church service. We have never seen these anonymous issues, but take the following statement of their character and contents from the official account of the proceedings of the Conference in the case:—"These papers were characterized by intense bitterness of feeling in reference to certain excellent ministers, whom they described as 'indolent,' 'selfish,' 'artful,' 'ambitious,' and 'tyrannical;' and also by other personalities, so grossly offensive and libellous that the parties issuing them did not dare to affix the name of either printer or publisher. Not content with endeavouring to damage the character of individuals who had hitherto been regarded with the highest esteem, the writers attacked the administration of the affairs of the Connexion in general. They declared that its resources were perverted to uphold a system of favouritism, oppression, and extravagance; that many of the public acts of the Conference proceeded from corrupt motives, or were of a mischievous tendency; and, while suggesting extensive changes in its system of proceeding, and representing the members of the Conference as enslaved, and longing for emancipation, they exhorted them to vigorous and united efforts to shake off the unhallowed yoke. The certain and obvious tendency—not to say the avowed design—of these publications was to destroy the mutual confidence upon which our Connexion is based, and to subvert, or at least greatly to impede the operation of, our several institutions." The Conference, in 1847, passed a resolution, (with only two dissentients, of whom Rev. Samuel Dunn was one,) testifying, in effect, that the "Fly Sheets" were wicked slanders. Still their evil effects continued to be apparent; and although it was deemed certain that some members of the Conference were concerned in their publication, no trace of their origin was discovered until some time during the past year, when it was found that a manuscript of Rev. Daniel Walton's had been inserted in one of the issues. Mr. Walton was arraigned before the District Meeting, and the fact was established that he had been "cognizant and concerned in the preparation of the Fly Sheets." At the Conference, however, Mr. Walton expressed his disapprobation of the Fly Sheets, and promised to aid his brethren in "putting them down, so far as he could with a good conscience do so." In his case, therefore, it was simply resolved that "Mr. Walton be solemnly admonished from the chair," and that "he be declared disqualified, for the present, for being the superintendent of a circuit." Suspicion had been fixed also upon the Rev. Messrs. Everett, Burdsall, George Dunn, and Griffith; the two last of whom had been engaged in the publication also of the "Wesley Banner,"—a monthly periodical, supposed to have views and aims similar to those of the "Fly Sheets." They were required, in effect, to purge themselves by a declaration that they were *not* guilty, or to pledge themselves to a certain line of conduct dic-

tated by the Conference. The authority to put direct questions, involving the guilt or innocence of parties against whom no charges had been brought, was founded on what was said to be ancient usage, "supported especially by the Minutes of 1777 and the Declaratory Resolutions of 1835,"—one of which declares, that "not only the Conference, but all its district committees, whether ordinary or special, possess the undoubted right of instituting, in their official and collective character, any inquiry or investigation which they may deem expedient, into the moral, Christian, or ministerial conduct of the preachers under their care, even although no formal or regular accusation may have been previously announced on the part of any individual." The parties refused to answer, and the final action of the Conference in their cases, therefore, was grounded on their contumacy. Messrs. Everett, Dunn, and Griffith were expelled; Mr. Burdsall, an aged man, admonished; and Mr. George reproved from the chair, and declared "disqualified, for the present, for the office of superintendent."

In all these proceedings the decisions of the Conference were almost entirely unanimous. It may be hazardous in us, with our imperfect knowledge of the circumstances of each case—for it is plain that much more was known to the Conference, or at least *believed* by it, than appears in the printed reports—to express any opinion whatever upon so unhappy an affair. On the presumption that the brethren who have suffered were really concerned in so base and dastardly a procedure as the concoction and publication of a series of coolly prepared and *anonymous* slanders upon the leaders of Wesleyan Methodism, we have no sympathy to expend upon *them*. Such movements, if not un-English, (to use a favourite phrase of our trans-Atlantic friends,) are most certainly un-American, and as certainly un-Christian. Warfare, even severe and cruel, has its possible palliations; but for assassination there can be none. That good men might be driven to resort to unusual measures under such provocation, and especially when unusual measures were the only ones that would or could restore peace and bring back lost confidence, is not much to be wondered at. But, on the other hand, that men should be required either to criminate or to clear themselves by their own assertion, in the absence of charges, is so utterly foreign to our own modes of procedure in courts, either civil or ecclesiastical, that we cannot help an involuntary shudder, and ask whether it might not have been better, in the long run, to endure the wrong than so to right it. Certainly no American Conference would venture upon such a course. Yet the British Conference is *not* an American Conference; and we cannot judge its action by our own notions and usages. With us, such a course would be illegal and unconstitutional; with them, it was fully covered by the law or declaration of 1835—a declaration by which every minister in the Connexion was bound. The expelled ministers and their friends make it their chief ground of complaint, that the Conference did what a *law court* would not do, in requiring the parties concerned to criminate themselves. But, it strikes us, the analogy does not hold. The State courts can *command* witnesses; the Church cannot. Violations of the moral law, which do not affect society, are not noticed by the State: they must be by the Church. A Church Court is more analogous to a Court of Equity, where a reply must be made to a declaration of facts *on oath*, than to a court of Law. And, what is most weighty of all, in a Criminal Court the prisoner's plea of "Not Guilty" *does not purge him*; in the Wesleyan Conference, that plea, alone, would have been equivalent to acquittal.

We cannot refrain from expressing our surprise, that in *England* a Methodist Conference should find it necessary to sit with closed doors, (except when character is in question,) and to exclude reporters for the press. Year after year we have looked for some rational explanation of this necessity, but we have looked in vain. Nor can we reconcile to our notions of propriety the frequent expressions of applause and censure, in the form of cheers and clamours, which are, it appears, fully allowed in the Conference. In worse taste still must we deem the habit of interrupting and putting down an obnoxious speaker. *Here*, the very fact that a man was in a hopeless minority, or that he was under suspicion, still more under *trial*, would ensure him the most uninterrupted attention. He might say almost what he pleased, subject only to arrests for violation of the known rules of order, by which deliberative bodies are governed in both hemispheres. Will some of our English brethren explain these things to us?

Wesleyan Missionary Society.—We extract the following Summaries from the Report for 1848-49:—*Missionaries:* In Ireland, 24; Continent of Europe, 21; Western Africa, 18; South Africa, 38; South India, 20; North Ceylon, 7; South Ceylon,

12; New South Wales, 11; Australia, 8; Van Diemen's Land, 5; New-Zealand, 20; Friendly Islands, 10; Feejee Islands, 8; Demerara, 21; Honduras, 2; West Indies, 63; British America, 98: *Total*, 386, besides 9 supernumeraries; of whom 220 are principally connected with the Heathen, Negroes, and converts from Heathenism, and 166 labour among Europeans and British Colonists. *Assistants:* These Missionaries are assisted by 742 paid Catechists and Readers, and 7242 gratuitous Sunday-school and other Teachers; of whom 615 paid, and 4603 gratuitous Teachers are connected with the Heathen and Negroes; and 127 paid, and 2639 gratuitous Teachers labour among Colonists or professed Christians.

Members in Society:—In Ireland, 2485; Continent of Europe, 1829; Gambia, 292; Sierra Leone, 4354; Cape Coast, 879; South Africa, 4135; South India, 377; North Ceylon, 325; South Ceylon, 1171; New South Wales, 1859; Australia, 1075; Van Diemen's Land, 563; New-Zealand, 4076; Friendly Islands, 7166; Feejee Islands, 1730; Demerara, 14,001; Honduras, 460; West Indies, 37,625; British America, 15,829: *Total*, 100,231; of whom 76,593 are chiefly among the Heathen, and 23,638 among Colonists and professed Christians.

Scholars:—In Ireland, 3834; Continent of Europe, 1637; Gambia, 354; Sierra Leone, 2525; Cape Coast, 1119; South Africa, 6858; South India, 1851; North Ceylon, 1802; South Ceylon, 2268; New South-Wales, 2994; Australia, 1657; Van Diemen's Land, 992; New-Zealand, 6804; Friendly Islands, 8206; Feejee Islands, 2064; Demerara, 5008; Honduras, 250; West Indies, 13,101; British America, 10,994: *Total*, 74,318; being a decrease of 262; and consisting of 52,210 chiefly among the Heathen and Negroes, and 22,108 among Colonists and professed Christians.

Missionaries sent out in 1848–49.—To *Sierra Leone*, Mr. Garry; *Gambia*, Mr. and Mrs. Badger, and Mrs. Lynn; *Gold Coast*, Mr. Allen, Mr. Frederick Hart; *South Africa*, Mr. and Mrs. Parsonson; *Madras*, Miss Knaggs; *New-Zealand*, Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher, and Mr. and Mrs. Reid; *West Indies*, Mr. and Mrs. Ellison, and Mr. and Mrs. English; *Newfoundland*, Mr. and Mrs. Brettell.

Missionaries returned to Foreign Service.—Of those above enumerated, Messrs. Allen, Badger, English, and Parsonson, who have been before honourably and usefully employed in various Missions, but had returned home for a season, have again been appointed to the Foreign Work.

Deceased Missionaries.—In *France*, Mr. Le Bas; *Sierra Leone*, Mr. Purslow; *Gambia*, Mr. Lean; *Feejee Islands*, Mr. Hunt; *West Indies*, Mr. M'Bryon; *British America*, Mr. Bamford. To this affecting record must be added that of two excellent females, wives of Missionaries, who have also exchanged mortality for life.

State of the Funds.—Receipts of the year.

	£.	s.	d.
Contributions paid at the Mission-House	2,439	3	3
Auxiliary Societies	71,889	4	10
From Ireland	4,767	4	6
From Foreign Districts and Stations	11,882	18	7
Legacies	1,854	0	4
Government Grants	4,802	6	2
Dividends	1,122	19	6
Donation on Annuity for Life	590	0	0
For Schools in Ireland	100	0	0
Interest on a Grant from the Centenary Fund for retired Missionaries, Widows, and Orphans	450	0	0
Juvenile Christmas Offering	4,079	2	5
Donations for China	150	0	0
Total	£101,126	19	7

Payments of the Year:—

Missions—					
Irish				4,763	14 6
German				80	0 0
French				4,476	8 9
Spanish				898	10 2
Western Africa				10,762	16 2
South Africa				12,452	8 5
South India				6,002	13 2
Ceylon—					
Tamul	2,196	9	8	5,885	1 3
Singhalese	3,688	11	7		
Australia				1,705	4 6
Van Diemen's Land				549	18 0
New-Zealand				7,686	18 10
Friendly Islands				3,046	16 1
Feejee Islands				3,119	11 4
Demarara				810	13 3
Honduras				608	6 2
West Indies				14,302	12 3
British America				11,633	19 3
Returned Missionaries				630	0 0
Education of Children of Missionaries				2,595	16 6
Grants to Widows and Orphans				1,749	3 0
Expenses in England of Missionaries sick or on leave				1,237	16 11
Medical Expenses				91	6 10
Students in the Theological Institution				1,100	8 0
Stock to cover Annuities on Donations				590	0 0
Annuities on Donations				1,147	8 2
Interest and Discount				2,335	15 9
Publications				5,780	6 10
Salaries, Books, Rent, Repairs, House Expenses, Postage, Carriage, and Sundries				3,798	15 2
Annual Appropriation for Training a Native Agency				1,500	0 0
China Fund, Invested				150	0 0
Total				£111,492	9 3

Remarks on the State of the Funds.—The Committee's anxiety is by no means limited abstractedly to the Society's pecuniary affairs; but from the relation which these

must ever bear, in the order of divine Providence, as a necessary and essential though subordinate means, to the great end we have in view, the Society's present financial position must be regarded with the most solemn and religious concern.

	£.	s.	d.
Total Income, received from all sources, for 1848 . .	104,126	19	7
Expenditure for 1848 . . .	111,492	9	3
Excess of Expenditure over Income, in 1848	7,365	9	8
Deficiency of 1847	5,993	6	5
Total Deficiency for 1847 and 1848	£13,358	16	1

The Committee deem it right here to offer a few brief remarks on the Expenditure and on the Receipts of the year now reported.

Expenditure.—The cost of the Society's operations, as exhibited in this statement, being less than that of the previous year by £3,114 8*s.* 3*d.*, has not been reduced to the amount now stated by any great or considerably restricted expenditure on the Foreign Stations, which, on the average, and in the aggregate, have required and received nearly the usual amount of support, but by a lessened outlay in the items of "outfits and passages" of Missionaries, in part occasioned by the kindness of some Christian ship-owners, among whom, the liberality of Mr. Cooper and his friends, of the Isle of Wight, is here most respectfully and gratefully recorded, in the gift of FREE PASSAGES for Missionaries; but chiefly, because the Committee have found themselves under the painful necessity of refusing to send out any STRICTLY ADDITIONAL Missionaries during the year, and even of delaying to supply many vacancies occasioned by sickness and death, until the requisite funds should be placed at their command.

Receipts.—The income of the year from all sources, both regular and contingent, and Home and Foreign, has been £104,126 19*s.* 7*d.* The Committee contemplate with gratitude to the Author of all grace the large amount of Christian love, liberality, self-denial, and missionary zeal, to which expression and form have been given in the contributions and labours called forth for the accumulation of so gratifying a total, during a year of great commercial depression and monetary embarrassment. But it becomes their duty to repeat distinctly and emphatically, that, even with this somewhat improved income, they are left under a debt for 1847 and 1848 amounting to £13,358 16*s.* 1*d.*, and with the prospect of an INCREASE of that debt during the current year, which can be avoided only, either by a most deplorable restriction of the Society's operations in continuance of the restrictions of last year, and in addition to them, or, as the most desirable alternative, a very large addition to the ordinary Home Receipts of the Society.

PRIMITIVE METHODIST CONNEXION.—"The thirtieth Annual Conference of this section of the Christian Church, commenced its sittings in Sunderland, on Wednesday, June 6th, 1849. The Connexion is reported to be in a prosperous state. There are 95,557 members, 513 travelling preachers, 8,291 local preachers, 5,679 class-leaders, 1,511 connexional chapels, 3,345 rented chapels, &c., 1,194 Sunday-schools, 94,876 scholars, and 18,169 gratuitous teachers. The increase for the present year is reported to be 6,166 members, 235 local preachers, 157 class-leaders, 38 connexional chapels, 58 Sunday-schools, 7,603 scholars, and 1,700 gratuitous teachers."

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—We alluded in our April number to the case of the Rev. Mr. Gorham and the Bishop of Exeter. The decision of the Arches Court, in reference to the question whether Baptismal Regeneration is, or is not, the doctrine of the Church of England, has now been made, and the result is, that the highest Judge of the Ecclesiastical Court, Sir H. J. Fust, has decided that any minister of the Church of England who denies the doctrine is legally disqualified to hold any preferment in that Church! This, we say, is the substantial result; and it places the so-called Evangelical Clergy of the Church of England in a most painful and anomalous position. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, several of the Bishops, and even the Queen herself, are, in effect, *unchurched* by this decision given by a lay Judge. The decision was given on the 2d of August, and an appeal at once taken to the Privy Council. Should the decision be confirmed, as in all probability it will, the spirit and firmness of the Evangelical Clergy will be put to the test. They must choose whether they will "obey God rather than man." The *Record*, which is the organ of the Evangelicals, speaks thus on the 23d of August:—

"It is to be hoped that those who have ready access to men in high office, will give them faithful warning of the peril, for the future, and actual injury, at the present moment, arising to the Church out of the recent judgment of Sir H. J. Fust. Even were the reversal of that judgment matter of certainty, it is no slight loss that the Church is suffering now, in the paralyzing effects of a state of doubt and alarm, on all her wide-spread machinery of Christian benevolence. Various plans, as we well know, for raising churches, schools, &c., which were in the most hopeful circumstances a month since, are now languishing. Liberal contributors ask, What is the Church going to do? What

is the Church going to be? Where will these things end? Into whose hands will these churches and schools fall? And until such questions can be satisfactorily answered, they *postpone*, at least, giving such aid as in times past they have been used to give. We do not discuss at present the reasonableness of such apprehensions; we only speak to the fact. This, we know, is the present state of things. As for the result of what we trust is not probable,—a confirmation of Sir H. J. Fust's judgment,—it would probably be, in the same way, still more injurious. It would shake the confidence of the laity, and loosen their affections, and relax their efforts. Of other and still greater perils we do not now speak. But should any such decision be given, all plans for *extending the Church* would be likely to be received with coolness, if not absolutely repelled, by a large proportion of the most liberal of our laity. This, of itself, would be no trifling evil. Those in stations of influence will, however, look still further than this. With the lamentable experience of Scotland before their eyes, they will be warned that even to the length of secession men will go, when once they have persuaded themselves that conscience prescribes such a course. And how the Church of England could bear such a trial as has come upon the Church of Scotland, no man can say. But he would be a rash statesman who would run the risk of trying it." The sentiments of the ARCHBISHOP OF YORK were fully given in his Charge given at his primary visitation at Thirsk, on June 4th, in which he used the following language:—"One of the important questions now occupying a large share of attention in the Church was that of Baptism. On the subject of adult baptism, little difference of opinion prevailed; but on infant baptism a great deal of discussion was taking place. This much, however, was quite clear, that the compilers of the services, both in the sixth of Edward and also in that of Queen Elizabeth, held the peculiar doctrines of Calvin, almost without exception, on the doctrines of election, predestination, and final perseverance. Hence they taught and believed, that spiritual regeneration in baptism could only be partaken of by the elect, and all men were not elected, and thus they could not be supposed as believing it to be received by all, nor could frame it to convey such a meaning, unless with the gross dishonesty practised by some parties now, who teach one doctrine, and at the same time believe another. No such hypocrisy was theirs; they did not believe it to be, and you are not called upon to take it as a rule of the Church, that all who are baptized are spiritually regenerated. No such doctrine is taught by the Articles, and you are not to force upon them a construction they will not admit. Our Reformers took the doctrines as they found them in the Scriptures on infant baptism; they neither added to them, nor diminished from them. In the case of adults they restricted the benefits of baptism to the worthy reception, and left it open in infants; but different from, and exclusive of, the *ex operato* of the Church of Rome. The service is in the language of Martin Luther, and the words are intended only to be expressive of hope and charity. Some parties contend that they left the language so open as to be capable of either interpretation, but no such feelings actuated the Reformers, and they were incapable of stating it in that manner, and we must express it as the Reformers did. Both the sacraments must be received as means of grace—the one as an admission to the privileges and blessings of the visible Church, and the other as a mark of union and continuance to it."

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY has not yet spoken out, though his sentiments are well known. But he has presented the Rev. W. Goode, the Bishop of Exeter's literary antagonist, to the rectory of Allhallows, in London, in significant testimony, it is thought, of his dissent from the recent decision of the Arches Court. Mr. Goode has recently written a new work upon the subject, entitled, "The Doctrine of the Church of England as to the Effects of Baptism in the case of Infants," in which he argues the subject, it is said, in a lucid and masterly way.

BAPTIST NOEL.—The Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel has connected himself with the Baptist Church. He was baptized on the 9th of August, in the John-street chapel, in the immediate neighbourhood of the church in which he had preached as a minister of the Church of England for more than twenty years. The house was crowded to its utmost capacity. He delivered an address on the occasion, from which we extract the following:—

"I will not speak of the convictions of others, but I speak of the conviction of my own mind, after very much examination. It appears to me to be distinctly proved, first, that baptism, as ordained by Christ, is an immersion in water, a being buried in the water; and, secondly, that immersion is meant to be a profession of faith in Christ. If those two conclusions are correct, (and I believe they will completely prevail with the Christian world eventually,) then it follows that a person who, like myself, has only been sprinkled in infancy, is unbaptized; because such a person has neither been immersed, nor has he made a baptismal profession of faith; and these two things constitute Christian baptism. So that, if these conclusions are correct, then I, and others, who have been only sprinkled in infancy, are in neither sense baptized. Should we, then, after having professed our faith in Christ at the Lord's table, at many times, come to this, which is the initiatory rite of Christianity, and begin again a profession of faith

in him?..... This has been so clearly seen by the churches of Christ in general, that it is not only those which are called Baptist Churches, but all the Churches, who refuse to admit to the Lord's Supper, or into church-membership, any whom they consider to be unbaptized. If a man—for instance, one of the Society of Friends—has been a consistent Christian for years, has followed the Lord diligently and zealously, has done good by his pen and by his preaching, and is welcomed by all persons, who rejoice in seeing the work of the Spirit, as a thorough Christian,—if that person should come to recognize that the sacraments are obligatory, and that he should come to the table of the Lord, there is no Church that would receive him unbaptized. Neither the Roman Catholic, nor the Anglican, nor the Presbyterian, nor the Independent Churches, would receive such a one, unbaptized. And, therefore, the fact of his having made a profession of faith in other ways, has not appeared to any of the Churches of Christ as a reason why an unbaptized person should not, at any point in his heavenward course, be baptized, when he comes to recognize his error."

The chapel so long held by Rev. T. Mortimer has been purchased for Mr. Noel's use, and he will soon commence his regular ministry in it as a Baptist preacher.

Italy.

THE French find themselves unable to prevent the absolutist reaction at Rome. "Pius IX. appears to be more and more influenced by retrograde counsellors. He has named a commission of Government, composed of Cardinals *Della*, *Genga*, *Vannicelli*, and *Altieri*, to whom the Romans feel profound aversion. All their liberties are suppressed. The Inquisition has resumed its functions. The most moderate and most respectable journals of Florence and of Turin can no longer pass the frontier of the pontifical States. The best citizens are imprisoned or exiled. There is no longer the question of the *Statute*, nor of any of the institutions which were established by the Pope himself. In one word, it is despotism which reappears—the hideous despotism of Gregory XVI.—the most odious tyranny now existing in Europe." The French Government is pledged, through M. de Tocqueville, and indeed by Louis Napoleon himself, in his letter to M. Ney, to procure some degree, at least, of constitutional freedom for the Romans. Whether this pledge was given in good faith, and will ever be redeemed, remains yet to be seen.—One of the first victims of the Inquisition was, as our readers have already learned from the daily papers, Dr. *Giacinto Achilli*, a Protestant of above five years' standing. "Formerly Vicar of the Master of the Holy Palace, under Gregory XVI., Professor of Theology and Professor of Moral Philosophy at the College of the Minerva; he subsequently became a Protestant, and is well known, both in England and in many other parts of Europe, as one who, from conscientious motives, had quitted the Roman Catholic Church. He exercised the right which the *de facto* constitution of Rome gave him to take up his residence there, and to labour in the dissemination of the Holy Scriptures, and in the propagation of his principles among those who were disposed to hear him." He is confined in the Castle of St. Angelo, a prison for political offenders: and though, in a letter, dated July 12th, he says, "*I have never mixed myself up in political affairs, much less shall I do so now*; my mission is too innocent to cause me any fear till the return of the Pope," it is greatly to be feared that the vengeance of the Papal power will wreak itself upon his head, under the pretext that he has committed political offences. Steps have been taken in his behalf, by friendly parties in England and France, but with what results is not yet known.

Home.

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.—The 40th Anniversary of the A. B. C. F. M. was held at Pittsfield, Mass., on Tuesday, Sept. 11, and was very largely attended. The interest of the occasion was greatly increased by the fact that an unusual number of returned missionaries was present, among whom were Messrs. Dwight, Van Lennep, and Bliss, of the Armenian Mission; Mr. Thompson, from the Syrian Mission; Mr. Poor, from Ceylon, and several others. During the year 12 missionaries, 6 male and 22 female assistant missionaries, making in all forty persons, have been sent to different missions under the care of the Board:—viz., 2 to Madras, 2 to Madura, 6 to Ceylon, 8 to South Africa, 2 to the Sandwich Islands, 3 to Syria, 4 to Salonica, 2 to the Armenians in Broosa, 3 to the Nestorians of Persia, 4 to the Choctaws, 2 to the

Sioux, and 2 to the Ojibwas. The usual editions of the Annual Report and of the Annual Sermon have been printed and distributed. The monthly issue of the Missionary Herald has been 17,800; and that of the Dayspring over 40,000. There have been published also a new edition of Tract No. 5, a revised edition of the Missionary Manual, and a second edition of the Narrative of the Revival of Religion among the Nestorians of Persia. It is proposed to publish the Dayspring in a small pamphlet form, adapted, in its character, to juvenile readers; and to issue a larger sheet, to be called the "JOURNAL OF MISSIONS," designed for the adult portion of the community. This matter is so far matured, that a specimen number of the "Journal of Missions" was distributed at the meeting. The receipts of the Board for the year ending the 31st of July last, were, from all sources, $291,705 27; while the expenditures for the same period were $263,418 47; the receipts being greater than the expenditures by $28,286 80. The debt of the Board on the 1st of August, last year, was $59,890 78; from which if we deduct the excess of receipts above expenditures for the year just ended, we have a remainder of $31,603 98, which is the amount of the present indebtedness of the Board. Of the $291,705 27, received during the financial year, $44,050 15 were contributed toward the payment of the debt of the previous year, thus reducing it to $15,840 63. It will be observed, however, that the receipts, irrespective of the debt, were $247,655 12, which is $15,763 35 less than the unavoidable expenditures. This deficiency, added to what remains of the debt of the last year, makes the present indebtedness of the Board, as stated above, $31,603 98. The Committee hope that this debt will, by the close of another year, be either entirely liquidated or greatly diminished. The grant of the American Bible Society for the year was $2,500; that from the American Tract Society, $6,300. The want of labourers is severely felt. On this point the Prudential Committee say, "that the Board is suddenly in danger of being arrested, if not turned back, by a want of qualified and ready agents. Thirty-eight missionaries are now needed, and at the most only five can be relied on to supply this pressing want, and no prospect appears of any material relief for years to come."

ART. XII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Theological.

EUROPEAN.

WE have to record the death of *Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette*, one of the most eminent and distinguished theologians and philosophers of Germany. In our April number (page 339) we noticed the final volume of his Compendious Commentary on the New Testament, and translated a passage from his preface, going to show (what was known from other sources) that a great change had passed over his mind in the course of time,—that though still far from orthodoxy, he was no longer the reckless rationalist of thirty years ago. Born on the 17th of January, 1780, at Ulla, near Weimar, he was in his 70th year when he died at midsummer, 1849. After studying at Jena, he became Professor Extraordinary of Theology there in 1807; was transferred to Heidelberg as Professor of Theology, in 1809; and to Berlin, for the same chair, in 1810. In 1819 he was dismissed, having incurred the anger of the government by a letter to the mother of Sand. In 1821 he obtained the Professorship of Theology in the University of Basle, and held it up to his death.

We have received from the author a copy of a very remarkable book,—being no less than an anti-Calvinistic "*Exposition of the Ninth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans*, by JAMES MORISON." (Kilmarnock, 1849: 8vo., pp. 569.) The work has arrived at too late a period for an extended notice, so that we must content ourselves now with briefly indicating its character and scope. We know nothing personally of Mr. Morison, but gather from his Preface that he is a minister in Kilmarnock: though it puzzles us to imagine how, holding such doctrines, he can be connected with either the Established or the Free Church; and we know of no such name in the Wesleyan ranks. But what is far more to the purpose, it is clear that he is an

earnest man, seeking for the truth most faithfully, and sparing no labour or pains in his work. The present volume is almost an encyclopædia of information in regard to the exegesis of the ninth chapter of Romans. In the copious Prolegomena (seventy-five pages) we have critical accounts of nineteen distinct anti-Calvinistic expositions of the chapter, with brief biographical sketches of their authors, forming a very acceptable addition to the literature of the subject. The body of the commentary (426 pp.) consists of eleven expository Lectures;—a form adapted, says Mr. Morison in his Preface, "for use and usefulness, even to those who are ignorant of the learned languages." But for the sake of more learned readers there is a large body of critical and exegetical notes, in which the language of the apostle is often scrutinized, not merely sentence by sentence, but word by word. Three Appendices follow,—I. Showing that Romans IX, 6–13, is not to be interpreted allegorically:—II. That Romans IX is not to be interpreted throughout upon an allegorical principle:—III. That it is every man's duty to become one of the elect of God. As we have said, the work is laboriously and faithfully executed—but it is marred by prolixity, excessive minuteness, and frequent Scotticisms of style. We cannot, by any means, endorse all of Mr. Morison's interpretations, but yet deem his work a most valuable contribution to theological literature, and shall seek to recur to it again more at length hereafter.

A convenient catalogue for the use of theological students and book collectors is proposed by Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, in Gottingen, entitled "*Bibliotheca Theologica*, oder geordnete übersicht aller auf dem Gebiet der Evangelischen Theologie erschienenen Bücher." The first issue contains a list of works in Evangelical Theology for 1848, systematically arranged, and furnished with an alphabetical Index. The catalogue can be had on application to Mr. R. Garrigue, New-York.

The Apostles' Creed is an object of special attention just now in this country. A full treatise on the subject from the Roman Catholic side has lately appeared, namely, "*De Symboli Apostolici Titulo, Origine et Antiquissimis Ecclesiæ temporibus auctoritate; dissertationem theologicam scripsit*, PET. MEYERS. Cath. Relig. Doct. in Gymnas. Trevir. Prof." (Treviris, 1849, 8vo., pp. 210.) It attempts to show that the creed is really, and in form, of apostolic origin, with the exception of the two articles *descendit* [Christus] *ad inferos*, and *Communionem Sanctorum*; the former of which, it argues, was added in view of the Apollinarian heresy, the latter by Pope Gelasius, or Gregory the Great.

Rev. W. Cooke, whose lectures on Christian Theology were noticed in a recent number of this Journal, has since published a work entitled "Theiotes; or, an Argument on the Existence, Perfections, and Personal Distinctions of the Deity, intended as an Antidote to Atheism, Pantheism, Unitarianism, and Sabellianism." (London, Partridge & Oakey, 1849.)

Wieseler's excellent work on the Chronology of the Apostolical Age, up to the deaths of the apostles Peter and Paul, is to be translated by Rev. Thomas Gordon.

We are glad to see announced among the recent publications of the Methodist Book Room, London,—"The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M. A., to which are appended Selections from his Correspondence and Poetry, with an Introduction and occasional Notes, by Thomas Jackson, 2 vols. 12mo."

We continue our statements of the contents and tendencies of the principal European theological journals.

The Biblical Review (July, 1849, London, Jackson & Walford, pp. 150, three shillings sterling) always contains able articles on German theology, or translations from German sources. The contents of the July number are,—I. The last Ten Years in German Theology, (mainly translated from the Theologische Studien und Kritiken:)—II. Remarks on Ephesians iv, 12–16:—III. On the Theology of Pascal's Pensées:—IV. A very interesting sketch of the Person and History of Neander, with a translation of his oration on the three hundredth Anniversary of Luther's birth-day:—V. The Demands of the Age upon Theology:—VI. Is the Bible from God:—VII. Select Letters from Schleiermacher to Sack:—VIII. Montgomery's Christian Life:—IX. Miscellanies and correspondence.

The *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for July, contains an unusually valuable list of articles. Art. I. is a review of Julius Müller's *Lehre von der Sünde*, by De Wette, whose death (mentioned in another page) took place only a few days before the publication of this article. In it he attempts to rescue his own view of the nature of sin (the so-called *sensual* theory) from the overwhelming blows which Müller had aimed against it. Art. II. is on the "Testimony of the Fourth Evangelist to his own person," by K. L. Weit-

zel, of Krichheim. Art. III. "Studies and Criticisms in New Testament Lexicography," by Professor Gelpke, of Bern. Art. IV. "Exegetical Discussions," by Bähr, of Carlsruhe, on Mark ix, 49, 50. Art. V. "The Holiness of God," by J. M. Rupprecht. Art. VI. Review of two works on the Church system of festival days; &c. Art. VII. Notice of Muralto's Novum Testamentum Græce. Art. VIII. "The Church of Norway," concluded from a preceding number.

The *Journal of Sacred Literature* for July (London, C. Cox, five shillings a number) contains the following articles:—I. The Scriptural Doctrine of Demoniacal Possession, by W. E. Taylor:—II. A Review of Winer's Bible Lexicon:—III. Christianity in Harmony with our Faculties, from the French of A. Coquerel:—IV. Recollections of the East, illustrative of certain passages in the Historical Books of the Old Testament:—V. Morell's Philosophy of Religion:—VI. The Golden Calf, translated from Saurin:—VII. Paul's Rebuke of Women praying with uncovered heads:—VIII. Character of Eustathius considered as a Reformer, from the German of Neander:—IX. Is Biblical Criticism unfavourable to Piety?—X. On the Interpretation of Genesis iv, 7, by Rev. J. W. Donaldson, D. D.:—XI. Miscellanea and Correspondence.—Among the Correspondence is a letter from Dr. Lee, replying to Prof. Ewald's charges against him, and renewing his accusation of plagiarism against Prof. Ewald.

The Christian Remembrancer, for July, (London: Mozley, six shillings a number,) contains the following articles:—I. The Lost Writings of Antiquity—the Remains of Stesichorus:—II. Taylor's Poems:—III. Rationalism—Reviews of Morell's "Philosophy of Religion," and Newman's "Nemeses of Faith:"—IV. Warburton's Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers:—V. The Church in Greece, [*i. e.* the *Greek Church*]:—VI. Allies' Journal in France in 1845 and 1848, (a review, more than half sympathizing with Allies' sentimental Romanizing):—VII. Poole and Freeman on the History of Architecture:—VIII. Geology and Revelation.

The following works in Theology and Biblical Literature are announced as just published or in press in London:—

The Work of the Spirit, by Wm. Henry Stowell, of Rotherham College, Yorkshire, 1 vol. 8vo., forming the 14th Series of the Congregational Lecture:—A Memoir of Rev. Thomas Burchell, twenty-two years missionary in Jamaica, compiled from his Letters and Diary, by his brother, the Rev. W. F. Burchell, 1 vol. 12mo., with portrait:—Experimental Evidence a Ground for Assurance that Christianity is Divine, by the Rev. Gilbert Wardlaw, A. M., formerly Resident Theological Tutor of the Independent College, Blackburn, Lancashire, 1 vol. small 8vo.:—A Literal Translation of the Gospel according to St. John, on Definite Rules of Translation, by Herman Heinfetter, Author of "Rules for ascertaining the Sense conveyed in Ancient Greek Manuscripts," Part I.:—On the Religious Ideas, by W. J. Fox, M. P., 1 vol., 8vo.:—Prophetic Outlines of the Christian Church and the Anti-Christian Power, as traced in the Visions of Daniel and St. John, by Ben. Harrison, M. A., Archdeacon of Maidstone, &c., 8vo.:—Popular Christianity; its Transition State and Probable Development, by Frederick J. Foxton, A. B., formerly of Pembroke College, Oxford, post 8vo.:—Jonah; his Life, Character, and Mission, viewed in connexion with the Prophet's own Times, and Future Manifestations of God's Mind and Will in Prophecy, by the Rev Patrick Fairbairn, fcp., 8vo.:—An Inquiry into the Nature, Progress, and End of Prophecy, in three books.—1. On the Covenants. 2. The Visions of Daniel. 3. The Revelation of St. John, by Samuel Lee, D. D., late Regius Professor of Hebrew, in 8vo., price 14s., cloth:—The Course of Creation, by John Anderson, D. D., M. W. S., Minister of Newburgh, Fife. Post 8vo.

Among the publications of the present year on the continent are the following:—

Biblia sacra vulgatæ editionis juxta exemplaria ex typographia apostolica Vaticana Romæ 1592 et 1593 inter se collata et ad normam correctionum romanarum exacta auctoritate summi pontificis Pii IX. Edid. *Val. Loch*, theol. Dr. u. Prof. IV Tomi (uno volum. compreh.) Ratisbonæ, 1849. 1486 pp., 8vo.

Der Brief Pauli an die Philipper. Praktisch erläutert durch Dr. Aug. Neander. Berlin, 110 pp., 8vo.

Die Gemeinde in Christo Jesu. Auslegung des Briefes an die Epheser. Von Dr. Rud. Stier. 2. Hälfte. 2. Abth. Berlin.

Commentar über die Briefe des Apostels Paulus an die Thessalonicher. Von Dr. Aug. Koch, Privatdoc. 1. Thl. Der erste Brief. Berlin, 1849. 456 pp. 8vo.

Histoire du Nouveau Testament et des Juifs, confirmée par l'histoire et par les sciences profanes, depuis l'incarnation de N. S. J. C. jusqu'à l'accomplissement de ses prophéties relatives à Jérusalem, ou à la de-

struction de cette ville et de la nation juive, par M. l'abbé A. F. James. Paris.

Beiträge zur kirchlichen Literatur und Dogmengeschichte des griech. Mittelalters. 2. Bd. A. u. d. T.: Die Mystik des Nikolaus Cabasilas vom Leben in Christo. Erste Ausg. u. einleit. Darstellung. Greifswald, 224, 240 pp., 8vo.

Das Wesen des Christenthums mit Beziehung auf neuere Auffassungsweisen desselben von Freunden und Gegnern. Eine Erörterung auch für gebildete Nicht-Theologen von Dr. C. Ullmann. 3. neu bearb. Auflage. Hamburg, Fr. Perthes. 1849. 176 pp., 8vo.

Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte. Seitenstück und Ergänzung zu des Verfassers "Lehrbuch der heiligen Geschichte," von Joh. Heinr. Kurtz, Dr. d. Theol. Mitau, 1849. 348 pp. 8vo.

Thorath-Emeth. תורת אמת Der Pentateuch im Texte, mit einer ganz neuen treuen Uebersetzung und einer vollständ. Erklärung in hochdeutscher Sprache und Schrift. Für Lehrer und Schüler u. s. w.; mit einer Karte von Palästina und Karte von dem Zuge Israel's durch die Wüste. Herausgeg. von Dr. *Heinemann*. In 16 Lieff. 1. u. 2. Lief. Berlin, 128, pp. 8vo. 1849.

Moïse révélateur, ou Exposition apologétique de la théologie du Pentateuque, par l'abbé Ch.-Marin André. Paris, 1849.

Interpretatio Epistolæ S. Pauli ad Philippenses, auctore Jo. Thd. Beelen. Lovanii, 136 pp., 4to.

De la Question Religieuse dans le Canton de Vaud, par L. Jottrand, (Memoir couronné, Lausanne, 1849.)

The first volume, in 4to., Dr. of Lepsius' Chronologie der Ægypter, has appeared.

AMERICAN.

We have received the first number of "*The Evangelical Review*," edited by Prof. Reynolds, of Pennsylvania College, assisted by Dr. Morris, Prof. Schmidt, and Rev. Messrs. Schaeffer and Greenwalt. This journal will hold the position of an organ for the higher literature of the Lutheran Church in the United States, and declares, at the outset, that it will be "Lutheran in the broadest and in the strictest sense of the term. It is consecrated especially to the interests, to the history, to the theology, to the literature of the Lutheran Church, in this and in all parts of the world." At the same time its editor distinctly declares that he "does not wish to be understood as occupying a hostile position towards any other part of Christendom." None who know Prof. Reynolds will doubt that under his care the Review will be at once catholic in its spirit, and elevated in its literary character. The first number affords an admirable specimen of what such a Review should be. Its contents are,—I. Introduction:—II. Theological Education in the Lutheran Church in the United States:—III. The Gospel in the Old Testament, from the German of Umbreit:—IV. A Review of Stier's Reden des Herrn Jesu, (Discourses of the Lord Jesus:)—V. Luther's larger and smaller Catechisms:—VI. Chrysostom considered with Reference to training for the Pulpit:—VII. Remarks on the Study of Prophecy:—VIII. Schmid's Dogmatik of the Lutheran Church:—IX. Corporeal Punishment as a Means of Discipline in Schools:—X. Hymns from the German of Luther:—XI. Critical Notices.

It will be seen from our advertising sheet, that Messrs. Gladding & Higgins are preparing to publish a new engraving of the "Death-Bed of Rev. J. Wesley," after the celebrated painting of Marshall Claxton. It is to be executed, we are informed, in the finest style of art, by J. Sartain, the well-known and eminent mezzotint engraver of Philadelphia. As it will be sold at one-sixth of the English price, and one-half the price of the English copies now offered for sale in this country, it will, doubtless, command a large sale. Few Methodist preachers, or Methodist families, will deny themselves the pleasure of possessing this beautiful memorial of so striking a scene, when it can be procured at so small an expense.

Hooker & Co. have reprinted Wilberforce's *Doctrine of the Incarnation*,—noticed in our January number.

The third volume of Neander's Church History (Professor Torrey's translation) is announced as in press, and shortly to appear.

Classical and Miscellaneous.

EUROPEAN.

The veteran philologist, Dr. C. G. Zumpt, Professor of Latin Literature in the University of Berlin, died on the 25th of July, at Carlsbad, whither he had gone in search of health. Dr. Zumpt's long and faithful labours in Latin Literature, and especially his

able Latin Grammar, which, though now somewhat obsolete, led the way to the present more philosophical mode of treating the subject, have entitled him to the respect of all lovers of learning. If we can obtain the material, we shall give a fuller account of his life and labours.

We have received a copy of "*Friderici Jacobsii Laudatio, Scripsit E. F. Wuestemann:*"—a beautiful memorial of one of the brightest lights of modern learning.

Krüger's Greek Grammar is now completed (with the exception of Indexes, which we hope will be forthcoming) by the publication of his "*Homerische Formenlehre,*" (12mo., pp. 77,) which is marked by the same exhaustive completeness and accuracy which characterize his other works. He has in press a Lexicon to Xenophon's Anabasis; and states his purpose also to issue French and English translations of his Greek Grammar, as well as of his editions of Thucydides and Xenophon's Anabasis.

Sir James Stephen, whose literary reputation rests upon his graphic and Macaulay-like articles in the Edinburgh Review, has been appointed Professor of Modern History in the University of Edinburgh. His articles in the Edinburgh Review have recently been collected into two handsome 8vo. volumes, entitled "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography;" published by Longmans, London. The subjects are—Hildebrand, St. Francis of Assisi, The Founders of Jesuitism, Luther, The French Benedictines, The Port-Royalists, Baxter, Whitefield and the Evangelicals, Wilberforce, The Clapham Sect, and The Historian of Enthusiasm. Large additions and alterations are made to most of the articles. An eloquent Epilogue concludes the series, and gives a sort of Confession of Faith, on the part of the author, as a ground for the comprehensive range he has taken over all sects and sorts of religionists in forming his Hagiology. We regret to see from this Epilogue that Sir James stands on the same platform with John Foster, in regard to the eternity of future punishment.

We have received the Prospectus of a series of Atlases, five in number, published by Justus Perthes, Gotha, and prepared by Von Sydow, and beautifully coloured. A strong recommendation from Carl Ritter accompanies the prospectus.

Rev. J. E. Riddle's "Copious and Critical Latin English Lexicon" has appeared. It makes a thick volume in small 4to., uniform with Liddell & Scott's Lexicon. We have taken the pains to compare it with the "New Latin Lexicon on the basis of Freund," now preparing by Prof. Andrews for publication by the Messrs. Harper of this city; and are glad to inform our readers that the latter will be an incomparably superior work, both in extent and execution. Riddle's Lexicon is founded upon the *abridged* edition of Freund, while Andrews' is translated from the *larger* Lexicon—the most complete Latin Dictionary that has ever appeared.

We extract from the Athenæum the following curious account of an order recently issued by the commander-in-chief of the British army, stating the *literary* (!) requirements of the candidates for commissions in the army. What floods of British sarcasm would have been provoked by such an order from the American War-office!

"It is now gravely demanded of the candidate who shall seek to be recommended as fit to bear Her Majesty's commission, that he shall not be below the status of the schoolboy. First, it is propounded that he 'should be able to read and write!' In arithmetic 'he *should* be acquainted with the first four rules,' &c.,—in languages 'he *should* be able to translate some Latin author into English.' The italics marking the conditional character of these demands are ours. But 'he will be required,'—the conditional is now abandoned—'to construe an extract from a French work into English.' In regard to history, 'he should'—again the conditional—'have read *Hume's History of England*, with *Smollett's Continuation*, a history of Rome *and* Greece, (!) and history of Modern Europe.' In the department of geography, he must know the names of the capitals of each nation in Europe; and the chief rivers, sea-ports, and military posts in Great Britain and Ireland. He must also have 'read some easy work' on fortifications, and have had some 'instruction in drawing.' This is the amount of raised qualification for wearing the scarlet. The soldier is yet but a little way removed intellectually, it would seem, from those good old times when reading and writing were treason; when gentlemen left such arts to their menials, and barons bold were content to sign with their cross! We have made, we see, one omission, which is worth noting, as a comment on scales of education at the Horse Guards. 'If not master of the Latin grammar, *and he should not have received a good classical education*, (!) says one of these ordinances, he must, in lieu thereof, thoroughly understand the French *or* German grammar. We do not know what grammar is meant by the French *or* German; and we should have thought that 'having received a good classical education' included being 'master of the Latin grammar.' Need we wonder that a Board which sends out an 'order' like this, should think it no light thing to be able to

'read and write correctly?' Appended to the instruction is a list of school-books: not a list of works which *must* be read, but which 'are said to be likely to facilitate the studies of candidates,' if candidates should think proper to look into them."

Among books in Classical literature recently issued in England, are the following:—Aristophanis Acharnenses, recens. F. H. Blaydes, 8vo., cloth:—Barnes, Anglo-Saxon Delectus, 12mo., cloth:—Livy, the First Eight Books; literally translated by D. Spillan, (Bohn's Classical Library):—Ovid's Fasti, with Notes by Rev. Charles Stanford, A.M., (New Edition):—Plato's Works, Vol. II., literally translated by Carey and Davis. (Bohn's Classical Library):—Plato's Apology of Socrates, Crito, and Phædo, from the Text of Bekker, with Notes by C. S. Stanford, A.M.:—Smith's Chronological Tables of Greek and Roman History, Civil and Literary, with Tables of Greek and Roman Measures, Weights, and Money, (from the Dictionaries of "Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology" and "Antiquities"):—Sophocles' Œdipus Tyrannus; translated by Sir Francis H. Doyle. Oxford.

Among the books on Ancient literature recently issued on the Continent, are the following:—Aristotelis Metaphysica, recognovit et enarravit H. Bonitz, 2 vols. 8vo., Bonn:—Basilicorum Libri LX., Edid. Dr. C. G. E. Heimbach, Vol. V., sect. 4. 4to. Lipsiæ:—Bionis et Moschi Carmina, Recensuit G. Hermann, 8vo.:—Bittner, de Ciceronianis et Ambrosianis Officiorum Libris Commentatio, Vratisl., 4to.:—Boetticher, P., Rudimenta Mythologiæ Semiticæ Supplementa Lexici Aramaici, 8vo., Berolini:—Dittmar, H., Die Geschichte der Griechischen Welt von ihrem Ursprung bis zu ihrer Berührung mit d. Römischen, 8vo., Heidelb.:—Gerhard, E., Ueber die Kunst der Phönicier, with 7 Steel Engravings, 4to., Berlin:—Gottfried Hermann, eine Gedächtnissrede von Otto Jahn, 8vo., Leipzig:—Hermann, K. F., Gesammelte Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur classischen Litteratur und Alterthumskunde, 8vo., Göttingen.

The following miscellaneous works are announced as recently published or in press in London:—

The Fourth and concluding Volume of Mr. James' Life and Times of Richard Cœur De Lion:—Report of the eighteenth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Swansea in 1848, 8vo.:—The New Volume of Universal History on Scriptural Principles, vol. IV. The Middle Ages, from the Death of Richard I. to the Death of Richard II., 1199–1400 A. D.:—John Howard and the Prison-World of Europe, from original and authentic documents, by Hepworth Dixon, fcp. 8vo.:—Quetelet on the Social System, edited, with an Introduction, by Prof. Nichol, F. R. S.:—A History of Rome under the Emperors, Book the First, "Julius Cæsar," by the Rev. Charles Merivale:—A Manual of Geographical Science; Mathematical, Physical, Historical, and Descriptive, by M. O'Brien, M. A., D. T. Ansted, F. R. S., and the Rev. C. G. Nicolay, with a Chapter on Chartography, by J. R. Jackson, F. R. S.:—Republican America and Western Europe, by J. P. Nichol, LL.D., containing the result of the Author's Observations during a recent Tour through the United States:—The Course of Creation, by John Anderson, D. D., M. W. S., Minister of Newburg, Fife:—Chapters on Fossil Botany, by S. R. Pattison, F. G. S.:—The Island of Cuba: its Resources, Progress, and Prospects considered, by R. R. Madden, M. R. I. A.:—The Second Series of a Course of Grecian, Roman, and English History, by the Rev. H. Le M. Chepmell, Royal Military College, Sandhurst:—Four Years in the Pacific, in her Majesty's Ship, the Collingwood, by the Hon. Frederick Walpole, Lieut. R. N., 2 vols. 8vo.:—Memoirs of the House of Orleans; including Sketches and Anecdotes of the most Distinguished Characters of France during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, by Dr. W. Cooke Taylor, 3 vols. 8vo., portraits, &c.:—Mrs. Foster's Hand-Book of Modern European Literature—British, Danish, Dutch, French, German. Hungarian, Italian, Polish, and Russian, Portuguese, Spanish, and Swedish; with copious Biographical and Chronological Index, fcp., 8vo.:—Baron Humboldt's new work—"Aspects of Nature," translated by Mrs. Sabine, 2 vols. 16mo.:—The Literature of the Kymry; being a Critical Essay on the History of the Language and Literature of Wales, during the Twelfth and two succeeding Centuries, by Thomas Stephens, 8vo.:—Sir James Mackintosh's Miscellaneous Works, including his Contributions to the Edinburgh Review, edited by R. J. Mackintosh, Esq., 3 vols. 8vo.

AMERICAN.

Mr. Rudolph Garrigue, of this city, has commenced one of the most useful enterprises ever undertaken by a bookseller in this country, in the publication of the "*Iconographic Encyclopædia of Science, Literature, and Art; systematically arranged by* G. Heck. With five hundred steel engravings, by the most distinguished artists of Germany. The text translated and edited by Spencer F. Baird, A. M., M. D., Professor of Natural Science in Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa." The work is to be issued in twenty-five monthly parts, each containing twenty large quarto steel engravings, and upwards of eighty pages of letter-press. The plates are not merely got up to sell the book, but are *bona-fide* illustrations of the subjects treated in the text—engraved in Germany, at great expense, by excellent artists. After a careful examination, we concur fully with Dr. Cogswell's statement, *that they are executed with a degree of care and correctness rarely, if ever, seen in works intended for popular instruction.* The text is divided into ten branches, namely, Mathematics, 14 plates; Natural and Medical Sciences, 124 plates; General Geography, 40 plates; Ethnology, 89 plates; Military Sciences, 46 plates; Naval Sciences, 30 plates; Architecture, 54 plates; Mythology, and Religious Rites, 30 plates; Fine Arts, 30 plates; Technology, 46 plates. The work is translated and edited by Prof. Baird, who is well known to all naturalists, both in this country and in Europe, as among the foremost of the rising band of young cultivators of natural science, which is destined to shed so much glory on the intellectual character of the country. We know him well, and assure our readers that the work *edited* by him will not only be equal to the German original, but far superior, as it will be brought up, in each department, to the latest period of science, and will be enriched, especially in Prof. Baird's own favourite branch, natural history, by the results of his own extensive researches, as well as by those of other American naturalists. There can be no doubt of the eminent success of this enterprise. The book will be indispensable to the library of every man of any claims to literary or scientific culture.

We call the attention of our readers, especially of those who are interested in Philology or Theology, to the Catalogue of the Library of the late Rev. George W. Lane, A. M., Professor of Languages in Emory College, Georgia; including a large Collection of Works in Theology, Biblical and Oriental Literature, Philology, (ancient and modern,) the Greek and Latin Classics, &c., containing the latest German works on these subjects, &c. The Collection is a very choice one, and offers a rare opportunity to those who wish to procure the best editions of the classics, and the most valuable works in German theology and philology. The prices affixed to the books are very low. The Catalogue can be had on application, post-paid, to the publishers of this journal.

Messrs. Muzzey & Co., Boston, have published a new edition of the Bucolics, Georgics, and Æneid of Virgil, edited, with Notes, &c., by Edward Moore, A. M.—The same publishers have also issued a third edition of the Lectures on Modern History, by Prof. Smith, of the University of Cambridge, Eng., with a list of books on American History.

The prices of Prof. Anthon's series of school and college classics have recently been very greatly reduced, as will be seen from Messrs. Harpers' advertisement at the end of our present number.

Munroe & Co., Boston, have lately issued The Canton Chinese; or, the American's Sojourn in the Celestial Empire, by Osmond Tiffany, jr., of Baltimore.

Messrs. Harper & Brothers have in press,—M'Clintock's Second Greek Book, 12mo.:—An Introduction to the Study of the English Language, by Prof. W. C. Fowler, 8vo.:—Lossing's Field-Book of the Revolution, 8vo.:—The War with Mexico, by Major Ripley, U. S. A., 12mo.:—A System of Phrenology, by George Combe, 12mo.:—Anthon's Ancient and Mediæval Geography, 8vo.:—Wallis's Travels in Spain, 12mo.:—Wheeler's History of Congress, vol. III. 8vo.:—Paley's Moral Philosophy, new edition, 12mo.:—Griswold's Biographical Dictionary, royal 8vo.:—Copeland's Medical Dictionary, Part XIV.:—An English-Latin Lexicon, founded on the German Latin Dictionary of Dr. C. E. Georges, by the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M. A., and the Rev. J. K. Arnold, M. A.; revised, &c., by Dr. Anthon, royal 8vo.:—A Latin-English Lexicon, from the new German work of Dr. Freund, augmented with important Additions, by Prof. Andrews, 8vo.

Phillips, Sampson, & Co., Boston, have recently published,—Hume's History of

England, vols. 1, 2, & 3:—Lamartine's History of the French Revolution of 1848:—Shakspeare, royal 8vo., No. 1, to be followed by semi-monthly numbers until complete; each accompanied by a fine engraving.—They have in preparation,—Hume's England, vols. 4, 5, & 6, which will complete the work,—forming, with their edition of Macaulay, a continued History of England:—Life and Religion of Mohammed, translated from the Persian by Rev. J. L. Merrick, eleven years a missionary to the Persians:—A Discourse of Christianity, by Rev. Theodore Parker:—Representative Men, &c., by Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia, have recently published,—

Atlas of Plates to Dana on Zoophytes, being vol. ix of the Publications of the U. S. Exploring Expedition; large imperial folio, with 60 plates, coloured after nature:—Kennedy's Memoirs of the Life of Wm. Wirt, in two handsome 8vo. volumes, with a portrait on steel:—Weisbach's Principles of the Mechanics of Machinery and Engineering; translated by Prof. Gordon, and edited by Prof. W. R. Johnson, vol. 2, 8vo., with 332 engravings on wood:—Knapp's Technology, translated by Drs. Ronalds and Richardson, and edited by Prof. W. R. Johnson, vol. 2, 8vo., with 250 illustrations:—Herschel's Outlines of Astronomy, in one neat volume, small 8vo., with 6 plates and numerous woodcuts:—Q. Curtii Rufi de Gestis Alexandri Magni Libri qui supersunt VIII. Cura. L. Schmitz et C. G. Zumpt, royal 18mo., with a Map, Notes, Introduction, &c.—They have in preparation,—Graham's Elements of Chemistry, new and much improved edition, with many wood-cuts, large 8vo.:—Mackay's Western World, from the second London edition, 2 vols. 12mo.:—The Autobiography of Chateaubriand, in a neat 12mo.

Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. have in preparation:—The Women of the New and Old Testament; eighteen engravings of Female Characters of the New and Old Testament, with Descriptions by various American Clergymen, edited by the Rev. Dr. E. B. Sprague, 1 vol. imp. 8vo.:—The Four Gospels; arranged as a Practical Family Commentary, for every Day in the Year, by the Author of "The Peep of Day," &c., edited by Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., 1 vol. 8vo.:—Ollendorff's Elementary French Grammar; or, First Lessons in French, edited by G. W. Greene, 18mo.:—Living Authors of England, by Thomas Powell, 12mo.:—Contributors to Legal Science, by John Anthon, 8vo.:—Byrne's New Method of Calculating the Logarithms of any given number, 12mo.:—Exercises in Greek Composition, by Prof. Boise, Brown University, 12mo.:—Cicero De Officiis, edited, with Notes, &c., by Prof. Thacher, Yale College, 12mo.:—Cicero's Orations, edited with Notes, &c., by Prof. Johnson, New-York University.

Mr. G. P. Putman has in Press,—The Illustrated Goldsmith.—Oliver Goldsmith, a Biography, by Washington Irving, with about 40 illustrations, selected by the publisher from Forster's Life of Goldsmith, Royal 8vo:—The Illustrated Scripture Gift-Book, edited by Mrs. E. F. Ellett, comprising original articles by Rev. Dr. Bethune, Rev. H. Field, Rev. Mr. Burchard, and other eminent Divines:—The Illustrated Monuments of Egypt; Egypt and its Monuments, as illustrative of Scripture History, by the Rev. Dr. Hawks; with architectural and other views, Royal 8vo.:—The Illustrated Nineveh; Layard's Nineveh and its Remains, with 103 illustrations on wood and stone, 2 vols. in one:—The Fountain of Living Waters—By a Layman. In a neat and elegant presentation volume, with a vignette.

Those of our readers who do not watch the issue of the Sunday-school press, 200 Mulberry-street, (under the direction of Rev. D. P. Kidder,) have little idea of the excellence and abundance of its recent publications. Full provision is made, not only for the enlargement of Sunday-school libraries, but also for the wants of families and young persons, in neat and even beautiful volumes, on every variety of subject. Among the latest are "*Cortes; or, the Discovery and Conquest of Mexico*, by *George Cubitt*." A very pretty 18mo., in gilt muslin, containing a sketch of that wonderful chapter in human history, stranger even than romance—the subjugation of Mexico. "*The Court of Persia, viewed in Connexion with Scriptural Usages*, by *John Kitto, D.D.*;" got up in the same neat style. "*Dwellers on the Holy Hill*;" containing familiar illustrations of the characters described in the fifteenth Psalm. "*Lessons of a Disciple*;" or, Chapters in the Life of a young Lady. The "*Exiles; or, Scenes in the Tyrol*;" being a story of the persecuted Zillerthalers. The "*Minister's Study, and Scenes connected with it.*" We renew our expression of hope, that our ministers and friends will endeavour to have these excellent publications placed in every *Methodist family*. We pay too little attention to the wants of children.

Messrs. Lane and Scott have recently published "*An Essay on Camp-Meetings*, by the author of the *True Evangelist*." (18mo., pp. 86.) Something of this kind has long been needed, and the want is now well supplied. This little volume contains an account of the origin and history of camp-meetings, a number of substantial arguments in favour of such meetings, and a consideration of the common objections urged against them. It closes with excellent advice as to the proper improvement, the use and abuse, of these sacred gatherings. The work is well written, and breathes a very earnest religious spirit. We hope it will be widely circulated.

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